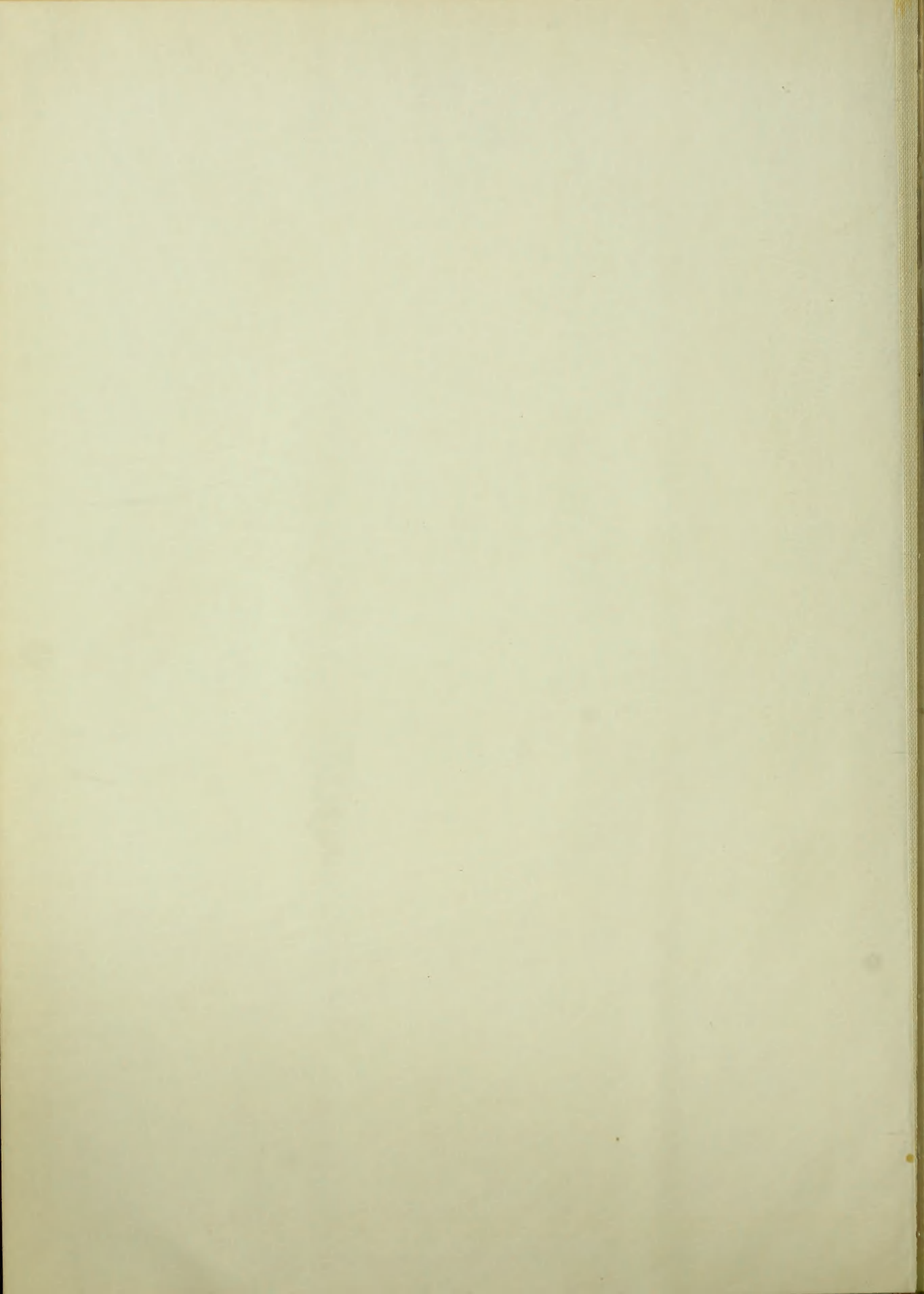


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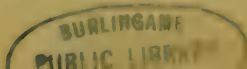
Business Manager and Director of Circulation
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Advertising Manager
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PULLING NO PUNCHES AND DEFYING THE wrath both of the dictators and of their conscious and unconscious tools in this country, the President has voiced the determination of the American people to assist to the utmost the efforts of Britain and its Allies to overthrow Hitlerism. With unanswerable logic he proved that this course was necessitated by vital national interests, and he showed how impossible it would be for America to remain at peace in a Nazi-controlled world except by the sacrifice of everything for which it stands. It will be interesting to see how the dictator powers reply to this challenge. We do not expect them to break off relations, for they will not wish to deprive themselves of the advantages derived from their horde of diplomatic agents in this country. More probable is an attempt to minimize the importance of the speech, accompanied by a mixture of threats and protestations that the Axis cherishes no designs against the Americas. To the British the President has brought a message of hope at a moment when his plea for greater speed and effort was being underlined by a devastating raid on London. We must now see that deeds do not lag behind words.

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GERMAN TROOP MOVEMENTS INTO RUMANIA are being so well advertised that it is reasonable to suspect an attempt to cover up plans for a blow in a totally different direction. Heightened vigilance along the British coasts and intensified attacks by the RAF on the invasion ports suggest a belief in London that a new attempt to cross the Channel may be imminent. If this is not the danger point, then an expedition through Spain and the seizure of Portugal may be in the wind. Nevertheless, even though the numbers involved are being exaggerated, it is certain that considerable reinforcements have been added to the German army of occupation in Rumania. One of their tasks is to strengthen the Nazi grip on that country, which has been "softened" by Iron Guard anarchy and is now ready for a greater degree of "protection." But reports of concentrations on the Russian, Yugoslav, and Bulgarian borders suggest additional objectives. These military gestures are no doubt intended to buttress diplomatic pressure on Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and to prepare the way for later demands for a right of passage. Berlin has certainly noted with displeasure the increase of Russian influence in Sofia. More-



over, the Bulgarian Assembly has now formally declared against adhesion to the Tripartite Pact, and the Premier and War Minister have pointedly denied the necessity for "outside protection." German moves near the Russian border have renewed speculation about a possible Nazi invasion of the Ukraine. Nothing seems more unlikely to us, but Hitler may well think it worth a few divisions to keep Moscow worried, and he may also believe that a latent threat to Russia's western frontier will assist negotiations for a Russo-Japanese agreement.

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WINSTON CHURCHILL'S APPEAL TO ITALY was well timed, coming as it did immediately after Graziani's dispatch describing the parlous position of his army. The publication of this exceedingly frank document was no doubt an attempt to offset rumors about the extent of the disaster suffered in Africa. It attempted to reassure Italians and at the same time to give a plausible explanation for an undeniable defeat. Reading between the lines we find a devastating criticism of the Rome government, which ordered the advance into Egypt without being able to provide adequate supplies or insure safe communications. Churchill's speech sought to capitalize on the uneasiness of the Italian people, who never wanted war, who cannot fail to know that Mussolini's bombast is being pitilessly exposed, and who regard their Nazi partners with fear and suspicion. News of the British Premier's appeal is spreading. It cannot be altogether suppressed, and that is why the Italian government has made public a carefully edited version which significantly omits the passages blaming Mussolini alone for taking Italy into war and the text of the remarkable last-minute message which Churchill sent in May, hoping to prevent a severance of relations. But such suppressions cannot render less acute the dilemma which Churchill brought into sharp relief: Is Italy to "stand up to the battery of the whole British Empire . . . or, on the other hand, call in Attila over the Brenner Pass . . . to hold down and protect the Italian people"? The "protectors" are already seeping in, but so far only in small numbers. The dispatch of stronger forces is impeded by the difficulty of transporting troops by road through the Alpine passes under winter conditions. Movement by rail is easier, but it requires sixty-four trains to carry a division of German troops with equipment. Thus, apart from political considerations, there are physical obstacles to Nazi reinforcement of Italy.

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THE LONG-AWAITED JAPANESE DRIVE TO THE south appears to be taking shape. But instead of a swift sortie against the Dutch East Indies or Burma, as anticipated several months ago, it seems likely to be a cautious advance dependent upon diplomatic rather than

military measures. Added pressure has been brought against the French authorities of Indo-China for naval and air bases which would be useful for an attack on the Malay States, Burma, or the Philippines. Plans are also being pushed for the establishment of Japanese air bases in Thailand. The sporadic border skirmishes between Thailand and Indo-China seem to have been instigated by the Japanese in order to provide a pretext for intervention should such a step prove desirable. Meanwhile, as a means of consolidating its position in the southern part of China, the Japanese have launched a drive into north Kwangtung which for the moment appears to be successful. This is the first important offensive action undertaken by the Japanese in China in the past six months, and has as its avowed purpose the cutting of Chinese supply lines through the small South China ports still in Chinese hands. The extent of Chinese resistance to this drive will, along with the outcome of present Japanese negotiations with the Soviet Union, probably determine the speed with which the new program of Japanese expansion to the south unfolds in the early weeks of 1941.

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THE REUTHER PLAN FOR MOBILIZING THE excess capacity of the automobile industry for the mass production of pursuit planes, first news of which was published in *The Nation* on December 21, is being given serious consideration by the New Supreme Defense Board. We hope the board and its technical advisers will be able to examine it in a really objective manner and will not allow it to be thrust aside because of fears that it might temporarily have adverse effects on the profits of the aircraft and automobile industries. Mr. Reuther's proposal is not just a hastily conceived brain-wave but a carefully worked-out scheme embodying a great deal of research. It shows conclusively that the automobile industry, even when operating at a comparatively high rate, as it has done in the past twelve months, is capable of a huge expansion in output. It has modern machine tools available which could be adapted to aircraft manufacture in a shorter time than the building of new tools for new factories would require. And it has thousands of highly skilled tool-and-die makers, partly or wholly idle, who could be put to work. Aircraft specialists, however, have already raised the cry that the plan is technically unsound even though the Reuther memorandum answers many of their objections in advance. We have yet to hear from the chiefs of the automobile industry. We hope they will not cold-shoulder the plan because its success would enhance the prestige and authority of the Automobile Workers' Union. It is a real token of the anxiety of responsible labor organizations to cooperate in making the defense program fully effective, and as such it must not be lightly dismissed.

DESPITE PUBLISHED REPORTS TO THE CONTRARY, the new Ford contract for \$1,400,000 in midget military cars has not yet been signed, and from all that can be learned in the War Department Ford has not yet met the specifications of the contract. Thus the President still has an "out" through which he can prevent the award of another contract to our foremost Wagner Act violator. *The Nation* was the first to reveal, in its issue of December 14, the curious background of this new contract, the fact that other sources of supply were available, and that the Defense Commission had gone out of its way to favor Ford. As a result of the protests which followed, the Adjutant General on December 17 issued an order stating that all future War Department contracts were to be let with the understanding that a condition of the contract was compliance with all federal labor laws. It is understood in the War Department that a provision to this effect is to go into all future contracts, but Ford representatives have been boasting in Washington that Ford will not sign the new contract if it contains such a provision. Another special privilege being asked for Ford is that the army change the specifications for the midget military car to make it easier for the Ford Company to meet them.

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J. EDGAR HOOVER SEEMS TO BE TRYING TO act as attorney general as well as director of the FBI. His statement at Miami Beach on the Bridges case seems calculated to embarrass Mr. Jackson and force him to act as Hoover desires. The Hoover report on Bridges was submitted to the Attorney General on November 28; nothing has been done about it because—despite Hoover's claims—it contained little evidence that had not already been found untrustworthy or perjured by James M. Landis in his special hearing on the Bridges case for the Department of Justice. An open hearing on the FBI report is likely to embarrass Mr. Jackson, but Mr. Hoover seems intent on forcing his superior's hand. The hounding of Bridges is in sharp contrast to the failure of both the FBI and the Dies committee to make a thorough investigation into Bridges's documented charges of Nazi "plants" in West Coast aviation factories. They are interested not in protecting defense against sabotage and spies but in doing the bidding of the powerful California shipping and banking interests which want Bridges deported because he organized labor on the waterfront and helped organize it in the agricultural valleys. Mr. Hoover also called attention again to his mysterious card index of "subversives." He has already shown that he can't tell a red from an anthropologist, and his index is a great potential menace to liberty in war time.

Tasks Before Congress

NO CONGRESS since the close of the last war has been confronted with issues of such gravity and complexity as those facing the session of the Seventy-seventh Congress which opens this week. The Congress which just ended set a record for defense appropriations in peace time. The new Congress has the much more fundamental task of deciding how the defense equipment now being created can most effectively be used and how it can be paid for.

Foremost among the issues before Congress is, of course, our policy with respect to the war and aid for Britain. The President's radio address has set the keynote, but it remains for Congress to make the basic decisions. It is evident that the Neutrality Act will have to be either revised drastically or repealed. Of the two alternatives repeal seems the most honest and the safest, since it would restore the traditional basis of international law as a guide for American foreign policy. Repeal of the Johnson Act may not be necessary to carry out the President's plan of lending arms to the British, but it is a bad law, and its existence only serves as an inducement to subterfuge or lack of realism in facing the immediate problems of foreign policy. It should be repealed.

With regard to the Far East no immediate legislation is essential. The President already has it within his power to cut off all trade with Japan, including both imports and exports. But the apparent unwillingness of the Administration to take the action desired by an overwhelming majority of the population may again deposit this problem on the doorstep of Congress.

On the domestic front the main task of Congress is to formulate a program for financing the extraordinarily heavy defense obligations assumed during the past year. There was no time to work out such a program during the hectic days of last summer. Defense plans had to be laid, and money appropriated to start the process in operation. But the means that are adopted to finance defense will determine, to a large extent, the future of our democracy. If the defense program is to be financed primarily by loans we shall not only experience inflation, with its intolerable burden on manual and professional workers, but a situation in which the well-to-do, who lend money to the government, will have a mortgage on the nation's revenues for many years to come. If, on the other hand, defense financing is placed on a pay-as-you-go basis, it is of utmost importance that the new taxes be progressive rather than regressive in character. The broad outlines of a program were set late in November at a White House conference attended by Treasury officials and Congressional leaders. They are said to include a sharp increase in income-tax rates, a strengthening of the gift-tax provisions, and removal of

tax exemption on future government bond issues. Although this may be said to represent a start toward a realistic and progressive tax policy, it is evident that the Administration has not yet faced the full social and economic implications of large-scale borrowing for defense.

On matters of defense itself Congress's responsibility should be less heavy than during the last six months. A deficiency appropriation of about \$1,000,000,000 will come up for immediate action. Revision of the Selective Service Act is being discussed in some quarters, but no drastic change in the law is anticipated at this session of Congress. Conservatives have served notice that they will seek revision of the Walsh-Healey, Fair Labor Standards, and Labor Relations acts under the guise of strengthening defense. This drive may take on serious proportions, but it obviously has little to do with defense. On the other side of the tracks, labor will ask that Congress adopt legislation making it illegal to give defense contracts to firms violating existing labor laws.

The development of the defense program has created the necessity for emergency legislation in such fields as housing, public health, and social security. The housing situation is admittedly critical. Skilled workers are being kept out of vital armament industries by the shortage of dwellings. Prompt action is also essential to deal with critical health problems that have arisen in connection with the building of new army cantonments and in the overcrowded areas surrounding the new defense industries. This would seem to be the time to enlarge the activities of the United States Public Health Service as proposed by the National Health Conference two years ago. The Social Security Act needs overhauling to protect drafted men against loss of status with regard to unemployment and old-age benefits. Two years have passed since the last revision of this act, and it is high time that its fundamental benefits be extended to the groups now excluded.

Still Partners with Japan

DESPITE much-discussed embargoes and licensing systems—and the increased aid given to China—the United States continues to be Japan's chief source of war supplies. A report on our trade with Japan and China prepared by the Department of Commerce shows a sharp increase in exports during October as compared with September and notes that this increase—from \$17,778,000 to \$26,195,000—was due "primarily to increased shipments of gasoline (other than aviation gasoline), refined and scrap copper, and metal-working machinery." It represented in other words, increased exports of basic war materials, and in at least one of these—metal-working machinery—we already have a serious shortage.

Machine tools represent one of the most serious bottle-

necks in the defense program, but we go on shipping them to Japan. In 1937 we sold Japan \$11,904,000 worth. In 1938 the amount rose to \$23,000,000, and in 1939 to \$26,000,000. For the first nine months of this year the figure was \$19,756,000, or \$132,000 more than for the first nine months of 1939. Although there is now supposed to be a virtual embargo on machine tools, sales of power-driven metal-working machinery totaled \$1,410,000 in October as compared with \$676,000 in September. Another defense bottleneck is in the supply of aluminum, and although shipments to Japan have fallen, we sold it 1,109,000 pounds in the first ten months of this year.

Our embargoes on aviation gas and scrap iron have easily been circumvented by increased Japanese purchases of ordinary gasoline and other petroleum products and of iron and steel in other forms. Japan's purchases of petroleum products during the first ten months of this year totaled almost \$38,000,000, or \$2,000,000 more than in the first ten months of 1939. In iron and steel, it got 148 tons of scrap in October as in September, but paid \$2,643,000 for it in October as against \$2,521,000 in September. This was only half as much scrap as the Japanese took from us in October a year ago, but they made up for the decrease by enormous increases in their purchases of certain types of steel. Their imports of iron and steel bars and rods rose from 47,000,000 pounds in the first ten months of last year to 227,000,000 pounds in the first ten months of this year. They took 5,614,000 pounds of iron and steel plates in the same period this year, as against 1,478,000 pounds last year. Exports to Japan of black steel sheets for the ten months rose from 75,000 pounds to 1,101,000 pounds. The rise in strips, hoops, and bands was from 10,000 pounds to 37,923,000 pounds. In tinplate the increase was from 359,000 pounds to 20,568,000 pounds. Japan's purchases of iron and steel forgings doubled. Yet we are having difficulty in filling defense orders for steel promptly, and an actual shortage of capacity is a possibility in the near future. Similar sharp increases are shown in Japanese purchases of copper, another basic war material.

We are spending billions to prepare ourselves for war. One of our possible enemies in that war is Japan, which has already bound itself to intervene in the Pacific if we become engaged in the Atlantic. The more war materials we sell to Japan, the higher their cost and the greater their scarcity at home, and the greater our need for them against a Japan we have ourselves strengthened. There are profits to be made in this process, coming and going—for our copper, steel, and oil barons. These gentlemen have entirely too "international" an outlook to suit us. How much longer is our government going to confront Japanese aggression with strong words—while winking at the profitable back-door business of supplying the weapons of that aggression?

Suez to Spain

IN ORDER to estimate the probable consequences of the Italian defeats in the North African and Mediterranean campaigns it is necessary to examine Italy's place in the grand strategy of the Axis and the reasons for its entry into active warfare against Britain. Undoubtedly the Italian dictator had imagined not only that Britain was likely to withdraw from the war but that this would throw the French empire in Africa into the market. Failing to obtain territories from Hitler under the armistice, he launched the Egyptian campaign in September, while Britain was still weak, without due consideration of the difficulties or even of the true nature of the war as it would be. By entering a struggle between a land and a sea power he drew upon himself the main weight of battle at the precise point, and the only point, where British sea power and land power could effectively support each other.

So much General Graziani rather bluntly hints in his recent report to Mussolini when he draws attention to the unsolved problem of supply, which in great measure halted his offensive. The difficulties arose from inability to safeguard communications between Italy and Libya. But having chosen to attack, without naval superiority, in an area in which Britain was bound to make a powerful counter-effort, Mussolini found himself left with no way of escape.

If Alexandria had been occupied and the British navy had lost its principal base, the Suez region—and this includes Egypt and the Sudan—would have fallen under Axis control. What this would have meant can be appreciated if it is recalled that the British colonization of the East African coast and hinterland proceeded apace after the construction of the Suez Canal. The Italian East African army would have become a vitalized force able to extend its operations to Kenya and Tanganyika and other regions. Even though the Axis powers do not, at present, possess administrative means for drawing the richest profit from Africa, the consequences for Europe would have been enormous. The rearrangement of trade routes, the opening up of new areas of economic support in Africa, combined with those of western Asia, where valuable supplies of oil are to be obtained, would necessarily have poured content into the New Order. The relief of distress and the means of purchasing additional support from Spain and the Balkan countries would have been within Hitler's power.

The sum total of the Italian effort has been both to weaken the right-wing Axis advance to the Suez (through the Balkans) and to shatter the left (in Egypt). For though the British were compelled to weaken their prepared offensive at Sidi Barrani in order to help their Greek allies, the Greek successes in themselves were of

great help in the grand strategical sense. The possession of Crete, neutralizing the Dodecanese bases to some extent, seals Britain's grip on the Mediterranean.

It is worth while glancing at the tactical facts of the North African battle. Despite Graziani's denial, his forces were surprised not only by the timing of the blow but by the quantity and quality of the mechanized equipment at General Wavell's disposal. The shortcomings of the Italian effort to adapt the system of defense in depth to open desert country were quickly revealed. Once the mechanized British spearhead had been thrust between the numerous but isolated strong points, the advance to Bardia resembled the unstringing of a chain of beads, each fort falling inevitably to an identical maneuver.

Again one sees that a total numerical superiority in a strategical area is useless if local superiority cannot be established. The British, in the sum inferior, were able to concentrate a greater number of troops at each isolated fort. There is nothing to indicate that this cannot be done as far as Tobruk and even Derna. The Italian high command, unless it risks battle against the British navy, will run great risks in strongly garrisoning those points, for, in the event of their fall, far too few troops would be left at the admittedly formidable base at Tripoli. The unstringing of the chain can therefore probably continue. By now the British command has taken measure of the qualitative inferiority of Italian material. This can hardly be rectified by Hitler, except in the air, for large convoys have little hope of reaching Libya. Even air support must be limited by the inadequate supplies on Libyan soil. It will be long before General Graziani can organize a counter-thrust, for the loss of 40,000 men, not including the 20,000 in Bardia, will have disorganized his entire army.

A power holding North Africa and possessing, at the same time, a secure foothold in the Balkan Peninsula can threaten southern Italy with a pincer movement. Thus if Greece can complete its triumph in Albania, and Britain obtain a firm hold on Libya, Mussolini will be menaced on his own soil. A good deal of ground must be covered before these conditions are fulfilled, but the threat has been made by Mr. Churchill; the plan, therefore, probably exists. Meanwhile the Italian high command is undoubtedly expecting a German counter-blow which will do something to reestablish the strategical balance. Where is this most likely to fall? In the Balkans? Perhaps, but the removal of the Italian threat to Egypt doubles the difficulties and dangers of a great flanking movement through Turkey and Syria. In Spain? Hitler may now force Franco to pay his political debt, but the Italian defeat will surely encourage Franco to try to stall a little longer. It would not be surprising, therefore, if the Axis, thwarted at the periphery of the empire, should swing back to the center and renew its efforts to stage a successful invasion of Britain.

Order of the Year

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

THE President's magnificent defiance of the dictators should serve as an intellectual catharsis for the nation. He expressed our inner feelings and resolved our doubts and told us plainly what we face. It was as if everything we had sensed darkly, even unconsciously, had suddenly emerged into the light of objective certainty. Now we feel, with a sort of self-satisfaction, that we knew it all the time. Perhaps we did. Because what we've got to do is, of course, very simple—not simple to do but simple to recognize. We've got to merge ourselves—as people, as institutions, as a nation—in the defense of freedom. We've got to prevent a fascist victory.

Of course we must also win a democratic victory; but that will come later. At present Hitler has the initiative; at present he is ahead. The job today is to keep the war going long enough to prevent him from winning. Then we can begin to talk about defeating him. The effort to prevent Hitler from winning is likely to take all our strength—and all of 1941—to accomplish.

So far we have scarcely tackled it, although the President spoke encouraging words about our industrial progress. We have sent Britain a few airplanes—1,500 or so—and other supplies. And we have started to create a defense of our own. But we have only begun to sense what lies ahead if Hitler is to be stopped. We still think, for example, that we can go on turning out as many automobiles for you and me as we did before the war and still build enough planes and tanks and other war machines for Britain, and Greece, and China, and our own defense program. Some of our biggest industrialists believe that. It is nonsense, and Mr. Roosevelt said as much. If we have all that capacity for producing automotive machines, we'd better double or treble the quantity put out for the purpose of fighting Hitler. It won't be too much or be ready too soon.

The fall of France taught Britain the meaning of totalitarian war. Up to that moment the English people coasted along about as we are doing today. They hoped for the best and, inexorably meeting the worst, kept stumbling over themselves in belated attempts to catch up. They didn't ever catch up. Denmark was occupied and Norway fell. And they were still arguing about why they had neither anticipated nor adequately countered the attack on Norway when the invasion of Holland began, and total catastrophe followed a few weeks of nightmare horror. Only then did Britain begin on all fronts to move into action. Only then did planning take the place of haphazard methods of production and procurement. Only then did Britain's effort to draw upon the vast potential—but wholly uncoordinated—resources of the United States become vigorous and partly effective.

Today our own failure to foresee and prepare constitutes Britain's greatest danger.

Are we going to continue to repeat the errors of the British? Are we going to pretend that we are free to choose whether we want convertible coupés or tanks, bathroom fixtures or turbines? Are we going to wait until England has gone down in disaster and then jerk into desperate action—with the whole burden of resisting Hitler left in our unready hands?

If the menacing nonsense talked by Senator Wheeler and the No Foreign War Committee and the America First Committee and the American Student Union were taken seriously by the Congress or the people, we should stand an excellent chance of doing just that. These people have adopted a trick which is of utmost value to Hitler. They try to center all discussion on the danger of our going into the war as a belligerent. By this tactic, relentlessly pursued, they drive even intelligent men—like William Allen White, who understands perfectly the need of multiplying and speeding and broadening our aid to England—into earnest denials that they want war. This shifts the argument and forfeits the ball to the isolationists—and to Hitler.

Most determined anti-fascists are also anti-interventionists, as the President himself is. They know that we are totally unprepared to wage active warfare against a distant enemy on land or sea or in the air. They fear that if we were to declare war, the psychological pressure to play a belligerent role would deflect our energies into strategically unwise activities. They think we can best accomplish the essential job of equipping ourselves and pouring arms into Britain if we remain technically at peace.

But most of these same people admit that in certain circumstances we may have to declare war. It may be necessary to send air and naval units to England to prevent British defeat. It is more likely that we shall have to convoy supply ships across the Atlantic, running the risk of Nazi attack. It is also possible that we shall never fully wake up to the necessity of a planned and intensified production of war supplies until we become a partner—*de jure* as well as *de facto*—in the struggle against fascism. And it is evident that the legal obstacles to full material aid may be hard to wipe out as long as we cling to our neutrality. But at the moment the odds favor non-belligerent support of Britain, and as Mr. Roosevelt insisted, the more generous and swift the support, the better the chance that it will continue to be non-belligerent. In any case the emphasis ought to be kept where it belongs. We cannot afford to let appeasers and isolationists, or Hitler himself, switch the discussion to the danger of possible American participation in the war. That isn't the point. The point is the defense of freedom. That, in sum, is what the President said, and on that point a majority of the American people are with him.

Brains for Defense

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 27

THE papers are full of stories about the shortage of aluminum. One aircraft plant has had to curtail its activity because of the shortage, and the curtailment has disclosed a situation that has become typical in the defense program. Familiar elements fall into a familiar pattern: a monopoly that has no interest in making aluminum plentiful; Defense Commission assurances that make pleasant headlines but prove to be disingenuous. Mr. Stettinius said we had enough ingot capacity in aluminum for the present and the near future. He failed to mention the shortage in finishing capacity. This is the bottleneck that is holding up work at the Northrop Aircraft Corporation and will soon hold up work at others. On this I propose to hang a story that came to me a few weeks ago. Last week from Washington and the week before from Detroit I wrote of idle machinery and idle man-power. This is about idle brains.

One way to end the bottleneck in aluminum, which is likely to become more serious, and at the same time to speed production of planes would be to develop a new, light stainless-steel alloy to replace the duraluminum now used so largely in planes. The advantage of duraluminum, a compound of aluminum and duralium, is its lightness. One disadvantage is the relative scarcity of aluminum. Another is the greater scarcity of duraluminum. A third lies in the character of duraluminum, which is not an easy alloy to handle. Stainless steel is much more malleable, and discovery of a stainless-steel alloy of sufficient lightness would make it easier to adapt existing stamping machinery to the job of fashioning plane parts. It would also make it easier to adapt existing skills to the new task.

The way to find that stainless-steel alloy would be to bring together every scrap of information bearing on the problem. No doubt a number of men in different plants are working on it. Other men in other laboratories in the course of other work have no doubt stumbled on facts which could contribute to the solution of this metallurgical puzzle. But we have no effective way to gather and correlate information buried in the files of scattered academic and industrial laboratories. Nor have we any effective way to break the problem down into its constituent elements and parcel these out among scientists with special backgrounds for these special problems. The world of science is a world full of duplicated effort and unused skills. Scientists learn what other scientists are doing from scientific publications, but these print only

a small part of the news on work accomplished and little on news in progress, and what they do print sees the light only after a long and tedious delay.

Last August the most courageous man in the President's Cabinet submitted a memorandum on this problem. It has never been published and I am not at liberty to publish it now, but it suggests the appointment of an office of scientific liaison. This office would establish a card-index system covering every scientist and every scientific laboratory in the country. The Civil Service Commission and the National Resources Planning Board are now taking a census of scientists, the Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel, but the card-index system proposed would go beyond that census. It would be a clearing house providing not merely general information on scientists and their specialties but concrete information about the problem on which each is working. It would seek to tap the huge files of unpublished papers in every college laboratory and industrial laboratory in the country, and to keep up to date on all work in progress. The idea is that when any problem comes up in connection with defense the office will be able immediately to correlate all the information available and to bring to bear the special experience of experts. The Germans, I am told, obtain continuous reports on work in progress from their scientific societies, and these societies aim to be and are all-inclusive rather than exclusive, as are so many of our own.

We have a National Academy of Sciences, established by Congress in 1863, a year after the battle of the Monitor and the Merrimac showed the military importance which could attach to a single technical advance. But the academy today is an honorary institution, and asking it to act on some minute but important technological problem is like asking the French Academy to prepare a snappy press release. I have before me a copy of its latest publication, Volume XXIII, Third Memoir. It is a monumental study called "Observations for Measurements of the Members of the National Academy of Sciences," and it contains such vital information as this, "Mustache, beard, hair of the body.—A proper study of the mustache and especially that of the beard was impossible, for more than one-half of the members of the academy wore no mustache and but a few wore a full beard." We have a National Research Council, established by the academy at President Wilson's request in 1916. It did good work in the last war and has some good men on it, but it has just been coming out of a long hibernation.

We have a National Defense Research Committee in the Defense Commission, and Charles F. Kettering, who is the outstanding genius of the automotive industry, heads a new National Inventors' Council in the Department of Commerce. But so far these bodies have produced little more than publicity. There are 100,000 people engaged in scientific work in this country. The memorandum to which I have referred estimates that only some 500 are in contact with these governmental scientific bodies.

The Administration memorandum originated in an idea that Dr. Lyman Chalkley was trying to put over in Washington all last year. Dr. Chalkley, now a lecturer on marketing at New York University, has a long background of experience as research chemist for Standard Oil of Indiana, industrial fellow of Bakelite Corporation, and assistant professor of industrial research at Penn State. For a time he had an office of his own in New York as an adviser in research planning for industrial corporations. Dr. Chalkley thinks we ought not only to know what all our scientists are doing but to help plan

and support their work. Most universities today lack funds for research and must depend on special grants. Judging from a recent statement by Frank Jewett, president of the academy and head of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, the government does not seem to be spending through the academy more than two or three hundred thousand dollars on special defense research, or about what one big soap company has been spending in trying to develop an "antiseptic" soap with which to play on the hypochondriac susceptibilities of the American consumer. England, too, had its honorary societies, its scientific stuffed shirts and yes men. If any reader is interested in learning how they fumbled the job of mobilizing Britain's scientific brains for defense, I recommend a little volume published by the Penguin Press in England a few months ago, "Science in War," a symposium by twenty-five anonymous scientists. It isn't on sale in this country, but it ought to be, for it indicates that the British made the same mistakes that we are making. I hope we shan't wait as long as they did to correct them.

The Choice for the Americas

BY LEWIS COREY

I. Imperialism or Cooperation

AS GERMANY multiplies its activities in Latin America and the "New Europe" begins to take shape, the need for hemisphere defense becomes increasingly clear. At the same time it becomes clear that this defense cannot be limited to military alliances and naval and air bases. Hitler wages social and economic as well as military war, and there is always the danger that economic pressures in Latin America may break open the floodgates of fascism. The basis of hemisphere defense must be economic cooperation. All this was recognized at the Havana conference. Although its economic decisions have been criticized as "disappointingly vague" they formulated the right problems and moved in the right directions: orderly action on surpluses, more industrialization and diversified production in Latin America, greater inter-American trade and consumption, increased economic self-sufficiency for the Americas. Bureaus have been set up in Washington and some steps taken to implement the conference's decisions; at the same time Latin Americans, aware that it is a two-way proposition, have swung into action to improve their economic relations and trade.

Yet economic cooperation lags. The ideas and the plans are there, but as the hard-headed enthusiasts in the bureaus will tell you, there is "not enough action," and

correspondents report that Latin America is still waiting to see how the United States implements the Havana decisions. Among the makers of policy there is a tendency to see cooperation too much in defense terms, although final success depends on the economic program. A master plan and swifter action are needed. For a revolution is going on in Europe that will permit neither piddling action nor a return to the old ways, no matter who wins. It is still in the balance whether hemisphere cooperation will be a magnificent achievement or a dismal flop.

Cooperation is endangered by open or concealed opposition in the United States and Latin America. All the Republican members of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee voted against the bill to grant \$500,000,000 to the Export-Import Bank to implement the Havana decisions; they said it was "futile, wasteful, unwise." Monopoly corporations with imperialist interests in Latin America either oppose cooperation or try to distort it to promote their own ends. Big business fears the increasing government economic activity without which fruitful cooperation is impossible. Appeasers do not want a policy that may disturb their dream world, where "we must learn to live with Hitler." In Latin America, too, there is opposition—most of it mistaken, some of it malicious. And everywhere, in all the Americas, Nazis and Communists, in their drive to make the world safe for totali-

tarianism, denounce hemisphere cooperation as "the mask of Yankee imperialism."

There are even some men of good-will who fear that cooperation may mean Yankee imperialism. Theirs is an honest fear, which totalitarian elements can exploit. Much has been done to allay it by the Good Neighbor policy, whose most recent expression was the withdrawal of the United States from control of the Dominican customs; more must and will be done. Many Latin American liberals, including some Socialists who forget what the Nazis do to socialism and unionism, neglect the Hitler agents working under their noses and cry, "No danger of Nazi invasion; Yankee imperialism is the danger." As I listen to the liberals and radicals in this country who cry "imperialism" I feel that in their view any Latin American policy of the United States *must* be imperialist. Yet if this were so, the United States should have gobbled up Latin America long ago; it should have sent troops into Mexico when Cárdenas expropriated the oil companies. That was not done. Why? Because there are alternatives to imperialism. Our economic relations with Latin America may become imperialist. But they *can* be democratic.

The significance of one fact should be considered—the fact that imperialists show no enthusiasm for the democratic economic cooperation that is now being shaped. Imperialists dislike the policy because it is the opposite of imperialism; appeasers and fascists dislike it because it means a struggle for democracy. An all-American program of democratic economic cooperation is part of the social war that democracy must wage against the totalitarian challenge.

The alternatives for Latin America are Nazi imperialist domination or cooperation with the United States. Latin America cannot go it alone. That is the Nazis' trump card when they urge "cooperation" with Germany and the "New World Order." Disunited, without the United States, it would be impossible for the twenty Latin American republics to resist the economic domination of a Nazi Europe. Not even the problem of surpluses would be solved. A Nazi Europe would strive to become more self-sufficient economically; a master industrial Germany would force a de-industrialized France and other vassal states to produce foodstuffs and would develop Africa as a source of the tropical products that Latin America exports. A Nazi Europe would use trade as a political weapon, imposing an economic bondage to "soften" Latin America for fascist bondage. For our neighbors in the south the economic cooperation of the Americas is the support of democracy.

Since the United States cannot and would not permit a Nazi Latin America, it must choose between democratic cooperation and imperialism. The United States cannot let Latin America alone. If Hitler wins, imperialist big business and the appeasers and fascists who now oppose

democratic cooperation will yell, "We must live in the same world with Hitler; let him have Europe, let Japan have Asia (where our economic stake is small and our trade could be diverted), let us take Latin America." A new and tougher imperialism might be inaugurated, based on a theory of "continental *Lebensraum*" and using the military power forged for national defense to strike down our southern neighbors. That would be bad for the neighbors and bad for us. The older financial imperialism is dying where it is not dead. It was sprawling and competitive; it cherished profits beyond political interests, allowed the development of liberal democratic forces that disintegrated imperialism. Fascist imperialism makes a political monopoly of imperialist power, revives the bloody colonialism of early capitalism, destroys all economic independence and freedom, and makes slave labor universal. Imperialism today can flourish only if it uses fascist techniques. American imperialism means American fascism.

Is democratic cooperation possible? It is. Arguments to the contrary are unrealistic and defeatist. An understanding of the nature of imperialism gives us the elements of a non-imperialist policy. Imperialism exploits backward countries, makes their economy disastrously dependent on the movements of the world market, and deprives them of economic independence. It overdevelops their production of foodstuffs and minerals for export. As a result they find themselves with a lopsided economy which rests on one or two crops or minerals—for example, coffee, sugar, rubber, oil. Naturally, terrific dislocations are experienced when there is a world crisis: prices fall, demand dries up, and purchasing power vanishes. Such dislocations are largely responsible for the economic prostration of Latin American nations. Imperialism discourages industrialization in the countries it controls; it wants no competition with home manufactures. It invests its capital primarily in the extractive industries and in transportation and public utilities that produce services, not goods. Of \$5,113,000,000 worth of foreign corporate securities floated in the United States up to 1929, only \$460,000,000 was for manufacturing enterprises; to come nearer home, three-quarters of the \$1,265,000,000 of American capital invested in Mexico ten years ago was invested in oil, mining, smelting, and railroads. A non-industrial country which produces raw materials and imports manufactures cannot resist imperialist penetration. Strategic industries come under foreign control and are used to promote imperialist profits, not local production and consumption. Wages, salaries, and purchasing power are kept low. Imperialism is feudalism in a capitalist form.

The exact opposites of the practices of imperialism provide the elements of a policy of economic cooperation. These are:

1. Economic diversification and balance—which means ending Latin American dependence on the production and export of one or two crops or minerals; limiting the output of foodstuffs and minerals to what the world market can reasonably absorb; emphasizing intensive industrialization.

2. National economic independence. This can be secured by the investment of foreign capital in Latin America on a functional basis and not for imperialist or political ends; by the encouragement of local manufactures whether or not they compete with foreign goods; by the investment of capital, through state cooperation and planning, in a form that leaves ownership and control within Latin America. The increase of Latin American purchasing power and consumption, not imperialist profits, must be regarded as the object of economic activity.

3. Encouragement of diversified reciprocal trade; the end of unequal trade in which a few highly industrial nations force their goods and terms on many agricultural nations.

4. The withdrawal of direct imperialist controls where they still exist.

It is interesting to note that most, not all, of the elements of a non-imperialist policy were embodied in the Havana decisions—their first acceptance by a great power like the United States.

Now this is not altruism, and it means more than hemisphere defense. A non-imperialist policy is as much in the interest of the people of the United States as in the interest of Latin America. An old-style bureaucrat said to me: "The United States is not the guarantor of the economic well-being of the Americas." That is true. But it misses the point, which is that cooperation for mutual well-being is the alternative to imperialism. Purchasing power and consumption are kept down by imperialist exploitation, by its restrictive practices, its low prices for colonial producers and high prices for industrial consumers, its high profits. If by following a non-imperialist policy we help the Latin American nations to obtain economic independence and balance by means of industrialization, they will be able to buy more goods from us and we shall be able to buy more from them. That means greater production and consumption, higher standards of living for all.

Industrialization is the heart of the problem. It is clear that Nazi domination of Latin America would discourage industrialization. The Nazis' policy is to deprive other peoples of industrial power, which is military power. If they plan to keep non-German nations in Europe as colonial agrarian dependents of a master industrial Germany they will not do the opposite in Latin America. Fascism reintegrates imperialism on a new basis—de-industrialization and totalitarian slavery for subject peoples. Its attitude was expressed in the plan to attack

Uruguay, which, according to that country's government, "contained measures tending to insure the functioning of our country as a German agricultural colony."

It is one of our advantages over the Nazis that the United States can encourage Latin American industrialization. Where there is no drive for imperial domination there is no need to destroy the industrial power of other peoples. Moreover, continental resources and great inner markets make it economically unnecessary for the United States to force exports upon colonial dependents. This fact is beginning to be recognized. I showed a Washington official the following words which appeared in the London *New Statesman and Nation*:

There is neither strategy nor tactics that will enable us to end this war as we began it, an easygoing island people living off the fruits of empire. *We must turn our restrictive monopoly economy into an expanding consumption economy, raise the purchasing power of raw-materials countries within and outside our empire, and by enriching the world as a whole lighten the burden of war on our people.*

The response was emphatic: "That's it. And if the British propose to do it while at war we can surely do it while at peace."

It can be done. It is the final answer to fascism. If the Nazis win the war, the colonial possessions of European nations must be taken over by the American nations. But that is not enough. The Latin American property of European nationals must be expropriated; upward of \$5,000,000,000 of investments in Latin America would give Hitler a tremendous power. And if Britain wins, the destruction of imperialist controls in Latin America must be part of the peace, of a new democratic world order in which "an expanding consumption economy" will be the unbreakable barrier to a resurgence of fascism.

A handful of imperialist monopoly corporations in this country are already on the job trying to impede and distort the democratic economic cooperation of the Americas by their influence over personnel and plans. To recognize their interests is to destroy cooperation. Everywhere in Latin America, from Mexico to Argentina, the governments are breaking imperialist controls in order to regain economic independence. The most recent illustration is the new Cuban constitution, in effect since October 10, which calls for a national bank to end the foreign banking monopoly (Canadian and United States) and for measures "to cause the land to revert to Cuban ownership" and to break up the large estates owned mainly by United States sugar companies. Imperialist corporations will resist; they will impose boycotts and spread slanderous tales. Mexico was branded as fascist when it was forced by the boycott of United States and British corporations to sell oil to Italy, Germany, and Japan. Nothing is better calculated to destroy economic cooperation than government protection of plundering

corporations that got their properties for very little in the first place and have already made immense profits on their investment. Nothing is better calculated to further the Nazis' game; while monopoly oil corporations carried on a boycott against Bolivia the Nazis proposed to barter Bolivian tin for German equipment and technicians to make more efficient the expropriated oil industry. Cooperation must not be conditional on the settlement of Latin American debts; the money that would pay the interest should be used to promote the industry and trade of the Americas.

The larger implications of hemisphere defense and cooperation fit into the economic needs of the Americas and the trend of the times. That trend is toward greater economic unity and self-sufficiency of regions and continents. Hitler did not create the trend but he exploits it. If the Nazis win they will impose an oppressive economic unity in the form of a totalitarian "federation" of Europe; if Britain wins there must be a free federation, the democratic United States of Europe, or else chaos will come and a resurgence of fascism. The war is transforming the old economic order; there is no going back; the choice is totalitarian or democratic transformation. Those who see in Hitlerism merely "a danger to international free competition and natural price levels"

are dead wrong, for those conditions were already being destroyed by monopoly capitalism and imperialism. The world moves toward greater economic unity; cooperative planning and action are needed to create an expanding consumption economy that is the opposite of imperialism or fascism.

Already Latin Americans use the words "a continental economy by means of continental economic agreements." Within the larger continental unity there should be regional cooperation and agreements between groups of Latin American nations and among those nations singly, integrated by cooperation and agreements with the United States. That would mean a mutually complementary American economy that fully used all its resources, in which no part exploited the other parts and all gained from democratic cooperation. Out of that should arise an American League of Nations for continuing discussion of economic, military, political, and cultural problems. Such an American League would have a strength that the world League did not have—a strength derived from an economic program drawing the member nations together in cooperative action.

[*This is the first of two articles. In an early issue Mr. Corey will discuss concrete economic measures of cooperation.*]

Labor's Catholic Bloc

BY RICHARD H. ROVERE

ONE day in the spring of 1937 salesgirl strikers trudging up and down in front of the F. W. Woolworth store on Union Square were joined by some outsiders who bore a banner with a strange device—a placard inscribed with a quotation from the Quadragesimo Anno encyclical of Pope Pius XI. The newcomers were not Communists from the nearby American Kremlin seeking to prove that the Holy See, like Daniel Boone, belonged to them, but members of a small band of Roman Catholic unionists and labor sympathizers who had just formed the first national organization of Catholic workers in America. The demonstration of sympathy with the Woolworth girls was their first official act. Today, after almost four years of rapid growth, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists is in the labor movement with all the energy and self-assurance the Roman faith can call up in its adherents, and the organization has taken its place as one of the most considerable of labor's pressure groups. Since its aim is to win all Catholic wage-earners for unionism and all Catholic unionists for the A. C. T. U., labor leaders—some encouraged, some deeply disturbed—are watching it closely.

The A. C. T. U. is not, for the present at least, an effort to set up autonomous and exclusive unions for Catholic workingmen on the European or Canadian model. Indeed, most of its leaders go out of their way to assert that such a development, so often anticipated and feared by non-Catholics, has no part in their plans. It is an organization of Catholic members of all bona fide unions in America except the Workers' Alliance, which the church considers too hopelessly dominated by Communists for Catholics to join.

The mandate for the existence of the A. C. T. U., its leaders say, springs from the present state of capitalist society and from the social strictures of church doctrine, particularly as expressed in the political encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI. Leo, it will be remembered, set down in the famous *Rerum Novarum* the right of Catholic workers to organize into unions and urged that, wherever it was feasible, strictly Catholic unions be formed. The late Pius XI, in the *Quadragesimo Anno*, written for the fortieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum* in 1931, said that in "neutral" countries like the United States Catholics should join the secular labor organizations, but that

"... side by side with these trade unions, there must always be associations which aim at giving the members a thorough religious and moral training, that these in turn may impart to the labor unions to which they belong the upright spirit which should direct their entire conduct." These words were the direct inspiration of the A. C. T. U.

In its present form, therefore, the A. C. T. U. parallels the structure of A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions, in which it has a strong representation. There is a pyramid of organizations, and there are national committees in which general principles and strategy are determined. Each large industrial city has its own branch. By far the major portion of the members' activity, however, is in the union locals to which they belong. Operating in the manner which has proved so effective for the Communists in achieving power in the labor movement, a similarity which it admits is intentional, the A. C. T. U. seeks favor for its principles first of all by making itself useful to the union and its members. Realizing that the Communists win a following because they are energetic and self-sacrificing participants in day-to-day labor struggles, the Catholics are following suit.

Needless to say, they are a group well equipped to do so. They man picket lines, set up soup kitchens and strike-relief agencies, solicit moral and financial support from their priests and their laity. Catholic lawyers, who together with priests are the only non-union members of the A. C. T. U., maintain the Catholic Workers' Defense League, which defends wronged workers with far less religious and political partiality than the Communists' International Labor Defense, of which it is an obvious imitation. With these activities as tokens of good-will, the Catholics look to their own interests. The "fraction" supports or opposes union administrations on the basis of compatibility with A. C. T. U. principles, secures Catholic priests as speakers and chaplains for union meetings, proselytizes for both the church and its own organization. A national organ, the *Labor Leader*, is published bi-weekly in several sectional editions. In many unions A. C. T. U. members get out "shop papers." More than a dozen A. C. T. U. schools, training members in the arts of parliamentary procedure and labor leadership, have been set up throughout the country.

The policies which the A. C. T. U. fosters in the labor movement are familiar enough to those who have followed the more progressive wing of the church in larger political arenas. Roughly, its position is that of the liberal Catholic weekly, the *Commonweal*, one of whose editors was among the founders of the A. C. T. U. Although it has on occasion made common cause with radicals of all persuasions, it is basically opposed to Marxism. Most of its fire is reserved for the Stalinists, but it makes slight distinction between them and groups that are not so far left, like the Social Demo-

cratic Federation. It is against all manifestations of Coughlinism, though it fights these with somewhat less vigor and attention than it musters against communism. Opposition to racketeering extends to Catholic racketeers like Joe Ryan of the New York longshoremen and the many Catholic leaders in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. As yet, it has taken no sides on conscription, war, or the issues of the national Presidential campaign. It puts the most radical interpretations possible on the papal decrees, presenting them, in effect, as an expression of the medievalist guild socialism that so many of the Catholic intelligentsia have espoused. Some may point out that the majority of Catholics have a different view of the encyclicals, but A. C. T. U. leaders will answer that this is only because many Catholics, particularly the property-owning laity, have become unfortunately "Protestantized" in their social thought.

The precise strength of the A. C. T. U. is not easy to estimate. Its mass membership is less than 10,000, but like other such organizations its strength does not flow from its numbers. More effort is directed toward training leaders and extending hegemony over approximately four million Catholics in the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. than toward winning dues-paying members. Most important, of all, the A. C. T. U. has members and friends in high places. Philip Murray, new head of the C. I. O., is a practicing Catholic, and, whether or not he is a member of the A. C. T. U., he has frequently collaborated with it and praised its work. Thomas Kennedy and John Brophy of the United Mine Workers, Van A. Bittner and David MacDonald of the steel union, Thomas Burns of the United Rubber Workers, R. J. Thomas and George Addes of the United Automobile Workers are all either members or close friends of the organization. The head of the New York chapter is George R. Donahue, general manager of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees and one of the most intelligent and farsighted young labor leaders in the city. Harry Read, who led the American Newspaper Guild strike against Hearst, is president of the Chicago chapter. The Rev. John P. Boland, chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board, is an enthusiastic member of the A. C. T. U. and teaches regularly at one of its four schools in New York.

The work that the A. C. T. U. has done thus far in the labor movement is, on the whole, commendable from almost any point of view. At a critical period it showed labor that organized Catholics could work for ends other than those of Father Coughlin. It has become an increasingly valuable ally in combating racketeering in the A. F. of L. Although it is obvious that it does not speak for the whole church on industrial relations, it has made what is by far its most valuable contribution in lining up behind labor sections of the church previously antagonistic or non-committal. Perhaps the best example of this was in the auto workers' strike against Chrysler Motors

late in 1937, a few months after the A. C. T. U. was founded. For a while, owing to serious tactical blunders on the part of union leaders, the strike lagged, and it seemed that, if Chrysler won, the U. A. W. A. would lose most of the gains it had made in the preceding months. At the lowest point the A. C. T. U. leaders conferred with Archbishop Mooney and members of the Michigan hierarchy. A few days later the *Michigan Catholic*, diocesan organ, came out with an editorial that blasted Chrysler and praised the C. I. O. organizing effort. The A. C. T. U. got busy and spread the message to Catholics throughout the automobile center. A meeting was held in Cadillac Square at which Catholic workers were exhorted to pitch in and help win the strike. The strike was won, and there was little doubt in the minds of most observers that credit for reversing the trend belonged to the Catholic unionists. The stock of the A. C. T. U. shot up.

Despite the fact that its sincerity is generally respected and its good work appreciated, there is, I have found, a good deal of uneasiness and suspicion of the Catholic excursion into unionism in the minds of many labor leaders. Some of this, to be sure, is not unrelated to the kind of Know-Nothing prejudice that has long worked unjustly against Catholics in national politics, but behind much of it there are more deep-seated and reasoned doubts. Religious splits have contributed to the ruin of whole labor movements in other countries, and the A. C. T. U., although it is not a dual union, is the first

large-scale attempt to set up a religious grouping within the national labor organizations. The introduction of any religious issues divides authority and always brings a reaction among partisans of other faiths. Already there is talk in many Protestant circles of combating the influence of Rome with an Association of Protestant Trade Unionists. In such a case, the United Hebrew Trades, which never extended beyond strictly Jewish neighborhoods and has been dormant for years, might be revived. Such division would bring subdivision and the result might well be unions built along religious lines and the virtual Europeanization of the American labor movement.

There is another distressing aspect to the problem. The A. C. T. U., as has been noted, resembles the Communists in the methods it uses to win support among the workers. But the resemblance goes much deeper. Catholics, like Communists, are often controlled by forces beyond the vision of most Americans; Rome, like Moscow, has its own interests, and although its political control over its followers is less absolute than Moscow's, it is always difficult to tell which way it plans to jump, particularly in the midst of a world in crisis. Moreover, the approach of both Catholics and Communists to the labor movement is millennial. While most labor leaders look to the here and now or to a plainly visible future in determining strategy, Catholics and Communists look to goals far in the distance, and the ends of both are so grandiose that almost any means seem justified for their attainment.



WATER JUMP MIRAGE

Communist maneuvers in the labor movement are well known, but the fact is that the A. C. T. U. has on occasion made alliances no less cynical, sometimes with the Communists themselves.

In the New York Newspaper Guild, for example, A. C. T. U. members work both sides of the street and some of the corners. About a year ago some of the Catholic leaders negotiated with the opposition group known as the Guild progressives, which consists of Socialists, Social Democrats, and independents who believe that Communists dominate and discredit the Guild leadership. The A. C. T. U. joined this opposition movement, but no sooner was it in than it set up a caucus of its own to maintain contact with some A. C. T. U. members on the other side of the fence and to advance the A. C. T. U. within the opposition. Thus the A. C. T. U. cooperated with the opposition against the non-Catholics in the administration and with the Catholics in the administration against the opposition. When the ballots were counted at the Memphis convention of the Guild last spring, the opposition found that its Catholic sup-

port had practically disappeared, most of it going to fellow-Catholics on both sides.

It would not be fair to suggest that the experience of the Guild is universal. In a large local of the Building Service Employees' International in New York, Catholics moved into the opposition and pushed through a reform slate of six, only two of whom were Catholics. Many of the leaders are aware of the dynamite in a religious quarrel. Nevertheless, the tendency to divide along religious lines is always present among zealous members.

Whatever irritations the A. C. T. U. may cause in the labor movement, its continuance and growth are inevitable. The Catholic church seems to have cast off its almost absolute hostility to unionism that marked the period of the Knights of Labor and the early days of the A. F. of L. After all, the church in America is not a large owner of productive property, and its revenue depends to a great extent on the maintenance of high wages for its working-class membership. If the A. C. T. U. can work as a friendly liaison agent between the church and the unions, the alliance will have its value.

Negroes and Defense

BY METZ T. P. LOCHARD

THE attitude of the Negro toward national defense and the European war must be examined in the light of a growing, subtle nationalism that conditions the thought-process of the leadership of America's thirteen million blacks. Unable to integrate himself fully into the social and economic pattern of American culture, the Negro has attempted to formulate a doctrine of separatism as a rational escape from the rigors of race prejudice and discrimination. The very nature of the social situation has forced him into acceptance of the fallacy that his people are a "nation within a nation." This may explain why the strident cry for national preparedness leaves him unresponsive; he fears that he may be unable to exact appreciable guaranties from the national government as a condition for his support. His habitual emotionalism is conspicuously restrained in the midst of a contagious war hysteria.

The Negro is nevertheless fully aware of the dangers that threaten democracy, and he is not disposed to minimize the gravity of the circumstances that call for defense and unity as measures of national security. Isolationist propaganda has had no effect on him. He believes in some form of intervention in the European war as an inescapable alternative to actual engagement. Aid to Britain is conceived to be a necessary expedient in the present emergency, though the Negro nurses no in-

born love for England. The unmitigated exploitation of black labor in the Crown colonies in Africa, the suppression of fundamental political rights in the West Indies, the refusal of the Secretary for the Colonies to place before the British Parliament the aspirations of the natives of West Africa with respect to universal education, political suffrage, and abolition of child labor—these and many other instances of rapacity and imperialism have not endeared Britain to the hearts of black men. Realizing, however, that the fall of England, in this crisis, cannot but foreshadow a total eclipse of democracy and of representative government, the Negro is willing to cast aside his traditional Anglophobia.

More than any other racial minority, Negroes have a stake in democracy. Under a system in which they could not exercise the power of the ballot they would lose every vestige of human rights. Certainly they could cherish no hope in a fascist society that relegated them to the status of "auxiliary" or "subhuman" race, as Hitler puts it in "Mein Kampf." The Italian invasion of peaceful Ethiopia and the ruthless dismemberment of that last independent African kingdom in 1935, the recent expulsion of all people of African descent from German-occupied France, the Nazis' destruction of all French monuments to black soldiers as "insults to the dignity of the white race" have thoroughly awakened

the Negro masses to the dangers of fascism. While the absorption of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium excited little emotional feeling among American Negroes, the invasion of France brought quite a different reaction. For France, with its historic declaration of the Rights of Men, with its traditional liberalism and racial tolerance was, in the sight of all black men, the living symbol of democracy.

The Negro sees in the conflict between fascism and democracy a serious challenge to those political principles through which he has been hoisted out of chattel slavery and through which true social justice may eventually be attained in America. He recognizes, therefore, that the present emergency imposes upon his race the necessity of retreating from the untenable position of a "nation within a nation." But if he is willing to forgo the defensive attitude into which he has been forced, he does so in order to secure a more equitable participation in the affairs of this republic. The determination not to surrender his democratic rights even under the stress of a national emergency is based upon past experience.

In October, 1918, a month before the signing of the Armistice, the War Department sent Dr. Robert R. Moton—the late principal of Tuskegee Institute—to France to advise Negro soldiers who had had a glimpse of real democracy not to press the government upon their return for extension of hard-earned democratic rights. In fact, Secretary Baker informed Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, then editor of the *Crisis*, "We are not trying by this war to settle the Negro problem."

The Negro problem is a major problem of American democracy. If the black man is called upon to defend this democracy, he has a legitimate claim to those rights which are guaranteed by the fundamental laws of the form of political government which he is urged to protect. If this be an incorrect view, the Negro has no reason, except human compassion, to be exercised about a war fought by white folk, for the exclusive benefit and glorification of white folk. He should be given the unconditional choice between fighting as a slave for the perpetuity of a nefarious system and fighting as a free man for free institutions.

In 1917 the War Department, after tenaciously refusing to train Negro officers in established military centers, finally provided, upon the plea of Joel Spingarn, chairman of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a Jim Crow officers' training camp at Des Moines, Iowa. The man eminently qualified to head this camp was Charles Young, a black man, then lieutenant colonel in the regular United States army. He had a splendid army record. He had accompanied General Pershing in the Mexican foray and received high commendation from the man who later became commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Force. He was in good health, and only

forty-nine years of age. In the accelerated scheme of war-time promotion he would have attained the rank of a general in the army by 1918. But a black general in the United States army was too much of a nightmare for the brass hats in Washington.

The Des Moines camp was established in May. When Young came up in June for examination for promotion to a colonelcy, the medical board retired him for "high blood pressure." An entire corps of white officers was appointed to train the colored cadets.

Fear of a repetition of a chain of ugly incidents led recently to a White House conference at which Walter White, secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and T. Arnold Hill of the National Youth Administration submitted a seven-point memorandum to President Roosevelt. This memorandum urged that Negroes be used as reserve officers and that the same training opportunities be given to Negroes as to others. It requested that existing units of the army be required to accept officers and enlisted personnel on the basis of ability instead of race or color. It asked for the abolition of racial discrimination in the navy and recommended the appointment of competent Negro civilians as assistants to the Secretaries of War and the Navy. Some of these requests have been granted, but in the main the War and Navy departments are still clinging to their policy of discrimination—a policy based on traditions of caste and social life in a professional army and navy.

In the hope of lifting his status beyond the limitations of a theoretical citizenship, the Negro has made sacrificial offerings in every major struggle in which this nation has been engaged. Four thousand Negro soldiers served with the Continental army during the American Revolution. Andrew Jackson had no compunction about mobilizing black men in the War of 1812. He said in his proclamation to them, "Through a mistaken policy you have heretofore been deprived of participation in the glorious struggle for national rights in which your country is engaged. This no longer shall exist. As sons of freedom you are now called upon to defend your most inestimable blessing." Some 178,000 Negroes served in the Civil War. Black troops acquitted themselves creditably at Las Sussinas, El Caney, and San Juan Hill in the Spanish-American War. Of the 400,000 Negro soldiers mobilized for action during the first World War, 40,000 were on the firing line.

Despite this impressive record, black men are still discriminated against in the caste-ridden United States army. Not a single Negro officer is on duty with regular-army troops. Not a single Negro reserve officer is serving in the regular army. Under the Thomason Act Congress this year made provision in its regular appropriation for training 650 reserve officers, drawn from schools and

colleges, with units of the regular army. Howard University in Washington, D. C., and Wilberforce University in Ohio are two Negro institutions with senior ROTC units. The War Department has completely ignored them.

The only Negro troops in the United States army with full combat status are in the Twenty-fifth Infantry. The Twenty-fourth Infantry and the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry, which have distinguished themselves in many engagements, are serving in training schools as laborers and personal servants. At present, of the total strength of 229,636 officers and enlisted men only 4,451 are Negroes. There are fewer Negro troops in the National Guard today than there were on the eve of the first World War. The first separate Negro battalion of the 372d Infantry, assigned to the District of Columbia, is kept on a skeleton basis with only Company A mustered in and that company denied the facilities of training and housing. Companies in Tennessee and Connecticut have been dissolved. The Negro citizens of West Virginia have been attempting to form a National Guard regiment in their state but have had, so far, no success. In the case of an established battalion in New Jersey, the War Department has flatly refused to grant it federal status.

According to General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, the National Guard has a shortage of men. Yet the army refused to take additional Negro units, which could have been inducted into the service in the new categories required in the program of expansion. All these facts and figures were presented recently to the House Subcommit-

tee on Military Affairs by two eminent Negro scholars—Dr. Rayford Logan, of the Department of History of Howard University, and Dr. Charles Houston, former dean of the Howard Law School.

On June 5, 1939, the Secretary of War, testifying before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, stated that the War Department was studying ways to provide training for Negro pilots. As yet no Negro is being trained for service in the army air corps as either a flying cadet or an enlisted mechanic. The Secretary of War designated a school at Glenfield, Illinois, but the War Department has refused to accept Negroes in that corps. On October 11, Garland F. Pinkston, a Negro, received the following letter signed by Herbert M. West, Jr., First Lieutenant, United States Air Corps, Recorder:

Dear Sir: Through the most unfortunate circumstances, your application was allowed to be completed because of our ignorance of your race. At the present time the United States Army is not training any except members of the white race for duty as pilots of military aircraft.

Thirteen million Negroes, representing a vast reservoir of possible war material, are being ignored and in some instances openly humiliated. It is therefore not surprising that Negro citizens are without enthusiasm for national defense. They can have no faith in the leadership of an army or a navy that denies them the right to serve their country on an equal footing with other citizens.

On "The Duty of the Emigré"

[The interest and controversy aroused by J. Alvarez del Vayo's recent article on the role of the political émigré in America led the editors of The Nation to invite opinions from a number of leading European anti-fascists living in this country. The comments which follow offer a fairly representative cross-section of nationalities and points of view. Count Carlo Sforza, former Foreign Minister of Italy, who was also asked to contribute, expressed his interest and promised to write a brief article on the same general subject for an early issue.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

PIERRE COT

Air Minister in several French Cabinets, including the Popular Front government of Léon Blum

ALVAREZ DEL VAYO has issued a call to all those who have emigrated from Europe to the United States and are anxious to continue the fight against fascism (*The Nation*, December 14). In the name of the French democrats who have remained faithful to the spirit of the French Revolution, I declare myself in complete accord with him. But I want to

make clear the conditions that must govern common action on the part of the anti-fascist émigrés.

First, we are political refugees benefiting from the hospitality of the United States. This obliges us never to do anything which might in any way interfere with the actions of the United States. This requires us to abstain from all intervention in the internal politics of the United States and from any act which might be inopportune or dangerous to the government of the United States. Second, we have left a very extensive field of action. We know the means employed by fascist propaganda to tear apart the moral unity of the democracies; we can enable America to profit from our experience. Third, certain anti-fascist émigrés belong to nations whose prestige has remained great in Latin America. It is their duty to use this influence to denounce everywhere Hitler and Mussolini as enemies of civilization and of the liberty of peoples. Fourth, by our knowledge of the European political personnel we can contribute to the enlightenment of American public opinion and prevent the creation of certain legends. For quite a while English and American "appeasers" believed

that it was possible to separate Mussolini and Franco from Hitler. They made this same error with respect to Pétain and Weygand. Our duty is to explain to them why their attitude is erroneous.

America must know that the immense majority of the French people remain faithful to the ideals of the French Revolution. The policy of Marshal Pétain, who dishonored himself in giving up political refugees to Hitler and to Franco, will create the same popular reaction that was aroused by the policy of Louis Philippe, the policy of Napoleon III, or that of Marshal MacMahon. The only difficulty is to know what form this reaction will take. France will not get rid of Pétain in order to accept another dictatorship and to follow another reactionary and conservative policy. French conservatives are largely behind Pétain on account of their hatred of democracy and socialism. But the conservatives are a minority which is every day being more thoroughly discredited by their acts. With the fall of Hitler the Pétain regime will disappear. And it will disappear through the uprising of popular forces. To reason otherwise would be to ignore both the history of France and the social—perhaps revolutionary—character of the present European conflict. This is the kind of information that a French democrat, knowing French politics and measuring the strength and the weakness of fascism in Europe, can contribute to the American public.

But let us come back to Del Vayo's proposition. I am for it in that it can help me to pay my debt to American democracy, which is as interested in the defeat of fascism as is French democracy.

HANS KOHN

Professor of European history at Smith College and author of "Revolution and Dictatorships" and "Not by Arms Alone"

I THINK that Mr. Del Vayo's suggestion of a union of all anti-fascist forces in a single fighting front is of the utmost timeliness and importance. It is most regrettable that at a time when fascist forces are strongly united and are cooperating, in spite of some divergences of interest and theory, in what is to them the one fundamental task—the world-wide liquidation of democracy—anti-fascist forces should be divided by differences of interest and theory which are entirely secondary to their one main task, the defeat of fascism. The triumph of fascism has been and will be secured by the inability of the democracies, and of the different groups within each democratic movement, to cooperate and to relegate their differences of interest and ideology for the time being to the background.

NORMAN ANGELL

British economist; author of "America's Dilemma" and co-author of "You and the Refugee"

DEL VAYO'S article makes it clear that the Allies have hardly begun to learn the use of that non-military weapon which Hitler has used with such amazing success, without which, indeed, he could never have succeeded in his military effort. That weapon is, of course, the manipulation of political opinion among his enemies—the manipulation of opinions, differences, rivalries, internal hostilities in such a way that military forces built up for the purpose of resisting him are handed over to him for the promotion of his own ends. By playing upon the cupidities, fears, personal resentments,

passions, retaliations of 10 per cent, or less, of the French people he has been able to use the resources of France to enslave the French. But while he can use 10 per cent of the people for the enslavement of the whole, we seem to be quite unable to use the 90 per cent for the purpose of their own liberation. The truth is that we have been blindly skeptical about the possibilities of this weapon; we have not shown in its use an energy, patience, persistence, skill, or ingenuity at all comparable to that of the Nazis.

Does not the present situation of Italy, for instance, suggest opportunities which Hitler would have known how to use? The Italian people know full well that if they call for German aid, it is the end of Italian independence; Italy becomes a German province. Defeat by Britain would not make Italy a British province. The situation, therefore, is that the Italian people would, in fact, far rather be conquered by their enemy than aided by their ally. And already in Spain the threat of German invasion is drawing together Spaniards who yesterday were bitter enemies. Hitler would have known how to use such a situation. Do we?

BJARNE BRAATØY

Norwegian author and journalist; member of the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Commission in the United States

DEL VAYO'S proposal for a "sort of Central Council of the Emigration" is attractive. But his article raised more questions than it answered. He apparently sees the council as a political organ. In that case the problem of representation alone becomes nearly insoluble, even if he excludes those nations whose governments continue to be recognized by the United States although their countries have been overrun. The political authority of such a council would be doubtful in the extreme, whatever the past record of its members.

The duty of the émigré is to justify himself with reference to the problems of the present and the future. A Central Council of the Emigration might provide him with the opportunity if it would take example from the efforts of certain American organizations, such as the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, the Council on Foreign Relations, the American Committee on International Studies, the American Committee on European Reconstruction. For some time past they have been actively considering the problems of relief, reconstruction, and the "new world order." The vexatious problems of representation and political authority would be avoided if the émigrés would similarly pool their undeniable resources in knowledge and experience of the many countries concerned. By doing so they would be playing a perhaps more modest role, but might in the end contribute more to the struggle against fascism than by giving advice to men whose past record may, indeed, include a "Munich" but who are actually fighting this war.

PAUL HAGEN

Representative of the German anti-Nazi political movement "Neu Beginnen"

A COUNCIL of the current European emigration in America could be very useful if it limited its activity to specific tasks—namely, coordination of rescue work, coordination of information, encouragement of victims inside occupied territories, and a certain amount of preparation of future

plans. A council of émigrés planning to rectify the "margin of errors" of larger forces and to lead Europe to revolution—"the people who today are living under Hitler's terror must be led to revolt against his intolerable despotism"—would be utopian.

The reason that we do not have such a council already is not found in emigrant jealousies, timidity in presenting "courageous visions," or the like. Such and other shortcomings of the émigré are not the cause but the product of his difficulties. Like previous emigrations, we who have come from Hitler's Europe represent the tradition of our defeats, the immaturity of the movements to which we belonged, more than the potentiality of future victories. Our chance to participate in future victories depends very little on ourselves. The key which will close the door on appeasement and open it to the kind of political warfare which might still hinder a Nazi victory is not in our hands, not even in the hands of the exiled governments. It is in the hands of the British and their American reserve. Whether there shall be democratic revolutions in Europe after the war depends on the Labor Party, on Churchill, and on the United States.

Independent revolutionary movements existed during the last war, but in the present world situation such movements can be developed only after a victory over the totalitarian machines. Therefore the independent preparation of such movements by any center operating from Britain, America, or elsewhere is today a different job from what it was in the last war. Success is dependent on a British victory, and inspiring "visions" or positive criticism will be spoken in the air if they do not have the strength to convince the British first.

MAX ASCOLI

Dean of the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research; formerly on the faculty of several Italian universities

OF COURSE I agree with Del Vayo's article on The Duty of the Emigré and with his proposal for a Central Council of the European Emigration. The article was more than timely; it was overdue. The idea has been milling for months in the heads of a number of people, and once we have contributed our reactions and qualifications to Del Vayo's proposal, we should start working.

Incidentally, I must say that I hate the word "émigré." It has a distinct taste of Coblenz, of people who cling desperately to habits and ways of thinking belonging to a past that is hopelessly gone. Exile, I think, is a much better word, and I think that the first duty of the exiles is exactly that of not being émigrés. All of us who have been uprooted from our countries because of our political beliefs should first of all search with all possible energy for the causes that brought us to defeat. In this country we have now the representatives of every oppressed European nation and of every disbanded European political group. If we exiles do not profit from the opportunity offered by American democracy for discovering, each one for himself, the narrowness of the European nationalisms, the dogmatism and the petty shrewdness of European democratic politics, then I think we have a very poor future ahead of us—the future of men who are useless to the land they came from and to the country that gives them a chance to start life over again.

This is the reason that Del Vayo's proposal is so good. But in joining forces the representatives of the various European political and national groups should realize that it is up to them to give shape to the first nucleus of a renewed, united Europe, and to set the example for it. The Central Council of the Emigration must accomplish a work of European statesmanship—if it does not want to be an association of shipwrecked intellectuals and politicians.

I am sure Del Vayo realizes that the best way of informing and influencing American public opinion is by showing the American people that Europe is not an eternal, hopeless mess and that a new order can be envisaged and prepared for Europe by men who have found new homes in the United States. Those of the exiles who have already become American citizens can best prove their loyalty to American democracy by working for a new, united, and democratic Europe.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Hungarian criminologist; lecturer at the New School for Social Research

COMMON SENSE and plain logic are powerful seconders of Mr. Del Vayo's praiseworthy motion calling upon the émigrés to participate in the struggle against fascism. It is the duty of its victims to fight against a movement which offers no other alternative but extermination or submission to a brainless and soulless tyranny. Tolerance and protection of civil liberties are the strongest ramparts of any democracy. When this precious American inheritance is at stake the refugee must not remain a bystander watching complacently how others bear the brunt of the attack. The least that may be expected from any refugee is an offer to render voluntary service in the sixth column that must be organized to make the fifth innocuous.

All this, however, presupposes that the American authorities at last discriminate between refugees who just want to save their skin after fascism has put a spoke in their wheel and those others who, like Mr. Del Vayo himself, fought for democracy in Europe until it became impossible to continue the battle. I don't think that the majority of Americans would disdain the assistance even of aliens in the defense of American ideals. What we can offer them is our experience of how it happened over there. Thank God, there are not many who want it to happen here.

FRANZ HOELLERING

Former Austrian journalist; author of "The Defenders"

WITH his proposal of a "sort of Central Council for the Emigration" Mr. Del Vayo touched upon a vital problem of many facets. Its positive solution might well influence what will follow after the war. Surely it would be a great thing if the émigrés could present a sound idea of the Europe to come and demonstrate by action that their program is no mere Utopia. So far, alas, they have given few signs of being able to organize themselves in a political sense. The fact of being against Hitler does not even unite nations at war with Hitler, as we have seen.

Mr. Del Vayo speaks of a program of action that will "lay the basis for the new United States of Europe." What does this mean exactly? I hope his appeal will be widely discussed and thus clarified. Once concrete, convincing, and practical

ideas are put forward, then an effective organization of the emigration will follow swiftly. To tackle the job the other way around would be a serious and retarding mistake.

KONRAD HEIDEN

Formerly on the staff of the Frankfurter Zeitung; author of "Hitler," a biography

APPEALS for union are usually a symptom of helplessness. Unfortunately this is true also for the article by Alvarez del Vayo. Union for what? Del Vayo did not say, urging merely a "union against"—against Hitler. This is a well-known trouble, this perpetual negation; it is painfully visible in the term "anti-fascist." Positive goals, above and beyond anti-fascism, are today the prerequisite of any discussion.

Such goals, however, cannot be reached through a vague "union." Del Vayo made this clear, if unwittingly. He formulated no program; indeed, he could not. Any serious outline for a program would immediately arouse violent quarrels, thus proving the irreconcilability of those differences which he wishes to compose. And that is right. For these differences are not the evil force they are usually supposed to be. They represent life. All emigrations are made up of varying national units with their contrasting interests and ideals. A totalitarian dictatorship does not drive one single party into opposition but the nation as a whole. Thus sooner or later a total opposition is created, and this opposition cannot be "united"; it must be heterogeneous. If this opposition is alive it embodies various fighting forces. The successful emigrations of former times showed the deepest schisms, and these endured for the most part to the eve of victory and even beyond it—just because the emigration contained genuine forces. The force which has the greatest future will come through and stifle the others. It can do nothing more fatal to itself than to unite with weaker forces. Genuine political goals cannot be blended.

Del Vayo thus confines himself to suggesting a program for action; in other words, he urges unity about the course without unity about the goal—an inner contradiction which has wrecked all "popular fronts." Del Vayo's suggestion really means, in essence, a new popular front, international in scope, like the League of Nations. It is the fusion, on the rather fictitious soil of emigration, of two experiments which have failed in the past. Better not.

He wants to form a "Central Council of the Emigration," but what is he really going to form? At best a new party within which the individual national emigrations form sections. The Central Council is to be a new kind of International. But if a new party is to be created it ought to have a more far-reaching aim than simply to unite existing parties. The task is not how to unite existing forces but how to arouse new ones. The glueing together of weaknesses creates no force, but existing forces attract new ones. Here it is not union that makes for strength, but strength which unites.

In conclusion, I wish to ask Mr. Del Vayo a practical and very earnest question. He excludes certain trends from his plan for union. American usage terms them "appeasers." Does this also exclude those appeasers who have made non-aggression pacts with Hitler, who for this purpose invited von Ribbentrop to Moscow, who later sent Molotov to Berlin, and who still designate American aid to England a capitalist maneuver?

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Success Story

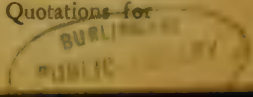
EVER since I began to write this column nearly two years ago I have again and again dwelt on the relationship between rigid prices and restricted production. Nor do I apologize for harping on this theme, for I believe that it lies at the heart of our economic troubles. We live in an era of rapid technological change, of constant improvements to machinery which result in lower manufacturing costs. But we have made all too little progress in the solution of distribution problems and have failed to keep purchasing power in step with our capacity to produce.

Yet without mass consumption mass production cannot achieve its full potentialities. In factories using repetitive processes a large proportion of costs are incurred before actual output starts. In an automobile plant designed to turn out half a million cars annually a terrific loss would be inevitable if only a few thousand were driven off the assembly line. For each unit, in addition to the actual labor cost, would have to carry the expense of dies, of depreciation of machinery, and of other overheads, which, if the plant were fully occupied, would be divided by 500,000.

This is the most elementary fact in modern industrial economics, and every industrialist is familiar with it. Yet when it comes to pricing policy, all too many manufacturers ignore the logic of their own engineering achievements and arrange their schedules so as to cancel part of the benefits of mass production. They may fix prices, for instance, at a level which will mean they break even at 50 per cent of capacity and make a fair profit at 60 per cent. They then hope that luck and good salesmanship will give them a larger share of the market and enable them to collect the jam represented by the steady increase in margin between cost and price obtained as output rises above 60 per cent. They fail to recognize that technological improvements which lower labor costs also reduce pay rolls and therefore purchasing power unless the savings are passed on to consumers and an additional demand is thus created.

In a state of perfect competition every manufacturer would be compelled to pass on economies in production, but in all too many of our industries prices fixed by administrative methods are influenced only feebly and slowly by the pressures of the market-place. However, competition is not entirely dead, and at this season of good-will I should like to celebrate two recent examples of its beneficial effects.

Early in 1940 the Kelvinator-Nash Corporation threw a bombshell into the refrigerator industry by announcing price cuts of from \$30 to \$40. It was done by concentrating production on the larger models, by a change in distributive methods which reduced charges, and by a cut in unit profits. At the same time production schedules were doubled, thus permitting a decrease in unit costs provided that the planned output could be sold. Other leading makers, who had previously published price schedules practically unchanged from 1939, were forced to meet this challenge. Quotations for



"stripped" six-foot models were brought down even below those announced by Kelvinator, which in turn made a further revision in prices.

To what extent the total market for refrigerators has been enlarged by these added inducements to purchasers cannot yet be ascertained. In 1939 domestic sales totaled 1,925,000 units, and in 1937, the record year, they reached 2,310,000. At the beginning of 1940 there were 13,700,000 electric refrigerators in use, and with less than 25,000,000 wired homes in the country it was estimated that the saturation point would be reached at about 16,000,000 units. However, the replacement market was growing in importance and was expected to account for 500,000 models this year. There can be no doubt, however, that as the result of lower prices a drastic revision of the saturation point is necessary. Final figures for 1940 are not yet available, but an estimate in a recent issue of the *New York Times* places sales at the record-shattering goal of 2,800,000.

With such an output it would not be surprising to learn that the industry, as a whole, increased its earnings in spite of price cuts and smaller profit margins. It is pleasant to record that Kelvinator, which launched the campaign, has not gone unrewarded. Its 1940 sales have been reported as two and a quarter times those of the previous year, which means a healthy excess over its planned output. Moreover, the Kelvinator-Nash Corporation, which recorded a loss of \$1,573,524 in the twelve months ending September 30, 1939, shows a profit of \$1,505,151 for the year ending September 30, 1940. The accounts do not show how much of this profit was due to the refrigerator division of the business, but the president of the company has stated that the contribution was substantial. It is interesting to note, also, that a similar pricing policy is now being followed in respect of the Nash car.

My other example of healthy competition is in the phonograph-record industry. In August, 1940, the Columbia Recording Company, after a reorganization of its business, neatly cut the price of classical records in two, thus bringing the works of the great masters played by leading artists and orchestras within reach of a whole new range of purchasers. The RCA-Victor Company quickly followed suit, and as a result sales have bounded forward and appear likely to get within striking distance of levels untouched since the industry was invalidated by radio competition in the middle twenties. It has been estimated that Columbia's sales of discs in the Masterworks division have been multiplied by five since the price cuts took effect. Nor have earnings suffered, for an official of the company tells me that while the unit margin is naturally much smaller, the per cent of gross carried to profits shows a very satisfactory increase.

Here, then, we have two instances of the way in which lower prices have made possible lower costs and higher output, with benefit to consumer and producer alike. It is to be hoped that the lesson will sink home. In the coming year purchasing power will expand owing to defense expenditures, and in industries where competition is weak there will be a temptation to hoist prices on the theory that the traffic will be able to bear a little more. I believe such a policy would be shortsighted in the extreme and that even if it brought about a temporary increase in profits it would recoil eventually on its pursuers.

In the Wind

WATCH FOR a change in Henry Ford's "foreign policy." As a result of widespread reports about his alleged pro-Nazism, he has left the "America First" committee. Ford's man Bennett—chief spokesman for the corporation—now tells visitors to River Rouge that he's for "kicking hell out of the Nazis when we're fully prepared."

IT HAPPENED AGAIN. A fortnight ago this column reported that the *Detroit News* had buried an item about Wendell Willkie on the obituary page. The *St. Petersburg Independent*, it now appears, ran the following United Press item from New York on December 13: "Wendell Willkie returned from a Florida vacation today and is expected to confer with state leaders of the Willkie clubs to discuss the future of the organization." It appeared in the obituary column.

DR. H. E. CHRISTENBERRY, member of the Knoxville school board, recently protested that "tots two and four years old of both sexes are allowed to use toilet facilities at the same time." Said Dr. Christenberry: "We have no place in our school system for the practices that have been reported. The lowering of moral defense in just such instances has caused the downfall of such countries as France, and I am not in favor of it."

MERWIN K. HART published a half-column denial in the *New York Times* after Harold Ickes accused him of being associated with the fascist fifth column here. Will Mr. Hart deny that a couple of weeks ago he privately met with one of the defendants in the recent Christian Front trial?

ALONG WITH information on how to call the police, the fire departments and the hospital, the *New York Telephone Directory* now gives special listing to the phone number of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

RALPH INGERSOLL, publisher of *PM*, has sent a memo to his staff asserting that Communists are now "ganging up" on the paper because it has criticized the C. P. line. The memo describes shifts in the party's attitude toward the paper.

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND'S report that Phil Murray has abandoned the idea of purging the C. I. O. of Stalinists is discounted in informed C. I. O. circles. The purge is coming, but it will be slow and unspectacular.

EVIDENCE IS mounting that Robert Jackson and J. Edgar Hoover don't see eye to eye, although no public break is likely. Tales of friction are reported widely in Washington.

A HOLLYWOOD movie company is planning to do a life of Winston Churchill.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

IN PENSACOLA, where the sky above the "Annapolis of the Air" is filled every day with the stubby yellow training planes of the young air cadets, citizens on their way to work recently saw a plane crash into the bay. Hours later that afternoon I read the story in the *Pensacola News*. It was written as a man might cover a ball game from outside the fence, with the people inside the fence being rigidly reticent about the whole matter. But it was not a ball game. It was a serious story and legitimate news. Such details as the navy possessed, I thought then and think now, should have been made promptly available to the press. But increasingly, as I talk to newspapermen on newspapers close to naval and military posts, I get the complaint that officers in charge of press relations are too often ignorant, arrogant, or both.

Any sensible citizen or reporter moving about the country understands the necessity in time of crisis for increasingly strict regulations about entry into important defense positions and projects. Few of the reporters I know expect any intelligent officer to distribute information of a secret nature possibly valuable to some foreign power which might be involved in future war against us. Most men understand the menace of the saboteur, the danger in a time of crisis from foreign agents of every sort.

Even the TVA, which made it an important part of policy to bring the people as close as possible to the projects in its big regional plan for the people, has closed its power plants, boarded up vantage points on the bridges across its dams, and made its employees carry identification cards bearing their photographs. Every precaution against anybody blowing up a power house has been taken, even though the new procedure interferes with the old plan of creating the sense of public participation in the whole job. But TVA keeps its information office going full swing in the work of creating good-will.

Obviously the army and navy in their new rush projects should not be held to the standards in press relations of TVA and other peace-purpose agencies, even if TVA was designed for defense purposes also. TVA has had eight years in which to understand and develop its public-relations job. Working out the press relations of military and naval posts absolutely galloping in increase is a far less simple business. Fortunately, as it may seem to some, the present popularity of defense, and of the army and navy, makes a good press fairly easy—too easy maybe. Some officers can in effect tell inquiring reporters to go

to hell—or lie to them in transparent complacency—without stirring any disturbing newspaper attack upon them. The newspapers are anxious to help defense in every way, and so far it makes little difference that local working reporters are often irritated and angered.

The situation is by no means uniformly bad. In some camps sensible officers under sensible command are working hard and harmoniously with the reporters of the papers around their posts and stations. In others, men trained in soldiering who have assumed the duties of press relations have been more ignorant of their jobs and frightened in them than intentionally condescending and obstructive. But one officer at one post at least, in an off-the-record speech at a press meeting, stated that in his view the whole job of the press is taking what it is given and liking it.

The difficulties seem greater away from Washington than in it. In some of the little towns where big camps and stations and projects have grown, the local press is as much at a loss in meeting the expanded problem as the officers are. There have been cases of bad reporting for which the press and not the officers were to blame. But when there is trouble away from Washington, local officers—when they give any explanation for unnecessary reticence about entirely legitimate news—pass the responsibility for it back to Washington itself. As in all buck-passing, nobody can quite determine the absolute truth.

Wherever the responsibility is, some attention is needed. Even Germany has understood the importance of the press to power. In a democracy which is preparing its own defense an intelligent press relationship for the services is not only a more important problem but a different one. And away from Washington it begins to look like one of the major bottlenecks in the defense program. It does not show its danger now. Uncritical patriotism is a policy of many newspapers. The army and navy may get away with stupid press relations for a long time, but they are preparing for trouble when they fail to recognize that the country demands from them the honest, intelligent, prompt provision of legitimate news on all its big posts and projects.

The press understands the necessity for secrecy about secret matters. It is time the army and the navy understood the necessity for prompt and full publicity about matters of legitimate public concern. The job of defense in America depends on letting the public in as much as on keeping the spies out.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

THE drawings on this page are taken from "Mr. Smith and Mr. Schmidt," a picture book by Ben Martin (Vanguard Press, \$1.25) in which he reduces to very simple sentences and very funny line drawings that solemn text *The Advantages of Living in a Democracy*. Mr. Smith, says Mr. Martin, isn't particularly happy, because he has a lot of responsibilities, whereas Mr. Schmidt doesn't have to do any thinking—he only has to work, march, cheer, sing, burn books, do a little dying now and then, and pay homage to his peerless leader.



Physically They Are Much Alike

over a book about d—y vs. f—m.

I THINK it's interesting that three of the four literary quarterlies which come to my desk are published at universities in the South or on its edge—the only other important university quarterly that comes to mind is issued at Yale. The *Virginia Quarterly* is probably the one best known to *Nation* readers. Each issue contains several articles on current social or political problems, but its main emphasis is on literature and the humanities. The winter issue, which is the first to be published under the direction of its new editor, Archibald Bolling Shepperson, who replaced Lawrence Lee, features a discussion of *The Dilemma of Democracy* by Carl Becker. A supplement contains a full-length play by D. H. Lawrence, hitherto unpublished. Its autumn issue led off with an excellent analysis of the Vatican in world politics by Lawrence Fernsworth and also included a delightful reminiscence of Norman Douglas by his son. For the rest there are stories, poems, and reviews of books. The *Virginia Quarterly* is well edited, well written, and always lively.

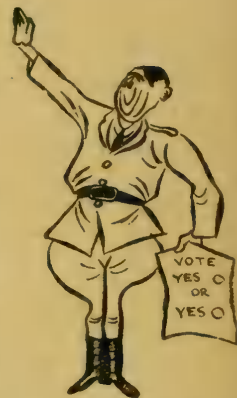
The *Southern Review*, issued at Louisiana University, operates a good deal farther behind the journalistic lines, and I find it rather piquant not only that it comes out of Huey Long's bailiwick but that both contributors and subjects often veer to the left. The most recent issue contains a symposium on literature and the professors—the other five papers in the symposium are to be found in the autumn issue of the *Kenyon Review*; it also contains a discussion of What

Is Living and Dead in Marxism by Sidney Hook, an article on Trotsky as Scholastic by Max Eastman, a long short story, and a group of poems. It would be called "highbrow" I suppose; yet because of its catholicity it has a quality of unexpectedness that is certainly one of the prime requisites of good journalism. Incidentally it is very attractively printed.

The *Kenyon Review*, published at Gambier, Ohio, under the imprint of Kenyon College, describes itself as the only quarterly devoted exclusively to arts and letters. The devotion is a little reminiscent of academic cloisters, but it has printed some extremely good articles and reviews. Its managing editor is Philip Blair Rice, who has written many excellent reviews for *The Nation*.

The *Partisan Review*, published in New York, is a bi-monthly rather than a quarterly. And in other respects as well it is in a category by itself. Its point of view in both literature and politics is Marxist. Marxist literary criticism has hit some very low points in literalness and ignorance in the past decade, but the articles in the *Partisan Review* by such writers as Philip Rahv, Meyer Schapiro, and others demonstrate once more how fruitful and illuminating the Marxist approach to the arts can be in the hands of intelligent writers. The poems and stories printed in the *Review* are original and experimental. On the literary side there is the sense of a fresh wind blowing through; fewer windows are open on the political side, but though I find the literary manifestations of the *Partisan Review's* Marxist approach far more persuasive than the political, its occasional editorials on current issues have the merit of being well written—usually by Dwight MacDonald, who is one of the few bright young men to have escaped alive from *Time*, Inc.

All of these magazines, as a *Nation* editor might say, "deserve support." But I have a general complaint—which applies also, I admit, to *The Nation's* literary section. They fail, in varying degrees, to communicate a sense of the pleasures of literature, music, and art, which must surely be one reason why their editors edit literary mag-



Mr. Schmidt's Peerless Leader

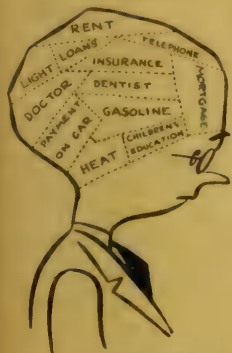


Where Books Are Read, Not Burned

azines. It is understandable that the Morleyization of the arts in this country, plus the vestigial Puritan in all of us, has driven us literary editors into acting as if culture were a solemn crusade instead of a continuous adventure of discovery and satisfaction, both intellectual and emotional. Last spring in Mexico I read a number of issues of *Romance*, a fortnightly magazine founded by a group of Spaniards and Mexicans. I suppose it might better be called a newspaper; its format is that of a tabloid. It takes all culture for its province—Watteau appears along with Orozco and articles about Goethe along with report of the newest Hollywood film—though it pays special attention to both new and established Latin American writers and artists. It is designed to be a "popular" magazine—its circulation was said to be 15,000 then—though there is no vulgarization. It is quite different, in scope and purpose, from the magazines I have mentioned in this brief survey, but the feeling it conveys, of excitement and even gaiety about the arts as experience, need not be alien to more eclectic magazines.

I AM glad to report that I find the second issue of *Common Ground*, publication of the Common Council for American

Unity, much livelier than the first. Pictures have been introduced; and it contains some good reading, including *The Anatomy of Prejudice* by Henry A. Davison, an appealing autobiographical sketch by Younghill Kang which begins with the telescopic sentence, "I was born in Korea in 1903, when the minds of the people were greatly perplexed," and an article about William Saroyan by John Fante which is very entertaining, despite the fact that so many entertaining articles about Saroyan have already been written. Saroyan's idiosyn-



Mr. Smith Has Many Responsibilities

crasies make good copy, and Mr. Fante doesn't neglect them. He says, among other things, that it is almost impossible to find an unautographed copy of Saroyan. "Undoubtedly there are out of the way towns where this condition does not exist, but it must also be said that with the success of his plays Saroyan is richer now and able to traverse the hinterlands with the thoroughness of a politician seeking office. Time will come when collectors will be bidding for unautographed copies." But Mr. Fante makes it clear that Saroyan has never indulged his love of attention at the expense of his integrity. He tells the story of how Saroyan turned up once at the Crowell offices in New York with a story which the staff read, thought hilariously funny and wonderfully written. They decided, however, that it needed a slight change at the end. Saroyan refused, though he had to borrow money the next day to get back to California. Saroyan, says Fante, "would give his life for the cause of justice and fair play; it is a passion you sense in him. Undoubtedly he would prefer to make this supreme sacrifice in the presence of a lot of people—but that's Saroyan." By the way, Saroyan's newest book, "My Name Is Aram," was published last week by Harcourt, Brace (\$2.50).

IVAN GOLL is the author of the poem *Chanson de France*, which appeared some time ago in *The Nation*. "Jean Sans Terre" (John Landless) is the title and "hero" of a book by Mr. Goll of which three volumes have already appeared in France. Another selection from it was printed in the July-August issue of the *Partisan Review*. I suggest that readers who are interested get a copy of that number, not only for the poem but for an illuminating "Note on Jean Sans Terre" by Louise Bogan.

THE FARM SECURITY Administration maintains a photographic project and file documenting the living and working conditions of America's rural lower third. Some 142 of these photographs are presented in "Home Town," for which Sherwood Anderson has written the text (Face of America Series, Alliance Book Corporation, \$2.50). There are some excellent photographs by Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, Dorothea Lange, and many others; Mr. Anderson knows his small town and writes about it with feeling and intelligence. It is a frankly nostalgic book, and though I doubt that it will send the residents of New York or Chicago back where they came from, it would make a tactful gift for the folks back home.



But He Has More Fun

MISCELLANY: Speaking of the pleasures of literature, I don't see why more bells weren't rung about Edmund Wilson's "To the Finland Station." . . . The New York Public Library has at present in active circulation over 350 copies of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." . . . Havelock Ellis's monumental "Studies in the Psychology of Sex" may now be had in two volumes (Random House, \$7.50). . . . From a folder suggesting *Time* magazine as a gift: "This Christmas your gift is the whole world of 1941." May I send it back with a rejection slip?

MARGARET MARSHALL

John Landless at the Final Port

BY IVAN GOLL

(Translated by William Carlos Williams)

John Landless in a keelless boat

Having sailed many oceans without shore

A dawnless day at a townless port

Landed and knocked at a houseless door

He knows of old this woman without face

Before a mirrorless wall who combs her hair

This sheetless bed this fireless embrace

This dastard love without despair

He knows these rusted galleys without oars

These mastless bricks these steamless steamers

These barless streets windows without women

Sleepless nights docks haunted by no fears

And what of these men who battle

With gestures of the old gladiator's art

Arms without fists revolvers without slugs
Pitiless eyes and pledges without heart

And why do these ships go on loading
From dock to ship unloading from ship to dock?
Why the voracious hunger of these cranes
Which faithless seek high heaven to unlock?

These hides will never sole a shoe
This cotton never clothe the naked
This wood will never give off sparks
This grain to holy bread be baked

What is this port at which none lands?
Where this cape lacking a continent?
Which is this merciless lighthouse?
Who this traveler missing punishment?

The European Lesson

AMERICA NEXT. By Peter Markham. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$2.75.

ONE of the townfolk in the scene Before the Gate in Goethe's "Faust" is telling his friend:

On Sundays, holidays there's naught I take delight in,
Like gossiping on war and war's array,
When down in Turkey, far away
The foreign people are a-fighting.

Envisaging current events from the same viewpoint some journalists hope to transmute their beats and scoops into contemporary history by having them reprinted in octavo size. From this deluge of books on Europe not only monsters of ignorance but pearls of erudition, too, emerge. This book falls in the second category.

Mr. Markham, neither a journalist nor a scholar but a sharp-sighted ex-officer and American business man, watched the *mene tekel* as it appeared on the walls of various countries with unerring judgment. He offers no sensational "news behind the news," only his thorough knowledge of the background from which all this horror arose. We learn why the feeble leaders of British Tory democracy, whose "lack of imagination was not only stupid but criminal," were unable to desert the time-worn "safe middle course." England, cleansed through fire, eventually "revealed to the wondering world the unconquerable strength of a united nation." A victim of its 200 families, France fared much worse. Geared to *Sitzkrieg* rather than *Blitzkrieg*, with capital and labor lining up at two extremities, its influential papers bought by Nazis and Fascists, "a house divided against itself," France underwent a collapse that shocked the world but that did not surprise Mr. Markham. When we learn that the Nazis with the assistance of big industrialists built a fifty-billion-mark war machine against Sir John Simon's "cheap war" it seems comprehensible that at Soissons the Germans moved up a thousand tanks and the French only two.

However, it is an overstatement that Hitler has spread communism with his sword. All Danubian countries, true, are more or less Nazi provinces and have a low standard of living. But pauperization is not communism, not yet.

Poland's tragedy the author explains by the forced unification of the Westernized upper crust and the Easternized masses, the ownership of 40 per cent of the land by 1 per cent of the population. This to a lesser extent is true of Hungary as well. Whether Hitler has fooled not only the democracies, not only his Axis partner, but, as Mr. Markham believes, Russia, too, remains to be seen.

Hitler has certainly learned that neither war nor safety can be won by balancing the budget or by limiting the national debt, but with oil and iron only. Europe's downfall, we are told, offers another lesson: that "some people feared the rise of the underprivileged or the loss of property which might result from war more than the Nazi domination." In case of a German victory America obviously must face Hitler's demand for food and raw material on *his terms*, but there still are Americans who, in Mr. Markham's view, either underrate "the military strength and skill of the Germans" or else aspire to be an American *Gauleiter*.

Whether one agrees with Mr. Markham or not, his warning that this country badly needs planes and tanks instead of appropriations and blueprints must be taken seriously. "The challenge is now" and not when the two-ocean navy is ready.

Mr. Markham dedicates his book to the American people. This, I presume, includes isolationists, appeasers, and even those who still call the President "that red in the White House." It is a book so honestly and so lucidly written that even they will understand it, provided their emotions do not bar the way to arguments.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Tract for the Times

CHRISTIANITY AND POWER POLITICS. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

MR. NIEBUHR has long been known as one of the most gifted writers on the relation of Protestant Christianity to politics. His latest book is a tract for the times, a vigorous attack on the Pelagianism of the pacifist movement. The core of his argument is best stated in his own words.

The Western democracies are the spiritual children of the Renaissance rather than the Reformation. . . . For Roman Catholicism man is a sinner, involved in self-love and incapable of doing good, but he is capable of loving God and his neighbor once sacramental grace has been infused. The Reformation rightly challenged this too simple view of sanctification. It recognized the continued possibility of sin in the life of the redeemed. . . . The Renaissance, on the other hand, saw human history as a realm of infinite potentialities, but forgot that it is a realm of evil as well as of good potentialities. In both its rationalism and its mysticism the Renaissance thought that it had found methods of extricating the universal man from the particular man, imbedded in the flux of nature. . . . As a consequence the tragic character of human history, in which man is perennially betrayed to use his freedom for destruction as well as construction, is not understood.

Pacifism, he points out, blasphemes by denying original sin and pretending that perfection can be acquired in a progressive school. "Christianity and Power Politics" is lucid, just, and, I believe, theologically unexceptionable, and yet it leaves me a little uneasy. As an orthodox theologian must,

the author scents the dangers of reacting from this romantic optimism of liberal Protestantism into the pessimistic dualism of Barth; but orthodoxy, the middle way, has its spiritual dangers, too, and it is a sense of these that one misses here, the sense as Kierkegaard puts it, of always being out alone over seventy thousand fathoms.

A brother once came to one of the desert fathers saying, "My mind is intent on God." The old man replied: "It is no great matter that thy mind should be with God; but if thou didst see thyself less than any of His creatures, that were something." I am sure Dr. Niebuhr knows this: I am not sure, though, that he is sufficiently ashamed. The danger of being a professional exposé of the bogus is that, encountering it so often, one may come in time to cease to believe in the reality it counterfeits.

One has an uneasy suspicion that, were Dr. Niebuhr to meet the genuine, he might be as embarrassed as an eighteenth-century bishop or as an army chaplain. The question is: Does he believe that the contemplative life is the highest and most exhausting of vocations, that the church is saved by the saints, or doesn't he?

Recent history is showing, I think, and Dr. Niebuhr suggests here and there that he would agree with me, that man cannot live without a sense of the Unconditional: if he does not consciously walk in fear of the Lord, then his unconscious sees to it that he has something else, airplanes or secret police, to walk in fear of.

W. H. AUDEN

Marx and the American Farmer

WHY FARMERS ARE POOR. By Anna Rochester. International Publishers. \$2.75.

AMERICAN agriculture has been seriously depressed since 1920. Farm families, as Miss Rochester points out, constitute about one-fourth of our population but obtain only about 9 per cent of the total national income. Although the situation is not as acute as it was at the depth of the depression in 1931-33, it has not changed fundamentally. Miss Rochester attempts to portray in terms of Marxian economics the basic nature of the problem and its link to the general decay of capitalism. No other book, so far as I am aware, has so thoroughly demonstrated the interdependence of agriculture and industry. The relative decline in agriculture's share in the reward for its product is attributed to the greatly superior opportunities for growth in industry, which, permitting a much more rapid accumulation of capital, have forced agriculture into the position of a debtor and weakened its bargaining power in marketing its product. Transportation, distribution, and financing costs have been maintained at artificially high levels by powerful interests.

Largely as a result of technical advance and the creditor-debtor situation just referred to, agriculture has undergone a marked transformation in recent years. The number of farms has declined; there has been a tendency toward larger units of production, greater specialization, and—particularly in the last decade—increased use of wage labor. There has also been larger use of farm equipment, but Miss Rochester insists that this is not the primary index of development toward completely capitalist farming. It is secondary to the increase

in wage labor on farms. Wage labor, she declares, is the decisive factor in the farmer's ability to accumulate wealth. "Value transferred from buildings, implements, livestock, and feed," she maintains, merely incorporates into the farmer's product "value which he had previously purchased or borrowed or which he has created by his own labor, or taken from wage workers in past years. The only new value created during the current year is that produced by the farmer and his family, plus the value created by wage workers."

This may seem a technical and somewhat abstruse point, but it is central in the author's analysis of the factors accounting for the increasing exploitation of farm workers and the increasing financial difficulties of the middle farmers. Agricultural statistics—of which this book is a mine—seem to bear out this point. Yet common sense tells us that the proper use of stored-up labor in the form of equipment, coupled with scientific technique, should yield higher profits than mere exploitation of labor.

Apart from this one somewhat dubious point, the book rests on secure foundations. Farmers are the outcasts of capitalism. As debtors, their interest charges are far in excess of those paid by business. They are at a disadvantage in marketing their products. High rents and land values levy a disproportionate toll on the return from farm products. All of this, Miss Rochester concludes, lines up the farmer on the side of those whose interests are opposed to a continuation of the capitalist system. But unfortunately only a very few thousand of our five million farmers are likely to read this formidable book.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

READ:

"HOW THE POPES TREATED THE JEWS"

by Dr. L. H. Lehmann

in the January issue of

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IN BRIEF

THE POETRY OF DOROTHY WORDSWORTH. Edited from the Journals by Hyman Eigerman. Columbia University Press. \$2.

Extracts from the Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth cut up and printed as though they were imagist poems—which they are not. The subtle rhythm of Dorothy Wordsworth's prose is thereby interrupted, the context is lost, and even in the midst of the extracted passages phrases essential to the meaning are omitted. The compilation has nevertheless been a labor of love, and it will have served some purpose if it sends more readers to the Journals.

NOR FIRE, NOR ICE. Poems by Lucy Atkinson McIlwaine. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.

If ever one of Ellen Glasgow's unreconciled Virginia maiden ladies had, in her spare time, attempted to write poems the result would be very like this little volume. Miss McIlwaine died last year before the publication of the book.

BEHIND THE LINES, By A. A. Milne. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$1.75.

According to the dust cover, "here is the ever-lively, brilliant mind of one of the world's great masters of light verse playing thoughtfully upon the vexing problems of his time." According to this American reader here is the English gentleman at his silliest and most fatuous, and, what is worse, pretending to be even sillier and more fatuous than he is. I understand there is a censor in England, and while I have never yet recommended a book to a censor, I do suggest that in the interest of England he see that no more of Mr. Milne's work gets across the Atlantic until the war is over.

AMERICAN ENGLISH GRAMMAR. By Charles Carpenter Fries. D. Appleton-Century Company. \$2.50.

This report of an investigation financed by the National Council of Teachers of English on "The Grammatical Structure of Present-Day American English with Special Reference to Social Differences or Class Dialects" assumes that "usage or practice is the basis of all the *correctness* there can be in language." This is a point of view always held by sensible people but only just dawning on most teachers of English. The author of this admirable monograph not only recog-

nizes that there are many kinds of "correct" American English, but actually allows you to say, as anyone who *talks* naturally does say, things like "It is me" and "Who did you call?"

THE NEWS AND HOW TO UNDERSTAND IT—In Spite of the Newspapers, in Spite of the Magazines, in Spite of the Radio. By Quincy Howe. Simon and Schuster. \$2.

Though satirical, Mr. Howe's admirably lucid guide is not so satirical as its title. For Mr. Howe really gives some very practical hints on how to get the most out of the purveyors and interpreters of news with the least margin of error. He seasons his advice with some delightful parodies of our major news agencies, columnists, and commentators. He finds his King Charles's head, of course, without much trouble between nearly every two lines he reads. But since the cause of Britain looms so large in the consciousness of us all just now, that is not hard for him to do.

THE ORIGIN OF PRINTING IN EUROPE. By Pierce Butler. The University of Chicago Press. \$1.50.

This book is labeled a "Study in Library Science" and is by the professor of bibliographical history in the University of Chicago, but any general reader interested in the history of culture will be doing himself a disservice if he passes it up unread. It not only explains technical matters which, though they underlie our whole civilization, are a closed book to most laymen, but gives a really remarkable interpretation of the social significance of the "invention" of printing. A "humane" achievement. It is appropriately illustrated with diagrams and facsimiles.

AND STILL THE WATERS RUN. By Angie Debo. Princeton University Press. \$4.

The story, never fully told before, of what happened to the "Five Civilized Tribes" of Oklahoma, who trusted in treaties with the United States government, is given here without sentiment or embellishment and with full documentation. The resulting book is both important and moving, but the difficulty of summarizing accurately the impression it makes is increased by Oliver La Farge's irrelevant statement that it is "a first-rate literary treatment of history." Literary is one thing it is not, thank heaven; but Miss Debo has done a first-rate job of investigation and reporting,

which is at the same time an implied, and pretty final, judgment of value from a historical point of view.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE REVOLUTION IN MARYLAND. By Charles Albrow Barker. Yale University Press. \$3.50.

One of the Yale Historical Publications written by an assistant professor at Stanford University. It traces thoroughly the social, economic, and political developments which provided a sample of what led up to the Revolution. Mr. Barker does full justice to the special flavor of Maryland while remaining objective. It is not for the casual reader, but specialists will find it highly readable.

GOLDEN GATE: THE STORY OF SAN FRANCISCO HARBOR. By Felix Riesenbergs, Jr. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

Mr. Riesenbergs, who inherits a knowledge of ships and harbors and a racy way of writing about them, has a magnificent subject. He has produced a readable, vivid surface picture of the changing history of America's raciest port. One can enjoy it all and understand why San Francisco has always been such an interesting city. Some readers will be inclined to regret the fictional style which is frequently used in the narrative of events. The twenty-seven illustrations are splendid.

BRITAIN SPEAKS. By J. B. Priestley. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

Based upon the radio talks which Mr. Priestley has made to America through the British Broadcasting Company, this book reflects the day-to-day attitude of the British people. It tells what they are doing and thinking, and does so with considerable freedom of comment.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION. An Interpretation of the Social-Constitutional History of the American Revolution, 1774-1781. By Merrill Jensen. University of Wisconsin Press. \$3.

The author's thesis—and this book is quite obviously a thesis though a model one—is that the Articles of Confederation "were not the result of either ignorance or inexperience. On the contrary, they were a natural outcome of the revolutionary movement within the American colonies"—as distinguished, that is, from the revolutionary movement against Great Britain. As such they did not find favor with the conservatives,

Another "Nation" Scoop!

"All the News That's
Fit to Print."

The New York Times

VOL. XL, No. 30,284.

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Postoffice, New York, N. Y.Copyright, 1940, by The New York Times Company
NEW YORK, MONDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1940.

**500 PLANES A DAY
BY AUTO PLANT USE
PROPOSED BY C. I. O.**

**Murray Will Offer Roosevelt
Plan Designed to Start
Production in Six Months**

'UNUSED' CAPACITY CITED

**Union Reports Idle Presses,
Space, 'Many' Idle Workers
—Urges Air Board of Mine**

By LOUIS STARK
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Dec. 23.—Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, is expected to take up with President Roosevelt tomorrow a plan to utilize the unused capacity of the automotive industry which the union leader says would produce, after six months of preparation, 500 of the most modern fighting planes each working day or about 150,000 a year. Based on a study of the industry by the C. I. O.'s United Automobile Workers of America, the plan would bring to the production of airplanes the mass production methods which the automotive industry has successfully employed for decades. According to the union, the automotive industry is capable today

**Santa Eills Bag for Refugees Too;
Fifth Avenue Church**

Big

624

Labor's Plan: 500 Planes a Day

BY I. F. STONE

Detroit, December 15—ing all private interests to the one job of getting out the planes. The battle cannot be won without casualties—the price of planes and the capital values the aircraft industry has built on that price. For the success of this plan would cut in half the cost of making planes, a development which the aircraft industry as a whole dreads far more than the defeat of Britain.

The job of getting out the planes requires, first of all, skilled mechanics, and the first shocking fact that inquiry uncovers here is that roughly a third of the skilled mechanics in this country are out of work and most of the rest are working less than a full forty-hour week. There are more than 15,000 skilled mechanics in Detroit and its environs—tool-and-die makers, jig and fixture makers, pattern makers and designers. Estimates of the number either totally unemployed or working on production jobs that less skilled men could fill run from 5,000 to 8,000. Fisher Body Plant No. 23, the largest tool-and-die shop in the world, has employed as many as 4,800 at one time and has machinery enough to work March to November of this year, most of them on a forty-eight-hour week. It now has 400 men on its payroll, and they are working only thirty-two hours a week. The tool-and-die shop of General Motors are on a short

\$1,000

**S FROM
PLAIN
S HAL**

he Interna
members attacked many in six countries last night and yesterday London announced. Port facilities at W. Cologne, Mannheim, St. Colaba, Flushing, Herdman and Loria the Bergen-O. hit and one square the Alps. Malphers no British reports. ma 8.) Liverpool were und attack last night consecutive night that on. Battle ombers had done image to Live on attacked London and Bristol. 1.) Marshal Grau Museum's the

ON December 23 the metropolitan dailies headlined the C. I. O. or Reuther plan for large-scale airplane production. But on December 15—eight days earlier—*The Nation's* Washington editor, I. F. Stone, had filed the same story, and on December 19 *The Nation* appeared with the inside account of what Dorothy Thompson has called "the most important event of the last days." A weekly journal had "scooped" the daily press.

This is only one of *The Nation's* recent "scoops" from the capital. In rapid succession have come Mr. Stone's stories of the Navy Department's squeeze on Mexico through a high-bid award to Standard Oil; of the new Ford contract in which the six-time violator of the Wagner Act failed even to meet specifications; of the aviation industry's sitdown strike for higher profits.

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who evidently put over the idea that the adoption of a new constitution was the only alternative to chaos. The author proves his thesis—itsself a natural, or at any rate academic, outcome of Professor Beard's theories about our Constitution.

BRONSON ALCOTT, TEACHER. By Dorothy McCuskey. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

Miss McCuskey confines herself completely to the educational activities of the great Amos Bronson Alcott: transcendental seer, inspiration to Emerson and Thoreau, apostle of culture, and father of Louisa May. In her anxiety to show Alcott's pioneering efforts in integrating education, making school-rooms pleasant, and teaching children to think rather than memorize, the author has completely missed the man himself—surely one of the most amazing figures in American letters. Even granting the author her self-imposed limitation, a knowledge of the experiments in education now being performed by the *Gestalt* psychologists would have increased her understanding of much of Alcott's work. The book is an expanded doctoral thesis, and reads like one.

GEORGE ELIOT AND JOHN CHAPMAN. *With Chapman's Diaries.* By Gordon S. Haight. Yale University Press. \$2.75.

Yes, it's true what they say about the Victorians. Come with Mr. Haight into this literary parlor of mid-Victorian London and find out. You will hear much talk about "culture" and "self-culture." You will meet John Chapman, publisher of the *Westminster Review*, and his earnest literary "helpmate," Miss Marion Evans. Chapman, the chief subject of the book, was as helplessly devoted to ladies as he was to less tangible beauties of "a higher plane." Homely Miss Evans, who edited the *Westminster* for a time, was not helpless at all and forged a very solid reputation for herself under the name of George Eliot. An informative, if rather academic, literary study.

THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK. By G. P. Maximoff. The Chicago Section of the Alexander Berkman Fund. \$3.50.

Reproducing official documents and letters from political exiles, Mr. Maximoff gives a bloody picture of terrorism in Soviet Russia. He differs, however, from most anti-Soviet writers in that his chief attack is directed at Lenin. It was Lenin,

he says, who established the system of inquisitional violence which Stalin has merely continued. And behind Lenin, so runs Mr. Maximoff's thesis, the authority for this disregard for human life lies in the brutal determinism of Marxism itself.

RECORDS

THE only question about the new Columbia set of Beethoven's String Quartet Opus 131 (Set 429, \$5.50) is whether Columbia has done a good recording job with the Budapest Quartet's performance; and the answer is that it has—which makes this one of the great sets of this year and all years.

To this Columbia adds several other fine things. Most of the sacred and secular music of the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries recorded by Yves Tindayre (Set 431, \$4.50) I find very beautiful, and beautifully sung. Bach's Suite No. 3, which contains some enjoyable dance movements in addition to the superb melody that is known to most of us as the Air for G String, is excellently recorded by Weingartner with the Paris Conservatory Orchestra (Set 428, \$3.50). Guiomar Novaes has recorded sensitive, sparkling performances of some delightful eighteenth-century clavier pieces: Scarlatti's Sonatas Nos. 8 and 487 (Longo Edition), Couperin's "La tendre Nanette," Daquin's "L'hiron-delle" (17229-D, \$.75). And Mahler's rather charming song, "Ich atmet' einen linden Duft," gains from Suzanne Sten's lovely voice and fine musical taste; but in his "Hans und Grete" the voice is mostly tremolo (17241-D, \$.75). Commette's record of Bach's Prelude and Fugue in E minor for organ has not yet arrived.

While Columbia has managed to do a good recording job with the Budapest Quartet its record (19003-D, \$.75) of Barbiroli's performance of Smetana's Overture to "The Bartered Bride" distorts the sound of the New York Philharmonic in the way the set of Brahms's Second Symphony did; and though the recording (Set 432, \$6.50) of Stokowski's performance of Tchaikovsky's "Pathétique" with the American Youth Orchestra doesn't have that fault it has others which make it one of the worst Columbia has turned out: the orchestral sound is strangely unbalanced, unsubstantial, and fragmentary, what with some of its components being either indistinct or completely inaudible. This result may in part represent Columbia's

inability to cope with Stokowski's eccentricities; for the performance itself is one of the worst of all the abominations he has perpetrated on defenseless pieces of music.

There is distortion of the orchestral sound also in the recording (70704-D, \$1) of Barlow's performances of Rossini's Overture to "The Barber of Seville" with the Columbia Broadcasting Symphony, which is in any case nothing one would choose while Toscanini's version was still to be had. Again, the sound of the Chicago Symphony is hollow and wooden in the otherwise excellent set (X-182, \$2.50) of Saint-Saëns's Cello Concerto No. 1 made by Piati-gorsky. And some of the detail of Brahms's Rhapsodies Op. 79 Nos. 1 and 2 and Op. 119 No. 4 for piano (Set X-183, \$2.50), well played by Egon Petri, is lost through recording which has the weakness of treble that was noticeable in the set of Franck's Prelude, Chorale and Fugue. The Saint-Saëns music is facile; the Brahms is labored; and neither is anything I care much about.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

LEWIS COREY is the author of "The Decline of American Capitalism," "The House of Morgan," and "The Crisis of the Middle Class." He recently contributed to *The Nation* a series of articles called Marxism Reconsidered.

RICHARD H. ROVERE is a free-lance writer living in New York. He was formerly on the staff of the *New Masses*.

METZ T. P. LOCHARD was for many years a member of the faculty of Howard University. He is now chief editorial writer of the *Chicago Defender* and a frequent lecturer at the University of Chicago.

W. H. AUDEN, the English poet, is at present in this country. His latest volume of verse is entitled "Another Time."

RUSTEM VAMBERY, Hungarian criminologist and sociologist, has written extensively on European problems. He is a lecturer at the New School for Social Research.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

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Literary Editor
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Dramatic Critic
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Advertising Manager
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The Shape of Things

WHEN STATESMEN OF SMALL NATIONS VISIT Germany for their health and see "Surgeon" Hitler or his assistant, Ribbentrop, a drastic operation is usually indicated. It would hardly be surprising, therefore, to learn that Premier Philoff of Bulgaria has returned from Vienna with proposals for the grafting of a Nazi army on to the body of his country. During the past week Berlin has kept suspiciously quiet about the Balkans, but its agents in Belgrade, Budapest, and other centers have assiduously spread rumors designed to harass Bulgaria's nerves. And it would appear that these methods are succeeding once again, for there is less talk of resistance in Sofia, although hopes of Russian intervention still linger. The reported recall of Soviet ministers in the Balkans for a conference in Moscow attracted a good deal of attention, but the Kremlin has not broken its loud silence. In Belgrade the Germans are talking confidently about an understanding with the Soviet government, which is said to have agreed to leave Bulgaria in the lurch in return for the Rumanian province of Moldavia and a free hand in Finland. Considering the source, such reports must be taken with a large grain of salt. Nevertheless, it is highly improbable that Russia would go beyond diplomatic support for Bulgaria. There is no reason to suppose that Stalin is any more ready to risk war with Germany than he was when the Nazis marched into Rumania. Nor is he likely to have missed the significance of the Hungarian mobilization, which is undoubtedly the result of orders from Berlin. The only possible reason for this action is to provide protection for the northern flank of the Nazi army facing Bessarabia.

★

SKILLED COORDINATION OF LAND, AIR, AND naval forces have again brought victory to the British in North Africa. The capture of Bardia gives General Wavell's army a strong base from which to pursue Graziani's depleted and dispirited command. Mussolini had ordered that this stronghold should be retained at all costs, and the Italian press is unable to minimize the extent of the defeat. Preparing the public, Giovanni Ansaldo, the well-known Fascist editor, said in a radio speech: "If Bardia has fallen, this will be a new British

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success, local if you like, but still a considerable one and a sad piece of news for us." The British forces are now expected to attack the much more important town of Tobruk, where Graziani has been feverishly preparing new defenses. However, the fall of Bardia has come too quickly to afford him time to make the position impregnable, especially as the work has been constantly interrupted by the R.A.F. His chief hope is that the German *Luftwaffe* can send enough planes to check the British, for there is little chance that any appreciable military reinforcements will be able to run the British naval gauntlet in the Mediterranean. German aircraft are reaching Italy in considerable numbers, but it remains to be seen whether there are sufficient fuel reserves in Libya for them to be used there in a decisive fashion.

★

WHY HAVE GERMAN BOMBS BEEN DROPPED on the studiously neutral land of Eire? It has happened too frequently to be a mistake, especially inasmuch as Dublin is a beacon of light in contrast with the darkened shores on the other side of the Irish Sea. Is it a preliminary to invasion, or an attempt to force Eire to take sides, or a taste of the terror to come should the naval bases be yielded to British importunities? The last explanation is the most feasible, but it seems a risky game to play with a people as high-spirited as the Irish. Eire is under increasing economic pressure from Britain, which is limiting severely the allotment of shipping for Irish needs. This brings home the fact that Great Britain is experiencing greater difficulty in coping with the German blockade without the Irish bases which proved so useful in the last war. But there has been no sign that Mr. de Valera's government is considering a reversal of its stand on this question. Continued air raids, however, might disabuse the Irish of their fond hopes of remaining a museum of independent democracy in a Nazi Europe and bring about a sharp change in public opinion, which so far has favored the strict-neutrality policy. While the government of Eire has sent a strong protest to Berlin, it has denied any intention of breaking off diplomatic relations.

★

VERNE MARSHALL, THE LOQUACIOUS GENIUS of the No Foreign War Committee, told the press on December 30 that William Rhodes Davis, wealthy oil magnate, had offered to underwrite his group. He went on to give a strange tale of an "agenda" for peace, initiated by Göring, which was brought back by Davis from Berlin in the fall of 1939. Interviewed in his turn, Mr. Davis refused to say anything about his alleged mission to Germany but released a letter he had written to Senator Wheeler, as chairman of the Senate committee to investigate interferences with the defense program, asking to be allowed a hearing on his relations with foreign govern-

ments. We hope Senator Wheeler will gratify this desire promptly, for there are several aspects of Mr. Davis's adventurous and litigious career which demand public illumination. Meanwhile, we note that Mr. Davis and Mr. Marshall, while agreeing in their isolationism, contradict each other on one important detail: the former denied any financial or other connection with the No Foreign War Committee. He also denied the report, mentioned by our Washington editor on November 2, that he financed John L. Lewis's radio indorsement of Wendell Willkie. This report is under investigation by a federal grand jury. Accompanying his letter to Senator Wheeler is an autobiographical sketch which starts a new mystery. Mr. Davis claims that on his mother's side he is "a direct descendant of Cecil Rhodes," famous British imperialist. Standard biographies of Rhodes, however, fail to mention either marriage or children. It is a small point, but unless satisfactorily cleared up it may throw some light on Mr. Davis's credibility as a witness.

★

THE NATION IS IN A POSITION TO DENY THE authenticity of the widely published report that the Reuther plan for producing 500 planes a day has been "reluctantly" rejected by Defense Commission experts. The Associated Press story quoting a "high" but anonymous production expert to that effect was written in good faith, but it has been disavowed by the Defense Commission as neither authorized nor true, and the anonymous expert has yet to come forward in defense of his story. A door-to-door survey made at the offices of the commission in Washington last week, to check all possible sources of the story, from Production Chief Knudsen down to the commission's public-relations man, Robert Horton, elicited a series of denials. Some commission or War Department expert no doubt tried to kill off the Reuther plan with this anonymous and irresponsible story. When Mr. Reuther spoke at an "off-the-record" luncheon given him by the National Press Club in Washington last Friday, he received an enthusiastic reception, and among those who came to hear him were Assistant Secretary of War Patterson, Mr. Knudsen, and Leon Henderson. The news that the United States produced few more than 6,000 military planes last year and will be hard put, with present methods, to build 12,000 this year should stimulate interest in labor's plan to utilize idle automotive capacity for plane production instead of waiting for the construction of new factories.

★

"DOES THE SENATOR HIMSELF CONTEND," Senator Wagner asked Senator Taft on January 2, "that it is a sound policy to give a contract, which is in the nature of a favor from the government, to one who willfully violates the laws of the nation?" The answer was, "Yes, I do; frankly." Senator Taft gave the answer in the

middle of the long and rambling speech with which he tried to block confirmation of J. Warren Madden's appointment to the Court of Claims. In all but candor the War Department's position seems to be that of Senator Taft. Despite its repeated pledges that defense contracts would be let subject to compliance with the labor laws, the War Department stubbornly insists on giving Henry Ford the much-discussed contract for \$1,400,000 worth of midget military cars. Evasive answers were made by Assistant Secretary of War Patterson at a press conference last week when he was asked whether this accorded with the pledges made to labor last September and whether Ford had met the specifications of the contract. Ford's failure to meet specifications would give the War Department an easy way out of its hastily made award. In the meantime, the War Department is again "discussing" the question of whether to insert a clause in future defense contracts stipulating compliance with the labor law. So far, its promises to labor have been worthless.

★

TWO WEEKS AGO IT BECAME KNOWN THAT Francisco Largo Caballero, former Prime Minister of Spain, had been imprisoned with other Spanish Republican leaders in the unoccupied zone of France. A report reaching this country within the last few days indicates that he may already have been delivered to Franco. If the report is true, Caballero's fate is easy to guess; he is not likely to be treated more leniently than was Luis Companys, the former President of Catalonia, who met death by garrotting at the hands of Franco's executioners. It is generally believed that the Spanish dictator would take special satisfaction in executing the seventy-three-year-old labor leader who headed the Popular Front government in the early months of the war. Republican Spain's other two war-time leaders, Señor Giral and Dr. Negrín, are out of reach—in Mexico and London. If Caballero is to be saved it will only be through the swift intervention of other governments, particularly our own. President Batista of Cuba has been credited with bringing about commutation of the death sentences against Rivas Cheriff and Carlos Montilla; certainly a strong protest from the State Department in Washington would have as much effect in this latest case. Nor should the complicity of the Vichy government be overlooked. In its agreement with the Mexican government concerning the transfer of Spanish Republicans to Mexico, the French authorities promised "respect for the lives and liberties of the Spanish refugees, limiting exclusively to crimes of common law having no political significance all extradition measures, and excluding any form of repression save that within the jurisdiction of the French courts." By no possible interpretation could that provision be stretched to permit either the imprisonment of Largo Caballero or his delivery to Franco.

Forestalling Inflation

CURIOUS misconceptions about the basic economic philosophy of the New Deal have been revealed in comments on the new program for monetary control issued by the Federal Reserve System. In some quarters the proposals of Mr. Eccles and his colleagues are being treated as a slap at the Administration and a confession of past errors. This of course is sheer nonsense. Objections may be raised by the Treasury and other government departments to certain details of the Federal Reserve report, but informed supporters of the New Deal will certainly not carp at the general principle that a managed monetary system must restrain inflation as well as combat deflation.

During most of the past eight years our economy has been acting in a sluggish manner which called for stimulants. The New Deal prescription was a mixture of cheap and plentiful credit with government investment to sop up idle savings. It has often been argued that this was the wrong medicine because it failed to restore the patient to ruddy health. It is our belief, however, that full recovery was inhibited because the doctors, attempting to placate the opposition of older and more orthodox practitioners, never increased the dosage sufficiently. All along their critics voiced dire warnings of inflationary complications, refusing to accept the diagnosis of such men as Mr. Eccles, who said just a year ago: "I do not see how it would be possible to have a dangerous general inflation so long as we have a large amount of idle men and unused resources."

The fact that Mr. Eccles now is looking toward an inflationary situation and is seeking stronger powers to forestall the danger does not mean that he has shed his belief in a compensated economy. On the contrary, it means he recognizes a sharp change in conditions which may call for a restriction of stimulants and an injection of sedatives. This change has of course been brought about by the defense program. A year ago the government was engaged in pump-priming by financing civilian projects out of borrowed money on a comparatively modest scale. Today it is pouring money into defense without limits except those imposed by the country's capacity to produce. We have already seen the results in sharply increased production, a steady fall in unemployment, and a considerable expansion in consumer purchasing power. The program is still in its early stages, but before the end of the current year we may well reach a point where excess capacity to produce has shrunk to nominal proportions and the flow of incomes tends to outrun the available supply of goods. At this stage the upward pressure on prices becomes hard to resist, and some means of damping down demand becomes essential if inflation is to be avoided. Various measures are already being taken

by the Administration to check such a development. Efforts are being made to restrain price increases of key commodities and to expand production facilities in those industries which threaten to become bottlenecks.

The control of credit is a necessary complement to these activities. At the present time excess reserves of Federal Reserve member banks amount to \$6,620,000,000 and are expected to reach \$7,000,000,000 as currency in circulation shrinks after the holiday demand. On this basis a credit expansion in excess of \$40 billion is theoretically possible. Under its present powers, the Federal Reserve Board can increase reserve requirements from 22¾ per cent to 26 per cent in central reserve cities, from 17½ per cent to 20 per cent in reserve cities, and from 12 per cent to 14 per cent for country banks. The effect would be to lop about a billion off excess reserves. The Federal Reserve authorities can also resort to "open-market operations" by selling government securities. This would absorb an equivalent amount of excess reserves, but the system's holdings are only about \$2,200,000,000, and they cannot be wholly liquidated since they are its main earning asset. Thus the maximum use of present powers would still leave excess reserves at a dangerously high level if the development of an inflationary atmosphere led to a sharp increase in the demand for credit. Moreover, it must be remembered that one of the chief causes of the expansion in excess reserves has been the inflow of gold from abroad, and there is no reason to believe that this movement is at an end.

The principal proposal of the Federal Reserve System is that it should be given power to raise reserve requirements to a maximum of twice the present statutory levels. This power would not necessarily be used all at once, but it would enable excess reserves to be tapered off in accordance with the demands of the situation.

Limitations of space prevent more than brief mention of other suggestions in this report. They include cancellation of the President's power to revalue the dollar further; repeal of the Treasury's power to issue \$3,000,000,000 worth of "greenbacks"; repeal of the power to monetize silver; and the neutralizing of future gold imports. We see little to criticize in these proposals, except the last, which would involve borrowing by the Treasury for the purpose of sterilization and would thus impose on the country an unnecessary expense. Nor do we quarrel with the recommendation that "as the national income increases a larger and larger proportion of defense expenses should be met by tax revenues rather than by borrowing." We have been staunch defenders of deficit financing as an aid to recovery, but we agree that "whenever the country approaches a condition of full utilization of its economic capacity . . . the budget should be balanced." It is equally important, however, that the burdens of taxation should be so distributed that they do not hinder full production or add to the cost of necessities.

Victims of Vichy

A REPORT has come to hand which demands immediate publication. It describes the inhuman treatment of Spanish Republicans interned in concentration camps in Algeria and French Morocco and constitutes a shocking indictment of the Vichy government, which is directly responsible. We urge the facts it reveals upon the attention of the government, which has an inescapable duty to use its good offices in Vichy to obtain a mitigation of these horrors. The report reached us through a source in which we place complete confidence. The most significant passages follow:

With the exception of a certain number who because of their physical weaknesses have been placed in other concentration camps, Spaniards who came to Algeria from Spain at the end of the war and those who came from French concentration camps have been placed in "foreign labor companies" scattered over Morocco and Algeria.

Life in these labor companies is similar to life in prison. Members sleep in shacks without beds. Each one has a *chilaba* to wear and two narrow cotton coverlets for the cold desert nights. They are waked up before dawn by the bugler, formed into companies, and marched to their tasks, often many kilometers away. They labor on railroad construction under a burning sun with a temperature that often in the summer reaches 69 degrees centigrade. They are given a stint that must be finished; if they fail, they are placed in disciplinary battalions. In these they are guarded by armed native soldiers and subjected to all kinds of mistreatment. They are insulted and beaten mercilessly for the slightest infraction of the rules, even for stopping work a second when exhausted by the heat and the killing pace. These districts are poorly supplied with food and water, and sanitary measures are virtually non-existent.

Medical aid is in the hands of recently demobilized military doctors who have hired themselves out to the private company in charge of the construction on which the refugees work. Often there is a conflict between the professional duty of these doctors and their employer's interest; it is difficult for a refugee laborer to get permission to stay away from work however sick he may be. One Spaniard with a bad heart was forced to work and fell dead on the job.

The punishments meted out to the prisoners are unworthy of a civilized nation. One of them consists in tying the prisoner's hands together with a rope the other end of which is tied to a horse's tail; the horse is then made to run with increasing speed until the prisoner falls and is dragged through the desert sand. Another consists in forcing a prisoner into a barrel which is then rolled down a hill. In the "punishment of the tomb," the most ferocious of all, the man under discipline is forced to dig a grave; he is then made to lie motionless in the grave for several days, exposed to the heat of the

sun and the cold of the night, under the constant vigilance of an armed native, and not allowed to alter his position in the slightest, even for the demands of nature.

A complaint or a request though made in the most courteous tone is quickly punished; many a Spaniard has found himself in the disciplinary battalions after he asked for a favor for himself or an ailing friend.

The plight of the Spanish Republican refugees in France was miserable enough before the Vichy regime took over. But today these men—the vanguard of the democratic resistance—are treated like convicts by the latest victims of fascist aggression.

Most of the people imprisoned in North Africa are professional men—doctors, teachers, and writers. Some could make their way to safe territory if the French authorities would allow them their freedom and if they could get valid travel papers. Neither is now possible. Several of them—men who have been demanded by Franco—are being held pending extradition hearings. Others are detained, ironically enough, as a result of the Vichy-Mexican agreement providing for the shipment of Spanish refugees to Mexico. Vichy will grant no exit permits until a ship is sent and the Mexican government is prepared to issue a blanket visa. Meanwhile the refugees continue to suffer not only the hardships of unjustifiable imprisonment, but also punishments and cruelties which would be inexcusable if they were dangerous criminals instead of innocent men and courageous anti-fascists.

Stale Lies and a New Trick

WE DO not have the space at this time to disentangle and answer all the stale lies and shabby calumnies rehearsed in the final report of the Smith committee. But we should like to make two points before the report is used as a springboard for Congressional oratory in favor of amending the Wagner Act out of existence. The first deals with the committee's procedure in writing and publishing its report; the second, with that report's most revealing omission.

A great deal is said in the report about "the American way of life." The National Labor Relations Board, for example, is accused of "seeking to legalize as part of the American way of life the infamous anarchistic sit-down strikes." We should have supposed that a basic principle of that "American way of life" was a readiness to let the other fellow have a hearing. Yet nowhere in the committee's published final report, filling fifty-one triple-columned pages, will one find any reference to the fact that it does not represent the views of the entire committee, that the committee of five was split three to two

on these findings, and that the two minority members disagree completely with the report.

The committee's majority of three dared make no reference to the existence of a dissenting minority. To have done so might the sooner have called attention to the unprincipled way in which the report was prepared. The three members of the majority, Chairman Smith and Representatives Halleck and Routzohn, kept the preparation of the report a secret from the two members of the minority, Representatives Arthur D. Healey and Abe Murdock, the latter now a Senator. These two were given no opportunity to make their own views heard. The filing of the report was delayed until four days before the close of the session, leaving the minority insufficient time to prepare a dissenting report. When Representatives Healey and Murdock asked the House for permission to submit their report after the close of the session, they found that technical rules denied them the opportunity. The minority intends to file a report of its own in the near future, but this report will have no formal status, and the official printed record of the Smith committee will contain no indication that there was a dissenting opinion. *The Nation* believes that the House of Representatives owes it to itself formally to rebuke Chairman Smith and Congressman Halleck (Routzohn was defeated for re-election) for this sort of underhanded procedure.

As significant as the committee's unwillingness to allow free discussion among its own members is its failure to answer the most important of the five questions originally put to it by the House. "What effect," the House wanted the Smith committee to find out, "has the National Labor Relations Act had upon increasing or decreasing disputes between employer and employee?" In all the 153 columns of type which make up the report there is but one sentence answering this question. Had the committee been able to bring forward evidence that the Wagner Act had increased the number of labor disputes, it would have had a powerful argument for amendment of the act, even for its repeal. The best the report can do is to say, "The committee finds that the solicitation of litigation by the board, the favoritism displayed by it toward the C. I. O., and the deliberate use of dilatory methods have induced and protracted a large number of industrial disputes." This is loose and irresponsible statement. The three members who make up the majority did not dare to go into the facts because the facts prove that the Wagner Act has lessened the number of industrial disputes. The facts demonstrate that the best way to cut down the number of strikes is to accord legal recognition to the right of collective bargaining. The three members of the majority were anxious not to uncover these facts but to conceal them.

The facts are well summarized in the statement rushed into print by the two members of the minority when they learned that a Smith committee report had been released

In the year 1940 there were fewer strikes than in any other year since 1935, fewer workers involved in strikes than in any other year since 1932, and fewer man-days idle because of strikes than since 1930. "The stabilizing influence of the [Wagner] act," Senator Murdock and Representative Healey declare, "is being clearly demonstrated during the current defense program. When this country entered its last great rearmament period in 1916, it was handicapped by chaotic industrial relations. During the five months June through October, 1916, there were nearly one and one-half times as many workers involved in strikes as during the same months in 1940, despite the fact that there were only four-fifths as many persons employed during that earlier period." Only two serious stoppages of work have occurred in defense industries, and neither of these was a major strike. Ten working days were lost in the Vultee strike and four working days in the Aluminum Company plant at New Kensington. How dare the three-man majority of the Smith committee end their report by saying that "the entire program of national defense" is jeopardized by enforcement of the Wagner Act? The Wagner Act alone makes it possible for workers to win in the courts what they formerly could have obtained only on the picket line.

President Roosevelt Reports

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

THE President's message to Congress on the state of the nation was really a report on the state of the world. It repeated, with effect and force, the substance of his radio talk a week earlier, and expanded it a little. But it failed to lay down specifications for additional aid to England or tell the new session exactly what he wants it to do in the matter of our defense program. Doubtless concrete proposals will come later in special messages, especially in the budget message this week. Until then we can only guess how many billions'-worth of planes, tanks, and guns are to be lent or rented to Britain, and just what "sacrifices" in the form of taxes will be demanded of the American people. We can be certain, however, that the billions will be many and the taxes heavy, for the President announced with absolute intransigence the determination of the government to back to the limit "those resolute people everywhere who are resisting aggression," and never "to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers." Those are strong words, stronger and more direct, I think, than any he has spoken before. They seal the future of this country against plans now hatching in and out of Washington to limit our aid to England and to encourage a negotiated

settlement on the basis of Hitler's present gains and his announced plans for a new European order.

Perhaps we can afford to wait for the specifications while we digest this sober and fateful commitment. It will arouse fierce opposition in the ranks of the isolationists because it surely implies that if American guns and tanks and planes fail to produce a decent peace, American armed force will help finish the job. This the President did not say, and I am sure he believes that only if we allow our non-belligerent efforts to slacken will war be forced upon us. The fact remains that even with all the speed and energy and efficient planning demanded by the President from every branch of American industry, the British and their allies may face defeat. If the President's words mean anything, we would fight to prevent that defeat—and the fascist peace that would follow it.

I stress this possible alternative because I believe it must be accepted as real and then used, not as an argument for inaction, but rather as a spur to a more intensive effort to pour weapons into Britain's arsenals. I stress it for another reason: We are all tempted to talk about the future in terms of a possible fascist victory. (This slightly perverse indulgence is one which particularly fascinates theorists, as readers of the three-cornered debate in this issue of *The Nation* will discover.) We consider ways of guarding our interests and those of this hemisphere in a world otherwise dominated by totalitarian powers. Or we consider the inner adjustments that will be necessary if we are to be able to compete successfully with a fascist Europe. Or we worry about the "time" that would be permitted us to prepare for an inevitable conflict. The President's formulation of American policy consigns such speculations to the realm of fantasy. We will not acquiesce in a fascist peace; we will prevent it if we have the power to do so. This means that no interlude will be permitted for more intensive rearming, no opportunity given for experiments in adaptation. Either the Nazis and their lesser allies will be stopped or they will conquer us along with the other resolute peoples who are resisting them. If they are victorious, our forms of "adaptation" will be determined for us and our arms will be taken away.

The only interlude we can count upon is the present period of British resistance. With our unstinted and efficient help that may be extended to the point of final victory; and we may be spared the agony of battle. But if we withhold the fullest measure of assistance we shall not only not spare ourselves the danger of active involvement; we shall precipitate ourselves into the conflict surely and promptly and in a state of miserable unreadiness. In any case let us forswear speculations about the effect on our own fortunes of a fascist victory in Europe; there can be no fascist victory until we too are defeated. This, whether he intended it or not, is the ultimate logic of the President's message.

Munichman from Montana

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 4

SENATOR WHEELER was dressed in the costume favored by statesmen—cutaway and gray striped trousers. When I went in he was sitting behind the small desk at which he works. As the conversation warmed up he rose and walked round and round the room, twirling his silver-rimmed spectacles in one hand with the solemnity of a college dean. He spoke of the huge volume of mail he received after his "peace" speech. He said that the network over which he broadcast had only a tenth as many stations as that over which the President spoke Sunday night. He thought the President probably had not received more than twice as much mail as he did. These comparative figures gave him great satisfaction. I began by saying that *The Nation* wanted me to ask him just how he envisaged a negotiated peace at this time.

The Senator replied by remarking that he thought the President ought to try to bring about peace. He did not agree with colleagues like Senator Clark who believed that Mr. Roosevelt's strongly anti-Axis speeches made it impossible for him to act as a mediator. Senator Wheeler also thought that before giving more aid to Great Britain we ought to know what its war aims were. Last time there had been Versailles, and Versailles had created Hitler. Could one, after the events of the past few years, expect a Hitler peace to be anything more than a breathing spell for new aggressions? "Let us assume," Senator Wheeler said, "that we can't believe Nazis promises." Nevertheless, peace now was better than continued slaughter.

He did not think the English could win. "I am one of those who don't want to see England annihilated," he said, but those who are encouraging the British to resist by intimating that we are going to enter the war are doing them a disservice. He was convinced the President would take us into the war if he could. He thought it doubtful that a resolution declaring war could be put through Congress. "I think Congress has gone just about as far as it will go along that line." Unless we enter the war the British, in his opinion, could not win, and there was a question in his mind as to whether we could. In order to defeat Germany we should have to land troops on the Continent. Every military and naval expert he had talked to—and he had talked to many—agreed on that point. "If Germany can't land troops twenty-two miles across the Channel," the Senator said, "it isn't likely that we can land troops on the Continent." Only an alliance of Russia, the United States, and England, he added, could defeat Germany.

"Consequently," he said, "Russia and the United States could do a great deal to bring about peace in Europe, perhaps not a just peace from the standpoint of England, or of Germany or Italy for that matter, but surely the effort should be made." Some day there was going to be a negotiated peace. Almost every peace had been a negotiated peace. Why not try for one now? I suggested that Hitler had been underestimated here and abroad from the beginning. Wasn't it about time to begin to take him at face value? Hitler said he wanted to rule the world. "This talk about Hitler wanting to dominate the world, as he expounded it in 'Mein Kampf,'" the Senator answered, "doesn't impress me any more than did the boasts of Lenin and Trotsky a few years ago that they were going to make a world revolution. These are fantastic boasts by unpractical egotists. Japan boasts that she's going to rule the world. There are people in the United States who think that we, or at least the English-speaking peoples, should dominate the world."

"I appreciate the fact," the Senator continued, "that some fanatics who want to get us into war right away will brand me a Laval or something worse for what I have said. In some high circles there seem to be people who have the idea that those who are talking peace should be intimidated." We were not a totalitarian power, and some people talking blithely of tolerance and democracy were at the same time using "the very methods that Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini used to maintain themselves in power." Those howling down the advocates of peace were "intolerant to the *nth* degree." They were breeding intolerance and racial and religious hatreds, which were always the forerunner of the destruction of democratic ideals. He had been attacked for his anti-war views by a Polish-American paper. He wasn't worried about what was going to happen to the Poles. He was concerned with what might happen to Americans. He had told some of his friends—he named some close Jewish advisers who share his isolationist views—that the backwash of the current hysteria was a rising tide of anti-Semitism. He feared a really virulent anti-Semitism if we became involved in the war. He wished some of the Jews in New York would have sense enough to keep their mouths shut. He felt they were being used by politicians for their own ends.

What kind of peace did the Senator think we could get? Would he take peace at any price? What would he consider terms impossible to accept? Well, he had been in Europe, and he felt then as he did now that a United

States of Europe was the only way out. Did he think we could get a United States of Europe from Hitler? "I don't know," the Senator replied, "I'm not in his confidence. But there can be nothing lost in trying to bring about peace. Every American citizen from the President down ought to be working toward that end." Wouldn't a negotiated peace merely be an armed truce? "That," said the Senator, "is just a guess." Didn't he think the guess had some pretty good grounds after the events of the past few years? I didn't get an answer.

England, said the Senator, was opposed to a United States of Europe. "I don't think Hitler today would accept one either," he added. "Any peace in Europe," Senator Wheeler said, "has got to be based on letting the ordinary man live. That wasn't done when the Versailles treaty was written. I don't know that it can be done under Hitler." The Senator felt that peace could have been obtained in September, 1939, if Poland had given

up Danzig, the Polish Corridor, and Silesia. He felt that the United States would be in a stronger moral position today if it had brought about peace then on those terms, and I kept coming back to, and the Senator kept getting away from, the issue of whether Hitler's signature on a peace treaty would be worth anything. The Senator said he thought we had to trust someone, that we had got along with tyrants in the past and would have to do so again in the future. If Britain was our first line of defense, he said, then we ought to go into the war immediately. But we weren't ready for war. High army and navy officers afraid to speak publicly had told him we weren't prepared. "The President," they said, "won't listen to us." The British, the Senator declared, were in a bad way. British labor's morale wouldn't hold up much longer. Wages were too low. "Talk about freedom," the Senator asked, "what of India, what of Hongkong?" By this time his secretary was at his elbow.

Who Owns the Future?

LETTERS BY FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, LAWRENCE DENNIS, AND MAX LERNER

[We are glad to give space to the following comments on the future of American democracy by an intellectual defeatist, a champion of dictatorship, and a democrat. The correspondence was originally an exchange of letters between Mr. Dennis and Professor Schuman. Mr. Lerner, to whom the letters were shown, thought they threw a curious light on current thought processes and obtained permission to make them public along with his own reaction. We agree with Mr. Lerner's view of their importance and even more with his analysis.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

The Will to Survive

DEAR LAWRENCE DENNIS: Your last book, "The Dynamics of War and Revolution," is in all respects a most important one for anyone attempting to think through the world revolution in which we find ourselves. I have been considering writing you for some time to pay tribute to the insight and foresight you display in it, as in "The Coming American Fascism" and elsewhere, and to resume our old debate on a new level.

You will no doubt agree that if the fall of France confirmed part of your thesis, the reaction of America to the events of last summer demonstrates, contrary to your expectation and mine, that Americans can probably no longer be brought to fight for "democracy," or "England," or "foreigners," or any symbol or faith or cause of any kind—unless their hemisphere is invaded by armed force,

their cities bombed, and their houses burned over their heads. And even in this case I suspect that many people in Maine, let's say, would be in favor of "keeping out of California's wars" and vice versa. The causes for this attitude have obviously nothing to do with the reasons you adduce so eloquently in support of an isolationist policy, but have to do with what looks very much like the sheer stupidity, cowardice, demoralization, and irresponsibility of a community already decadent.

To me it is clear—and if you will face honestly the strategic problem posed for America by contemporary *Realpolitik* you will, I think, agree—that the defenses of America were and still are in Western Europe. I was booed at Town Hall last March for saying that our frontier was on the Rhine. As soon as that frontier fell, our isolationist Congress frantically began pouring billions of dollars down the sewer in an effort at "defense" which is foredoomed to futility. The British fleet is the last remaining barrier between an invincible totalitarian war machine and an utterly indefensible Western Hemisphere. This is a simple fact of strategy and has nothing to do with ideologies or systems or causes or moral values. It is a problem of power. And this problem of power the government and people of this republic are clearly unwilling to face and unable to meet in any adequate fashion. Because of their irrational sympathies they will not "abandon" Europe and Asia—and also most of Latin America, which is economically, culturally, and strategically a dependency of Europe and not of the

United States—and gird their loins to save themselves within an area where salvation might be a military possibility. Because of their irrational fears they will not go to war to save their outer defenses by smashing Germany and Japan. In purely material terms America, plus what is left of Britain, could of course smash Germany and Japan, and if there were sufficient vitality left in either country to offer promise of survival such a course would have been embarked upon long since. Either of these policies would “make sense” and save a good deal from the wreckage. Neither is within the realm of the politically possible.

The second course is “out” because the average American recoils in horror from the thought of fighting and insists upon constant reassurances from his political leaders that he will never have to fight. He is afraid to fight because he no longer knows what is worth fighting for. And since he no longer knows what is worth fighting for, he won't know what to fight for or what not to fight for in the Western Hemisphere or even in North America any more than he knows what to fight for or what not to fight for in Europe and Asia. He and his fellows will therefore repeat the appalling blunders of the British and French, who should have fought for Czechoslovakia and didn't, as you so ably point out, and who a year later fought for Poland when the game was already lost. By the same logic of illogic Americans wouldn't fight to save the Rhine frontier and may not fight to save the British fleet, though both of these strategic assets could have been saved by fighting in time. They will probably make a Munich and then fight later to save Brazil or the Philippines or Greenland or Venezuela or God-knows-what under strategic conditions which will insure defeat.

The first course, for which you could make out a far better case than Charlie Beard if you put your mind to it, is also “out” because, as you say, “it calls for a continuing exercise over European destinies which we are neither able to make nor willing to undertake.” I deny that we are “unable” to do this. America was in a position to remake Europe and the world in 1919 and again in 1939, but it couldn't because it wouldn't. I agree that we are “unwilling.” But this is not a defect of our collective power. It is a defect of our collective wisdom and our collective will.

All of this is symptomatic of a deep-seated *malaise* and raises issues which are far more fundamental than those of “isolationism” or “interventionism.” The basic issue raised is nothing less than that of the capacity for survival of those who are unwilling to abandon old habits in the face of new dangers.

I concur whole-heartedly that “the two needs of tomorrow's revolutionary leadership are, first, understanding of the situation and, second, a will to meet it. Hitler's revolutionary genius has consisted in understanding since the war, as no liberal democratic leaders anywhere have

understood, that capitalism is doomed, and in having always a will to do concrete things about it.”

The West—by which I mean here everybody west of the Rhine—has lost all capacity to understand and act. No amount of pleading that “suicide is morally wrong” offers hope of reform. The trouble with your ethics and your politics—if you will permit me to say so, not as a carping critic or as a bankrupt liberal, but as a sincere admirer of your “realism”—is that you are still addicted to Bismarck's thesis (which is a liberal thesis) that politics is the art of what is “possible” and to John Dewey's thesis (which is bankrupt pragmatism) that rules of ethics should “work.” The central difficulty here is that the things which are possible and the rules which work depend upon human foresight and will-power. Hitler has accomplished the impossible by virtue of these qualities. The West cannot even contemplate things which are perfectly possible because it lacks these qualities.

I agree that “revolution” might save us—or save something or somebody. But I'd like to pose the issue a bit differently and solicit your comments on my formulation, if you care to comment. We have first to disentangle ourselves from useless vocabulary. I note that you have substituted the term “socialism” for the term “fascism” to describe the coming order. Perhaps it is better, but both terms are so charged with irrelevant emotional overtones that I wish we could find purely factual descriptive words devoid of all moralistic or ideological connotations. That is difficult. Oswald Spengler's vocabulary, however, possesses the advantages of ethical neutrality and historical perspective. Let us grant, to use his terminology, that “capitalism” and “democracy” are doomed by the rise of “Caesarism.” The state form of tomorrow is “Caesarism” with all that this implies in social and economic terms. Caesarism means both “socialism”—that is, military totalitarianism resting on a dynamic faith and a will to action—and “internationalism”—that is, the end of national sovereignty in favor of a world state or a small number of world empires. Both are necessary for the survival of Western civilization in the age of its fulfillment and decline. Both will come because both must come. Obviously both are coming. This, to Spengler, is “destiny”—that is, a product of laws of growth within a culture over which the people who comprise that culture and who imagine that they are the captains of their fate really have no control at all. This is simply another and better way of saying what many have long since said, first of all the Marxists: that the machine and the Industrial Revolution have created a set of circumstances throughout the Western world, and indeed all over the planet, in which the old patterns of competitive capitalism and individual initiative on the one hand and of national sovereignty and international power politics on the other are no longer compatible with what people want and need in an industrialized world society.

It seems to me that your statement of the "inevitability" of "socialism" is as effective as your neglect of the inevitability of "internationalism" is deplorable. I am convinced that the Western state system and the whole game of balance-of-power politics among national sovereignties is already at an end and that we face the advent of a world-state in some form or other, or at least of a community of great continental imperiums which may fight one another until the most powerful has finally imposed its will on its rivals and created a world imperium. This appears to me as inevitable as socialism. It is for this reason that Wilson was as "great"—that is, as cognizant of what must be—as Lenin, albeit he was less successful, and as the pan-German world conquerors who influenced the Kaiser, albeit he was more successful. And it is for this reason that, on paper at least, Clarence Streit and Adolf Hitler are also brothers under the skin. Both know that national sovereignty is dying and that the world must be united. I therefore quarrel with you when you say that the revolution "has to be carried out by each nation." Hitler is giving the coup de grâce not only to capitalism but also to the whole system of sovereign nation-states. His genius lies in his capacity to undertake both tasks simultaneously and successfully. Lenin also saw that the two tasks were inseparable. Wilson did not; Streit does not. The Western democracies cannot unify the world or impose their hegemony upon it, despite the enormous superiority of potential power at their disposal, because they are wedded to a decadent capitalism and are inhibited and paralyzed by the products of its decay from doing anything which is relevant or constructive or heroic. The same was true of the Athenians in the time of Demosthenes. You oppose Streit because "it can't be done." But you fail to state clearly why it can't be done. The "why" has nothing to do with "haves" and "have-nots" or with any question of 240,000,000 white British, French, and Americans versus 400,000,000 Germans, Russians, Japanese, and Italians. Numbers count for nothing. Fanatic faith, even in what "can't be done" counts for everything. Western liberals have no such faith. Communists once had it. Nazis have it now.

It seems to me unrealistic in the extreme to suppose that America is outside the stream of history or can be unconcerned with what other power groups do to one another on other continents. A dynamic America, joined to a dynamic Britain and France either through a military alliance or Union Now, could have imposed its will on all the world by force and brought unity to the planet, but it wouldn't and won't and can't for reasons already indicated. Therefore others who are eager to do the job and can do the job will do the job, and America will be *gleichgeschaltet* or take the consequences. By that I mean that America will continue to be formless and feckless and decadent, without faith or will to act, in which case America will be conquered; or America will also go

"socialist" (totalitarian) and "internationalist" (imperialist) and clash with other totalitarian imperialisms, the fittest surviving and the devil taking the hindmost.

The issue of our day, in short, is who will do the job. Liberals have failed. The Nazis are succeeding. Liberals have demonstrated complete incapacity either to do the job themselves or to prevent the Nazis from doing it. Matters have now reached a pass at which nothing will save them or the communities in which they flourish except Union Now right away—meaning an immediate alliance for immediate war by a dynamic and revolutionized America and a dynamic and revolutionized British Empire. If the dynamism and the revolution could be conjured up out of the vasty deep, the arms and the material resources still at the disposal of the prospective allies could defeat Germany, Italy, and Japan, win Russian support (since the Russians respect strength), and remake the world in a fashion which might be preferable (to you and me as Americans) to the fashion in which the Nazis will remake it. But this of course is academic, since the dynamism and the revolution are not materializing in time and nothing of the sort is likely to happen. Britain may therefore go down, and America will be left alone with a hopeless problem of "national defense."

The question will then arise of who will do the job here. Perhaps nobody. In that case we shall become the booty of the conqueror. If the job is done, it will be done by those willing and able to do it. These do not include Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Willkie or the New Dealers or the liberals or the business men. If no leadership emerges from the ranks of those who know what must be done, then it may emerge from among the Joe McWilliamses, the Father Coughlins, the Kluxers, the Holy Rollers, or some other group of fanatics who know or think they know what they want and how to get it. And this prospect bothers me, as the conquest of Europe and the world by the Nazis bothers me, not because of moralistic or humanitarian scruples, which I quite agree have nothing to do with the case, but because I lack confidence in the ultimate capacity of the new barbarians to complete wisely the job they have begun successfully. And if they can't complete it, the end will be utter chaos for everybody. A new dynamic élite, more farsighted, catholic, and "civilized" and less provincial, narrow, and neurotic, would offer a better hope. But perhaps it is the tragedy of our time that the "civilized" are ever doomed to frustration and that action is possible only for the barbarians.

My job under these conditions is no longer to try to get America into a war which is probably already lost and which Americans wouldn't get into even if it weren't. And your job is no longer to keep Americans out of such a war, since the pacifist and isolationist idiots are doing this job for you. Our job is either to retire into our respective ivory towers and await the Ice Age or else

to do what we can to develop realism and leadership among those, if any, still capable of understanding the twentieth century and acting upon its imperatives. Personally I feel baffled, since I find little evidence among my fellow-citizens of any capacity for realism or leadership. I am therefore occupied with my writing, which at least affords certain intellectual satisfactions and will leave a more or less interesting record of the death of a world.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

The Party-State and the Elite

DEAR SCHUMAN: I am flattered by your searching letter in which is expressed so much appreciation of my book "The Dynamics of War and Revolution." It takes clear thinking and writing to formulate debatable issues between us when we have so much in common in method, attitude, and conclusions. So far as I am concerned, the purpose of clarifying these issues is mainly self-improvement. After all, we are critical of the times rather than of each other; we are exchanging notes rather than trying to convert each other.

In general, I entirely agree with you that the American people won't fight for "democracy, or England, or foreigners, or any symbol or faith or cause of any kind—unless their hemisphere is invaded by armed force, their cities bombed, and their houses burned over their heads." And then, if they do fight, it will be too late because they will be in an advanced state of disintegration. Hitler would not attack us unless we had become a push-over by reason of internal dissension and decay. I agree further that the causes for this attitude are mainly, though not exclusively, to use your words, "the sheer stupidity, cowardice, demoralization, and irresponsibility of a community already decadent."

Here, however, on a relatively minor tangent, I deviate from your synthesis. We both agree that American culture and the American people are now decadent. Only I hasten to qualify this dictum by adding that American culture is capitalism, and that it is only because capitalism is in collapse that American culture is in collapse. I then go on to say that a people as favored as we with natural resources, geographical isolation from potential invaders, and sheer size in almost every measurable term, can again become dynamic under another system and need not flounder long between the departed glories of capitalism and the glories of a new revolutionary 'ism, whatever may be its name—and I am not one to boggle over definitions. Russia and China, besides our good selves, appear to me to be the only peoples sufficiently favored in respect to the power factors to be able to rise from the collapse of one system to the glories of a successor without being crushed by a foreign conqueror during the collapse phase.

So when you say that the defenses of America were and still are in Western Europe or that our frontier is

on the Rhine, I side with you against the audience that booed you at Town Hall last March for saying this. But I hasten to add the following qualifications, which few Americans are aware of: (1) America is capitalism; wherefore whenever and wherever capitalism and anti-capitalism clash America is involved; wherefore the frontier of capitalism is the frontier of America; wherefore America must be at war with Germany, the chief anti-capitalist power now challenging capitalism. (2) If the American people were alive to their best interests they would not equate America with capitalism, a doomed system, but they would abandon the doomed system and seek to develop a successor which could survive the current phase. (3) The American people will not be made aware of their true interest in this respect until they have suffered far more than they have ever suffered up to now.

You say: "The British fleet is the last remaining barrier between an invincible totalitarian war machine and an utterly indefensible Western Hemisphere. This is a simple fact of strategy and has nothing to do with ideologies or systems or causes or moral values." I can't agree. If America had a dynamic culture for this era, a culture which would have to be some variant of an expansive totalitarian collectivism directed by a non-hereditary functional élite, then the Western Hemisphere would be far more secure than either Russia or Japan against Hitler.

You think America and Britain should and could smash Germany and Japan, but you correctly recognize that the American people have no kidney for the enterprise. You don't seem to recognize that there may be a good reason why the American people are not willing to fight Germany and Japan for capitalism, that is, Americanism, and that that reason may be that they do not really find capitalism worth the necessary sacrifices. They won't admit it, of course, but actions speak louder than words.

You are wrong, I think, about this being preeminently a strategic problem and not one of ideologies or systems. You would have had America form with Britain after the war a combination in perpetual restraint of Germany and Japan. You forget that capitalism, or Americanism, furnishes no ideological or moral imperative for such a combination. A great people cannot fight a major war or hold to a major line of foreign policy like Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations, really nothing more than an Anglo-Saxon combination in restraint of aggressors against the status quo, without an appropriate ideology and ethos. If capitalism had been true, Hitler and the fall of France could not have happened.

I disagree, therefore, with you that we were stupid and blind not to combine with the British plutocracy in restraint of the aggressors against the status quo. I agree with you that we are following a policy which can only culminate disastrously for us because the policy is neither fish nor fowl, or because it is founded on many patent

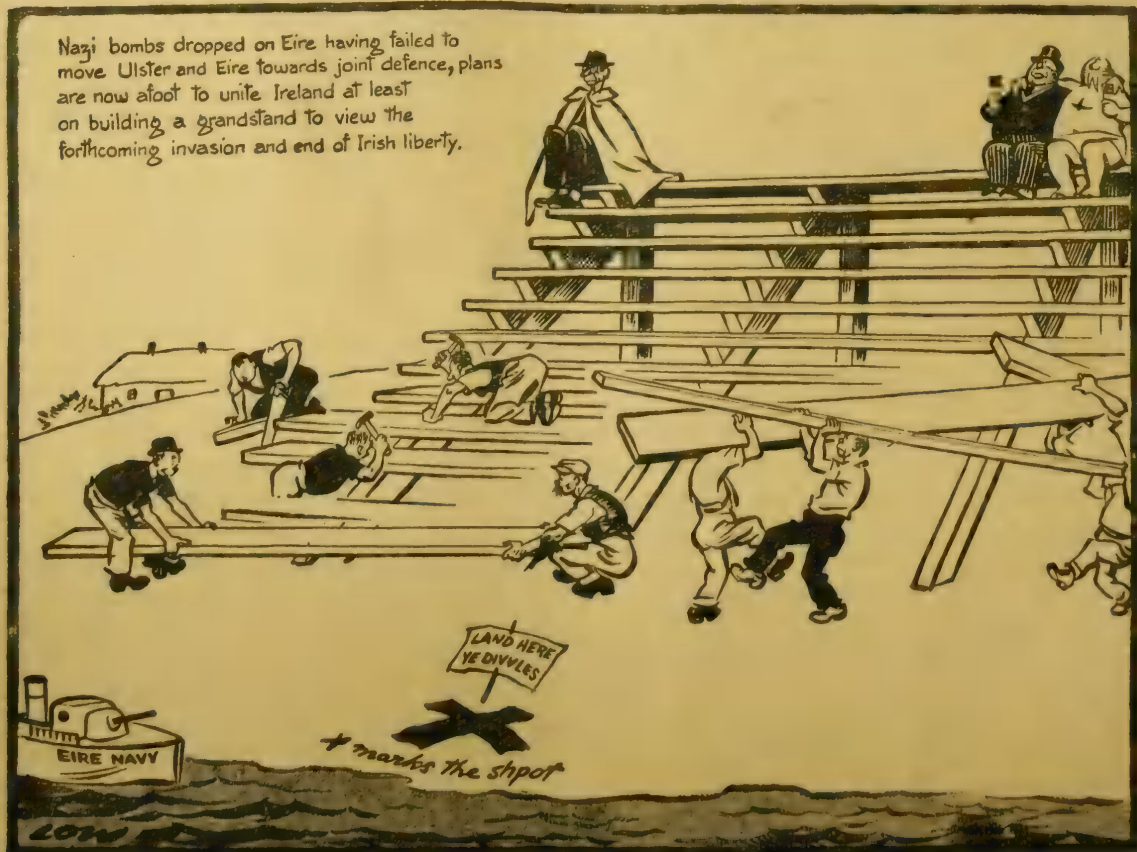
fallacies. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, is following a foreign policy which will continue to enhance Russian territorial possessions and political strength. The explanation is not that the Russian people are less stupid than the American people. The explanation is that the Russian people have a domestic economy and a foreign policy appropriate to the current phase of the struggle for existence and that the American people have not. Intelligence and character in pursuing the wrong policy will merely accelerate the career to destruction.

Then, as you go on, I find our views again converging. You express agreement with me "that the two needs of tomorrow's revolutionary leadership are, first, understanding of the situation and a will to meet it." But you would have met the situation during the past few years by a combination with Britain to check the foes of capitalism, whereas I have said that it is futile to fight anti-capitalism or to fight for capitalism and that the thing to do is to scuttle capitalism for a system under which a people can today meet the requirements for survival in the struggle for existence. Capitalism is a system which today picks Chamberlains, Reynauds, and Willkies for its leaders, and fiscal equilibrium and more freedom for business for its battle-cry in the domestic sphere and "Down with the anti-capitalists" for its battle-cry in the foreign sphere. It isn't good enough. Therefore the anti-

capitalists are bound to win out in the long run, and it may not be so long.

You say, "The West—by which I mean everybody west of the Rhine—has lost all capacity to understand and act." Then you attack my "realism" or "pragmatism," which you find of a piece with that of Bismarck, Dewey, and the liberals—the pragmatism that says politics is the art of the possible. You say that Hitler has achieved the impossible by virtue of human foresight and will-power. Aren't we here arguing over words rather than things? You are no more than I a believer in the supernatural. You are a believer in the super-traditional and the super-stupid. You would not, I believe, argue that any amount of faith, or fanaticism, or foresight, or will-power could have averted the crash of 1929 or the depression of the thirties. Hitler has accomplished not only the possible but what was logically indicated for a German leader to attempt. The leaders of the democracies have attempted only the obviously impossible and logically absurd, such as balancing the budget over here or doing Munich in September and guaranteeing Poland in April over there. The totalitarians are the rationalists, the democracies the irrationalists, these days.

The American faith, as you know, is essentially faith in a perpetual land boom. Nothing can revitalize that faith once the population curve which made the land



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boom for two centuries begins to flatten out. Faith in God is much better as a folkway than a faith in America or a faith in capitalism, which is essentially just faith in an eternal land boom. As there never can be objective proof of the existence of a God, so there can never be objective disproof of his existence. But faith in a perpetual land boom once had a basis in fact which is now being destroyed.

I accept your definition of the new revolution as the rise of a new Caesarism. I agree further that the new revolution is antithetical to the ideas, values, and procedures of nationalism, as we have known it since the Reformation. I cannot, however, go along with you in saying that a world-state is the logical or likely culmination of the prevailing trend. I agree that the extinction of the myriad small nations and the integration of the world into a few great systems are probably both inevitable and desirable for the welfare of the world masses. Personally, I share your predilection for a single, universal world order as a philosophical ideal. But I do not consider it inevitable or likely.

When I said that the revolution must be carried out by each nation, I should have added that I had in mind Russia, Germany, Italy, and Japan. I concur 100 per cent that Hitler is giving the coup de grâce to the sovereign national state, to nationalism as well as to capitalism. He is creating a new sovereign, along with Stalin—the sovereign Socialist Party, membership in which is the only significant citizenship. I agree with you that Clarence Streit and Hitler are brothers under the skin. Only I believe that Streit wants an Anglo-Saxon union to preserve the status quo and the property rights of the haves, which I deem impossible, whereas Hitler wants a Germanic union to aggrandize his party community, which I deem possible. *The new community is to be the party-state instead of the nation-state.* It has to be a larger community than that of any state smaller than say Germany or the United States. But it does not have to be a single, all-embracing, world party-state.

If Hitler conquers Britain, as I expect, and continues cooperative relations with the other dynamic totalitarians, as I also expect, events on this side of the Atlantic may conform to one of the following patterns: we may embark upon long-range military adventures in the Far East or Latin America with disastrous consequences, or we may merely string along with the defense hysteria, raising taxes, lowering living standards, disrupting our traditional social order, accentuating class struggle, discouraging private enterprise, paralyzing investor confidence, and generally demoralizing the people with the pursuit of a military policy intended to stop Hitler but calculated only to stop American progress. In either course of events we shall have disintegration and revolution. Hitler would probably intervene in the revolution just as the Bourbons intervened in the American Revolution.

As Lenin said, every revolutionist is a traitor. I am far more worried about what Americans are going to do to Americans in the next few years than about what Hitler is going to do to us. Hitler will be able to do us in only if and after we have done ourselves in by class war and foolish policies.

As you say, "the issue of our day, in short, is who will do the job"—the job of making the new order. I share your misgivings about the new barbarians. Only I feel a little more sanguine over the prospects of men of brains and good impulses sharing the direction of things in the new order. I agree with you that, for the moment, "our job is to retire into our ivory towers or to do what we can to develop realism and leadership among those, if any, still capable of understanding the twentieth century and acting upon its imperatives." I share your feeling of bafflement. Consequently, like you, I work it off mainly in writing for a limited public.

LAWRENCE DENNIS

The Dynamics of Democracy

DEAR FRED: When you showed me your exchange of letters with Lawrence Dennis, I felt that the letters raised issues so striking that they ought to be published. I am adding now a few notes of commentary as one who disagrees sharply with both of you.

My differences with Dennis are, of course, more profound than my differences with you. For Dennis's values scarcely differ from those of fascism. To be sure, he now talks of "socialism" where earlier he was a good deal franker. I can only explain the change by the need for protective coloration in an American climate of opinion still too harsh for fascism. I cannot go along with your bland view that the differences between the two are "irrelevant." If socialism and fascism are the same, then millions of blasted lives have had no meaning.

For Dennis to say socialism and fascism are the same is a matter of strategy (I can well understand why he is "not one to boggle over definitions"). For you to say it, however, is sheer confusion and blindness, unpalliated by your allusions to Spengler's Caesarism. The distance between the two is deep and wide and black as the pit. You say all this is "morals" and "ideology," and that they are intangibles that are brushed aside by the imperatives of history. And yet you were one of the first to say that Stalin's invasion of Finland would in the end be disastrous for Russia's cause, even in Machiavellian terms, because it did not reckon with the moral intangibles of policy. And your letter and Dennis's are drenched with emotional and moral terms—"cowardice," "irresponsibility," "decadence." I believe with you in the strategic factors of history. Yet, forgetting the enormous differences between socialism and fascism for the masses everywhere, for their living standards and their

freedom, even in terms of strategy your insistence on calling all collectivism "Caesarism" is fatal.

Why so? You know how wholly I agree with you on the need for sending full aid to England, regardless of the risk of war. But I don't see how you expect people to follow you if the moral and ideological aspects of Nazism are unimportant. Men do not willingly die to have a choice between Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

Nor do they willingly die in a hopeless cause. As soon as you admit Dennis's thesis that fascism (your "Caesarism") is inevitable, he has the draw on you, shooting with both barrels. By embracing the "inevitability" of Caesarism, you render hopeless our common cause of aiding England in order to keep Nazism from America, and our common cause also of creating a democratic dynamism which will make America's role at home and in world affairs a great one. Not only will Americans be confused about what they are fighting for, but they will know that, whatever it is, it doesn't stand a chance. That's "wave of the future" talk you're both giving us, Fred. And the mere fact that it's couched in the grandiose phrases of Spenglerism rather than in the Smith English of Mrs. Lindbergh doesn't change its effect on the middle-class American mind. For that mind has always been a bandwagon mind. Dennis says the American faith is faith in a perpetual land boom, and that's a good sentence—just close enough to the truth to be brilliant. Relying on a land boom means hoping to get in on the ground floor of a "good thing." And if you tell the American people that the stars in their courses are fighting for fascism, they'll want to be with the stars in their courses.



Der Führer

There is room and to spare in the dynamic of history for a strong democratic state which is *not* Caesarism—which is, in Lincoln's phrase, neither too weak for survival nor too strong for the liberties of its citizens. Neither of you in his letter has made the emergence of this sort of democratic state part of the campaign of history. Yet democracy is the great force in the world today, whether as dream or reality—greater than capitalism, which was once a force, or liberalism, which has never been a real one, or communism, which has too early thrown its strength away, or fascism, which once it goes down the skids will go fast, or internationalism, which may yet emerge as a great force.

Oh, I know that there has been more drivel talked about democracy than about anything else in our universe.

And I know that crimes have been committed in its name. But these are signs of vitality. You don't imitate a shadow, and you don't speak in the name of a nullity. One of our heritages from Marxism is to think of democracy as the shadow of a substance—capitalism—which is disintegrating. But ours will be a ghastly blunder if we do not recognize that democracy is substance as well as dream. It is something to die for, to live by, to give our talent and energy to extending. If that sounds insubstantial for us, it is real enough for the Indian peasant who in his hut in Bolivia or Chile has a yellowed picture of Roosevelt on the wall, for Chinese coolie and intellectual alike, for the British common man and the French and Dutch and Poles and Norwegians who are staking their lives on democracy being real. Of course, we must be tough-minded if we are to survive. But especially if we are tough-minded we shall know how to value a dynamic force as powerful as the idea of a society in which men can shape their own destiny, and rise to their full height, and be comrades, and not be pushed about. Let's agree that God is on the side of the big battalions. But those battalions won't be worth a wooden pistol unless they are fighting for an idea that can somehow be made real to them.

What has so far limited us in doing this with democracy? Dennis says "capitalism"; you say "decadence." I agree more with Dennis here, but as usual he has stopped short where I want to go on. It is a capitalism thus far uncontrolled by the democratic forces of the people that has betrayed us, nationally and internationally. Dennis is wrong when he calls our whole economy stagnant. By public spending and lending, by the control of saving and investment, by anti-trust action such as is now being used to beat down prices, by trade-union organization, by planning, by a whole array of strategic controls, our economic system can be made to live and work for the mass of people more efficiently than the enslaved economy of the Nazis that Dennis so greatly admires. The "land boom" is already on the way to becoming an organized system of controls. We have plenty of knowledge of what to do with our economic machine. The snags lie not in economics but in politics—in the realm of class resistance and press distortions and in the realm of power.

So when you ask, Why don't Americans have the will to fight the Nazis? I accept neither your answer that it is because they are cowardly and decadent nor Dennis's that it is because they know there is nothing to fight for. My answer is that democracy in its fullest extension is what there is to fight for. The people are not decadent, nor cowards, nor fools. To be sure, they have been duped and doped by Congress and press. It is taking them long to slough off an isolationism deepened by the experience of the last war, but they are doing it—just as fast as they are being allowed to do it by the barons of opinion and the lords of appeasement and their Congressional isola-

tionist liegemen. For the people cannot convince themselves that democracy is in as much danger from the Nazis as you and I know it is. They are waiting also to see whether Britain means its democracy genuinely, for its own workers and India as well as for the empire; and they are being confused by the talk of the "inevitability" of a Nazi triumph. They are waiting also to see whether we, in our labor policy and our defense policy, really *mean* democracy at home. Given this set of obstructions, the wonder is that mass opinion is not more confused than it is. Please, Fred, don't go reading the sickness of your Spengler into a culture which, at the end of a decade of depression and world crisis, is stronger than it was at the beginning.

But I agree with you when you say to Dennis that there are imperatives in history working in the direction of some form of internationalism. I believe completely that the chief "revolutionary" aspect of the present period is that it marks the breaking of nations. The small state, politically "sovereign" but economically helpless, will survive only as part of a larger economic unit and only as it surrenders part of its sovereignty to some federal system. The large states will have to do the same if their world is to be kept from chaos. But what kind of federal system? You mention Lenin, Wilson, Hitler, and Clarence Streit all in the same breath. That is why we must talk of more than just world federation. It must be democratic world federation, just as our internal socialization must be democratic socialization. And the two can only be achieved in connection with each other, as part of a single campaign.

Where shall we get the will to do both? Ultimately I agree with you when you say that the future belongs to those who are willing to do "the job." But what job? I think the job is to use the fullest resources of the machine process on the economic plane, the administrative process on the political, and the élan of the democratic idea on the ideological. And then the job is to smash Nazism, carry through the civil wars against it wherever it has gained power, organize the world on a working economic basis, and carry through a social reconstruction which can keep with the people the essential decisions that affect their lives. That job only a democratic dynamic can accomplish. If the job, however, is only the conquest and retention of power and the maintenance of "order" through coercion, it will be done—at least temporarily—by fascist gangsterism (Caesarism), fighting for naked power and loot and a place in a new social hierarchy. If we choose the first, as you and I do, it is because we know men can be tough-minded yet passionate with belief, because we know that there can be spunk and steel in them as well as fear and indecision. We know that under great leadership they can do the "impossible"—that is, extend the limits of achievement to the utmost by gauging rightly the boundaries of social and historical

possibility. If you don't believe that, what's the use of calling on the democracies, as you do, to resist Nazism?

Dennis wants to get the will for his job from an élite. I think I know the assortment of primitivist business men, high-powered advertising-agency executives, adventurist priests, demoniac salesmen, and intellectual muscle men that would comprise that élite, if and when. And because Dennis scorns democracy he thinks your whole idea of internationalism is a pipe dream. He is for the single-party state. There is where his totalitarianism centers. You let him get away with it by speaking of the inevitability of "socialism" as "military totalitarianism resting on a dynamic faith." If you are saying what you seem to be saying, Dennis's way seems to me much simpler and more logical. Poor Streit: you put a big burden on him if you think that his plan or any like it is going to hold together a pack of totalitarian wolf-states, each with its own brand of military socialism worked out. Internationalism, in any sense in which you mean it, is possible only where the constituent units, by the inherent nature of their economies, their political systems, their ideologies, do not have the imperative drive for further expansion. If the principle is going to be military totalitarianism at home and economic imperialism abroad, then Dennis's party-state will win out. What you will have will be the "Socialist" (Nazi) Party organized in every nation and on every continent, using national machinery and traditions where convenient—how ingeniously Dennis and his friends could work out an ideology for an American Nazism—but using the international Nazi party line and the Nazi spirit to cement the various national units.



Winston Churchill

What a heavenly city that would be! The single-party system, the state monopoly of conscience, the purging of dangerous thoughts, the Aryanization of science, the robotization of the common man, political Alcatrazes dotting both our coastlines, the administrative machinery of the nation one vast FBI. I don't have to draw this picture for you who have for a decade been our most brilliant and persistent exposers of the barbarism as well as the danger of Nazism. I implore you, since our ends and values are so similar, to look to your means. The Dennises are not your comrades, although like you they talk the language of Machiavelli, Marx, and Spengler. They are the polite forerunners of the barbarians whom you so rightly see undertaking "the job" in our country if we

do not. You say you are "bothered" by them not for moral reasons but because they won't be able to finish the job. I confess I am much more "bothered" by what they will do whether they botch the job or finish it: what they will do with this America of ours, which is not just landscape and fields of corn and skyscrapers and mines, but a living culture that we call democratic and humanist.

Dennis seems much less bothered by the barbarians. He thinks that "men of brains and good impulses" will share power with the Himmlers and Streichers and Coughlins and McWilliamses. Perhaps, with each of us, our dream of a "new order" is, after all, only a projection of the picture we have of ourselves in it. Let us leave him with his dream, sitting for the moment in his "ivory tower," writing for his "limited public," until the bar-

barians do with him what in Europe they have done with the Strassers and Rauschnings and other "men of brains and good impulses" who have cleared the way for them.

But you don't belong in an ivory tower. Most thinkers have some pet frustration, some feeling of having been an unheeded Cassandra. Nevertheless, our job is to fight—in market-place and statehouse, in schoolhouse and factory—for the world we wish to help fashion. And in that fight we are, as thinkers, not alone. We have the people as allies. In Spain, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Norway, in Holland, in England, they have shown a knowledge of the meaning of the struggle and a desperate heroism in waging it. They have been betrayed by the capitalists, the politicians, the generals, the diplomats. But in the face of all that they have not let us down.

MAX LERNER

Hi-Yo, Silver Lining!

BY C. B. BOUTELL

MAN in the course of his written history has always dreamed of a Midas formula with which to transmute the base material of everyday life into the minted coinage of the Never-Never Land. The formula has been in operation for seven years in the form of the Lone Ranger and his subsidiary rights. The Lone Ranger—if you have never heard him—is the hero of some four thousand or more half-hour radio broadcasts—recordings, rebroadcasts, Canadian and Australian outlets, all contributing to the total. The Lone Ranger program sells commercially for seventeen bakeries and one oil company over ninety-five domestic radio stations, not counting Canadian and foreign broadcasts or domestic sustaining programs. Merchandise ranging from lollipops to pencils is sold by seventy-one companies, each licensed for a different Lone Ranger article; the Lone Ranger comics appear in eighty-four daily and Sunday papers, twenty-nine of them using both the daily and the Sunday feature. The spread is something to conjure with: Buenos Aires to Buffalo, Detroit to Durban (South Africa), Halifax to Harrisburg, Manila to Mexico City, Richmond to Rio, Toronto to Tulsa. All of this nets the originators of the Lone Ranger interests something in excess of half a million dollars a year. And there are Lone Ranger movies also!

Back in 1933 George W. Trendle and John H. King, both previously associated with the motion-picture industry, found themselves with a Detroit radio station sufficiently independent of the chains to be losing money hand over fist. Nothing but a good dramatic program could save WXYZ from its alphabetic end. Mr. Trendle

found a solution: horse opera with overtones of "Pilgrim's Progress"—the Lone Ranger. The formula seems perfect. The Lone Ranger, sole survivor of a group of Texas rangers, becomes the Masked Rider of Justice. He acquires a white horse named Silver, with silver shoes, a staunch Indian friend named Tonto, and silver bullets for his six-gun. But unlike Robin Hood, Raffles, and the Lone Wolf, the Lone Ranger never operates counter to the law, only parallel to it when it is unenlightened. Result: action aplenty with no subversive effects on the tiny tots who, theoretically, listen to the program. I say theoretically because recent surveys show that probably at least 63 per cent of the current audience is adult. All the programs require hard riding, shooting, and suspense. The sound effects are superbly handled, and a surprising sense of reality is achieved. The plots are never elaborate, since they must be complete in each instalment so that the children will not worry. The Lone Ranger always rides off to further adventure safe and sound, and millions of children sleep the better for it. The programs are amply salted with the Ranger's now famous cry, "Hi-Yo, Silver!"—probably the most valuable signature in radio.

It seems simple enough, but the idea did not burst full-blown into being. Mr. Trendle outlined the general direction the program was to take and turned it over to Fran Striker, a script writer, who is largely responsible for the details. And Fran Striker has carried on from the beginning, developing, incorporating suggestions, doing the Ranger and various other scripts in the amount of about 50,000 words a week. When George Trendle

wanted someone to write a weekly script for another dramatic broadcast, about the adventures of the Green Hornet, he turned, naturally, to the versatile Mr. Striker—and his formula.

The Green Hornet bears an astonishing resemblance to the Lone Ranger if you approach the program with the formula in mind. The setting is modern and metropolitan, but the Green Hornet travels about in his big black sedan for the benefit of the oppressed city dweller in much the same way that the Lone Ranger operates in the wide open spaces. The Green Hornet is doing famously.

The basic appeal of these two programs, of many imitations of them, and of the Lone Ranger comics in both the newspapers and those insidious, ubiquitous pulp-paper creations, "books" of comics, must lie in the wish-fulfilment they offer to those exposed to them. But an achievement of real social value must also be credited to the Lone Ranger's creators. The Lone Ranger Safety Clubs for boys and girls throughout the United States now have well over a million members. Various merchandising ideas, including give-aways of all sorts, have been used by the program. The first was the famous pop-gun incident. On May 16, 1933, when the Ranger was still a sustaining feature, the program offered a pop-gun to the first three hundred children to write in asking for one; 25,904 letters were received in two days. Only a few months ago a bakery offered a miniature newspaper. The total give-away ran to well over a million, with the retailers' trucks jamming the streets at the bakeries to pick up bread to meet the demand. And there is the classic story of the Ranger's one full-fledged public appearance at a school field day on Belle Isle at Detroit, when 70,000 children stormed the police lines. That was in 1933. Today the police would need the help of the National Guard. However, the Ranger does not need to appear in person. The safety clubs give the necessary check on popularity and secure the type of local support for which publicity men give their shirts. The mayor or at least the local police chief will always sound off for safety, sales of (insert name of product) go up, and accidents go down in the community. "Hi-Yo, Silver! Away . . .!"

As the Lone Ranger has become better and better known he has conquered one field after another. Soon he will invade the already crowded market for adult Western stories. Will the golden formula work? His debut is scheduled for this month. The book will be written by Fran Striker, it will be entitled "The Lone Ranger Rides," and it will present the first full-length adventure of the Ranger in this form. Once started, the books might go on indefinitely.

Results seem to prove that literally millions of Lone Ranger fans can listen intelligently and that they have children with money to spend for toy pistols, cowboy

suits, leather wallets, games, silver-plated spoons, and bubble gum. If these same fans can read—and can be persuaded to do so from a book—the formula will indeed be perfect. "Hi-Yo, Silver!"

Within the Gates

DURING the last half of 1940 this column attempted to record the development of American fascism in the making. The incidents reported and the persons discussed had an immediate news value as well as historical significance. There were other incidents which were too unimportant in themselves to be noted but which have a cumulative significance in retrospect. Trends then too nebulous to analyze have now crystallized. Looking back upon the old year from the vantage point of 1941, we can add a few footnotes which may prove to be more important than the published text.

UNDER THE Imperial Wizardry of James Arnold Colescott, the former veterinarian, the Ku Klux Klan in 1940 became one of the most formidable units in the American *fascismo*. Its present membership of approximately 300,000 is at least 50 per cent larger than that of a year ago. The quantity and quality of its acts of violence have established a new high—or low. In Fulton County, Georgia, Klansmen killed three persons in one month. A county grand jury meeting in Atlanta listened to evidence of more than fifty floggings.

It is no longer true that the Klan is a purely American phenomenon indebted to a pioneer vigilante tradition rather than to a European ideology. Its fascist character was dramatized on August 18 when the New Jersey Realm held a joint meeting with the German-American Bund at the latter's Camp Nordland.

THE PROPAGANDA of American fascists during the latter part of 1940 indicates that the Catholic is to join the Jew as a scapegoat. Two factors contribute to this trend—the resurgence of the Klan and the increasing activity of certain fascist-minded leaders among religious Fundamentalists. As a matter of fact, there is a close connection between the two groups: Fundamentalists, who are by theology anti-Catholic and by nature intolerant, have always constituted a majority of the membership of the Klan. West of the Alleghenies, and particularly in the Mississippi Valley and the deep South, anti-Catholicism is a more deeply ingrained prejudice than anti-Semitism and is too rich a mine to be overlooked by would-be Führers.

As the influence of Protestant fundamentalism gained in the American fascist movement during the year, the strength of clerical fascism waned. This was due in part to the fact that the current code of the National Association of Broadcasters forbids member stations to sell time to individuals or organizations for the discussion of "controversial" subjects, and thus made it impossible for Father Coughlin to renew his radio contracts. The silencing of Father Coughlin, plus the trial of seventeen members of the Christian Front for conspiracy against the federal government, resulted in the dissolution of a number of the Front's units even though a

majority of the members indicted were acquitted and the indictments against the others dismissed. Only in the Boston area are Coughlinites increasing in strength.

DURING 1940 the American fascist movement turned in the general direction of respectability. Some of the more blatant outfits either dissolved permanently or reorganized under new names. Führer John Henry Peyton of the shirted American Rangers, after a temporary eclipse, reappeared as the leader of an organization sententiously called Mobilization for American Needs. Hans Diebel, owner of a Bundist bookshop on the West Coast, began distributing propaganda in the name of the League to Save America First. Joseph McWilliams converted the discredited Christian Mobilizers into the political American Destiny Party. In November propagandists James True and Robert Edward Edmondson announced their intention to discontinue their publications. In December William Dudley Pelley discontinued publication of the anti-Semitic magazine *Liberation*, dissolved the Silvershirts, and moved his printing equipment to Noblesville, Indiana, where it will be used to publish a magazine called *Friendship*.

THE CONTINUED strength of the American fascist movement has confronted the country with the old dilemma: shall persons advocating anti-democratic forms of government be protected by democracy's civil liberties? No conclusive answer was reached in 1940, but there was a tendency to invoke existing restrictions against such persons and, in some instances, to impose new restrictions. Joseph McWilliams was arrested three times for making remarks tending to disturb the peace and twice convicted. Nine members of the German-American Bund and one non-member were indicted under a recently enacted New Jersey law which forbids acts promoting racial or religious hatred. A bill was passed by the House of Representatives requiring persons using the mails for printed matter to reveal their identities and backing. The Voorhis Act, which caused the Communist Party of the United States to sever its connection with the Third International, may be construed to apply to such groups as the Bund. A number of sedition and military-disaffection bills are pending in Congress. The trend toward further restrictions is clear. A *Fortune* poll last January revealed that 49 per cent of the persons questioned believed anyone should be permitted to speak on any subject. But six months later 70 per cent were in favor of "curbing, locking up, or deporting Communist and Nazi supporters."

In the Wind

THE STATE DEPARTMENT has filed a private protest with Franco's government objecting to its treatment of political opponents. The fact of the protest comes from an inside source, and nobody knows why it wasn't made public.

THE NLRB will not appeal the Circuit Court decision which gave Ford the right to distribute anti-union propaganda to his employees. Since the board was favored in the rest of

the decision, it has decided not to complicate the case by keeping the "free speech" issue alive. It was Francis Biddle who insisted on this strategy.

THERE IS widespread resentment among New Dealers over the Defense Commission's appointment of John Lord O'Brian as general counsel. O'Brian is Tom Dewey's up-state leader; he is also Senator Mead's most serious political rival in Buffalo; and the appointment gives Dewey important patronage and prestige that may be used against Mead in 1942.

WYTHE WILLIAMS, Mutual's radio commentator, included a nice note in a recent broadcast, but it may have been inadvertent. He said: "Even today Germany has an Achilles heel. That heel is Mussolini."

DEPARTURE OF the middle-of-the-road National Student Federation from the American Youth Congress is a big blow to that organization. It is likely to be followed by defections among other groups which have heretofore strung along despite restlessness over the Congress's policies.

ANTI-FASCIST FILMS produced in the United States are running into trouble in Latin America. "The Dictator" has been banned in Argentina, and hostile demonstrations have been organized in other countries. Detailed reports of these incidents are being studied anxiously by film magnates.

ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS recently told a Rotary Club audience: "I know nothing of the market-place except that once when I was working my way through school I sold a clothes-line reel to a woman in Elyria, Ohio, who was later committed to an institution for the feeble-minded. My success with her led me to devote my life to students and professors."

THE NEWSPAPER GUILD is having a stiff tussle at the New York *Times* as a result of the formation of the A. F. of L. Newswriters' Association there. Publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger, never a booster for the Guild, isn't averse to the growth of the craft unit, and bargaining talks are getting more and more complex.

PRESS NOTE: The report of the Smith committee charging the NLRB with having increased labor troubles was featured on the front page of nearly every newspaper. Two days before the report came out, the Department of Labor published statistics showing that there was less labor conflict in 1940 than in any year of the previous decade. Its statement was buried or ignored.

WHAT ABOUT the Dies committee's promise that it was going to probe the Christian Front if the committee was kept alive? Insiders say nothing will happen—except more exposés of the Bund.

[Readers are invited to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. The \$5 prize for the best item submitted in December goes to the contributor of the note about Rush Holt published two weeks ago.].

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

A VISITOR from the country can see more clearly the new company in Washington. In this day of defense it is composed, not of soldiers and sailors, admirals and generals, but of well-dressed gentlemen who do not look like politicians or reformers but are in fact the growing army of the well-dressed, elegant-looking gentlemen in government. A good many of them are necessary in the defense program. Some have brought great talents to town. Some come for contracts and go home to fill them. But in the Carlton lobby and the Mayflower bar many of them have the look of the dollar-a-year men of the last war.

Anybody who was in Washington then remembers them. I was there, though young. I remember the huge parties they gave in 1917 and 1918 for their daughters from Chicago and Pittsburgh and New York. Washington was not only the military and financial capital of the land but the social one also, a capital which seemed to grow gayer as the guns grew louder beyond Verdun.

Democracy was very elegantly saved. It may be again. But ingrate though I may be—lovely as the daughters of the dollars-a-year were, excellent as was the music they imported, splendid as were the eggs and sausage with which they provided us in the dawn—I hope the dollar-a-year men may be dispensed with in this crisis and whatever lies beyond it. The country needs the talents of a good many of the best men like them. But a country undertaking to stand as the citadel of democracy needs to reject promptly any system which inevitably, if unintentionally, makes a special class of people who are rich enough to serve without pay while other men depend for a livelihood upon their wages for equally patriotic and essential service.

The United States government is not a mendicant. If it is able to pay billions for ships and planes, it is quite able to pay for the brains it needs to direct their acquisition and use. Perhaps the government, at regular government standards of pay, cannot give the best brains of business what they are worth. But how many buck privates, facing the dangers of actual combat, would regard the wages they get as adequate compensation for the risks they take? The important aspect of this matter is that nobody should be permitted to assume the airs of a philanthropist in a government job. Obviously for the very rich the salaries they are willing to wave aside in government service are petty in terms of the sacrifice involved. But no false distinction should be drawn between those who

wave them aside and others in the government service whose work is as essential to American security and who need the pay.

Furthermore, while in the last war many of the ablest Americans gave indispensable service without salary, the offer to work without salary resulted in the cluttering up of a lot of Washington offices with dollar-a-year men whose contribution was hardly equal to the one-dollar wage they received when the value of desk space and elbow room was considered. With important exceptions, the rule is as sound in government as among individuals that you get what you pay for—no more, no less. Fortunately, the government in a crisis can take the services it needs. Few Americans would fail to respond to a real call to real service. But the government will do better if it takes what it wants in human material and not what is offered to it for nothing. The best rule for efficiency and democracy would be for the government to hire and pay. And nobody should be allowed to work for the government unpaid.

If war comes or the present crisis continues long in intensity, however, there is hardly anything which can be predicted with more certainty than that the dollar-a-year offers from would-be dollar-a-year men will increase in number. The capital is the exciting center. The hotels are crowded; noisy voices fill the bars. Those able to gather will be gathering there. The demand will grow again for places in the government service for the same sort of people who so long made diplomacy so stupid because the only brains available to it were the brains of the very restricted number of the well-to-do. Certainly no sensible person would bar men from the government service merely because they are rich. But there should be no place in the government service now or later for men who are merely rich and so are willing, in effect, to pay the government for their jobs by not requiring it to pay them for their work.

Now, before the pressure comes, more sense would be made out of our pretensions to democracy and more efficiency would be assured in government if every person, high or low, were put on the pay roll at what he is worth by government standards of pay and kept there or put out. If they are not worth paying, they are not worth having. No American is too rich to be hired by America. And no American in the government service of this democracy should be made to feel less noble in patriotic enterprise because he needs to draw his pay.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Faust Before the Mirror

BY RAPHAEL HAYES

I must be the last man to burn in hell
The last one terrified at the zero hour
When the windows shudder
 and the dogs howl
And the cloven hoof pounds up the street.

For I am the hero of incredible desires
The prodigal and the shallow smile,
The enameled lady in the electrician's dawn;
The brass fame,
 wet ashes of their failure,
And the playboy's dream,
The imitation Solomon in business clothes.
I am their equestrian shadow
Plunging its crooked mile from birth to death.

So I must be the last gambler to speak,
The epic lover,
 the giant memory of defeat,
Who took the longest chance
Since God with Adam
 or with Adam's bone,
Who now behold the burning and the ash,
The world's eighth wonder,
My own charred spirit in the glass.

How Long Ago the Home

BY KARL JAY SHAPIRO

How long ago the home
The custody of womb
How far far out of mind
In another dimension
The aberration
Of first information,
Goodbye to it, it must have been unkind.

Sister I teased you
Cousin I kissed you
Hid in the closet
In female odors
Above the disorders
Of grandfather's illness.
The confusing passion
For guilty action

The search for sadness
In the other's stillness
Were these but profits
Of an instant mood
Or the lust for pity
In the rising blood?

Bill Douglas, Fighter

DEMOCRACY AND FINANCE. By William O. Douglas.
Introduction by James Allen. Yale University Press.
\$3.

MANY people admire Tom Dewey because he is young and tough, and, especially out West, they believe in his integrity and liberalism because "the interests counted him out at the Republican convention." Well, there was another fellow in Tom Dewey's class at the Columbia Law School who has gone farther in less time than anyone else in the class. This young man actually came out of the West—on the business end of a freight car. He is not just a perennial candidate, which is as much stature as a personable family man only forty-two years old might be expected to have achieved. Continuously for over five years he has held posts of high responsibility, as a maker, administrator, and interpreter of law. In them he has set a record practically without precedent in American history. His name is Bill Douglas.

This book is a collection of papers written by Douglas before he graduated from the SEC to the Supreme Court. They tell a great deal about him. Bill Douglas did not make his way by going into a silk-stocking district, or to a lawyers' dinner, and attacking gangsters—whom *everybody* is against (and, it is pertinent to add, whose civil liberties can be ignored by ambitious district attorneys). Instead, he went right into the Bond Club in 1937 to make the famous speech in which he served notice on Wall Street that "the economic utility of continuity of banking relationships is of unestablished value to anyone except the banker"; telling the bankers to go out and compete for their livings or else. As Mr. Douglas points out, fully two-thirds of the country's dividend and interest payments each year are handed to individuals or families living on incomes of \$10,000 or less. These little people, he reminded the bankers in this speech, are "the real owners of [our] industrial empires." They have no confidence in the "mid-Victorian attitudes" of managements which forget their trustee obligations to labor, investors, and consumers, a fact which the 1940 election would seem to establish beyond question. "There can be in our form of corporate and industrial organization no royalism which can long dictate" to the people. As he told another meeting of New York business men in 1938, the New Deal's regulatory agencies are here to stay. They are part of the mechanism of democratic government whereby capitalism can discipline and preserve itself. This mechanism "is

equipped to meet business on business terms. . . . With joint action it becomes an efficient business force; acting alone it becomes a police force. The choice rests in the hands of business."

Typical of his courage were Mr. Douglas's relations with the New York Stock Exchange, which he found a private club and left a public institution, collecting the scalp of Dick Whitney and the magic symbols of the Street's Elder Bankers in transit. While he was cracking the whip over the Exchange's Old Guard, he reminded the Street of the public's impression that "someone on the inside has a mirror . . . behind the backs of the investors who enter this market." "This," he said, "adds a casino element to what should be an old-fashioned open auction." In the course of this straight speaking Mr. Douglas told a story to explain to the Street the kind of change the country had in mind for it. The story was about an Indian out West who wanted to borrow \$1,000 from a local bank and couldn't understand that the banker wanted some collateral. Finally he was persuaded to put up twenty ponies with the banker. Then he struck oil. He came to the bank with a huge roll of money, peeled off a \$1,000 bill, and retrieved his ponies. The banker, seeing the large roll, suggested that the Indian deposit the money in his bank. "How many ponies *you* got?" asked the Indian. Mr. Douglas closed his speech by urging 1929-minded brokers to accept the new order of things and begin moving forward under it. "I offer you a police escort," was the somewhat cryptic thought with which he left his audience.

Another key front on which Mr. Douglas spoke prophetically and fought vigorously was that presented by the utilities. Two months before the Supreme Court's decision in the test Bond and Share case, Mr. Douglas made another characteristic challenge. He announced that the industry had become divided about the Holding Company Act, and that the realists in it had resolved to live and prosper under it. But, he added, these realists also live "under the whip hand of New York finance. . . . I have spent hour upon hour with leaders of companies who extol the virtues of the act yet are prevented by untold intangibles, such as the fear of offending New York investment bankers who hate the Administration, from participating in its health-giving benefits. . . . While the nation awaits restoration of its capital markets, financial leadership slumbers. An industry which its leaders say could use millions of dollars a year in capital . . . is stymied by a small group who stand squarely in its path intent on preserving their own intangible interests regardless of the costs" to the economy. The last campaign showed clearly how determined to vault back into the saddle were the forces Mr. Douglas challenged—how eager, as a punster said, to "re-Morganize" the government. But look at the industry today. Mr. Douglas's old enemy, Mr. Hopson, is a public spectacle, practically a public ward. The great Standard Gas system is also being reorganized. Other new deals of the same kind are in the making. The public has come to agree with Mr. Douglas that the "death sentence" is a "death sentence" for holding-company management only, and is bringing new vigor to the producers in the industry each year.

In addition to Wall Street and the utilities, innovations for which Mr. Douglas has been responsible include such vital matters as cleaning up corporate reorganizations and

starting work on problems as pressing as those of small business, the country's derelict areas, the possibilities of developing regional capital markets, competition between insurance companies and investment bankers, revitalizing the investment trusts as sources of capital, and cleaning up the trustee business. This is a formidable list. On the Supreme Court his best-known decision has been the one in the Los Angeles Lumber case, in which he laid it down once and for all that when a company goes under, its public creditors come first and the insiders must either get out or buy their way back by putting up new money. Other decisions concern the problems of monopoly and of sick industries. Unfortunately, they are not reproduced here.

Mr. Douglas is a reformer and a fighter. He sits in the chair of Louis Brandeis, and provides as appropriate a continuation of that great man's career as he could ever have hoped for. But Douglas is a new kind of reformer. He is not out for reform for the sake of reform even though, as some say, it paralyzes our economy. He is for reform precisely because drastic reforms have been needed to revitalize both our economy and our national morale. Listen to him talk about "the forces of disorder." "These groups," he says, "collectively divorced from social responsibility, are the chief agents through which our economic and financial blunders accumulate until the next blood-letting process. This is called a crisis. But it is nothing more than the rhythmic breaking out of the pent-up forces of abuse, mismanagement, and maldistribution of economic effort and income. Academic economists have tried to endow cycles and crises thus created with natural attributes. In this way they have . . . washed the hands of high finance and excused it from social responsibility. But the cycles and crises thus created are not inescapable. We may in years to come look at them as monuments to the folly of the human race." Mr. Douglas is for reform because he is so practical.

One of the paradoxes of the New Deal revolution is that it has deposed the bankers, on whom responsibility could easily be fixed, and tended to let their power slip by default into the hands of the anonymous class of risers-through-promotion known as management. These leaders—all too rarely graduated from the wheel-turning, revenue-producing divisions of corporations—are different from members of the small-property class and from the owners of great fortunes; in fact, they are independent of each. Of their irresponsibility, if unregulated, Mr. Douglas says, "Enterprises . . . which command tremendous resources, which hold the fate of whole communities of workers in their hands . . . which dominate markets and control vast resources tip the scales on the side of prosperity or on the side of depression, depending on the decisions of the men at the top"—if they are left to themselves. Mr. Douglas is for regulation of these trustees—the corporate managements—because he is for protecting the property of their employers, the people in the brackets under \$10,000 a year.

In this as in every statement of his in this book you can feel Mr. Douglas's belief that the kind of society we get is the kind of society we either tolerate or achieve. His attitude is fundamentally simple, a combination of morals and practicality. The law is fundamentally democratic; it *must* be enforced; still more laws must be written to equalize eco-

conomic and social pressures; if *democracy* is not thus realized, capitalism will go under. This is, at bottom, the lesson fascism should have been teaching us these many years. In 1936 Mr. Douglas warned of the danger that a cartelized industrial hierarchy, operated by managements self-perpetuating and answerable to no one, may transform a nation of shopkeepers into a nation of clerks.

But in Mr. Douglas's pragmatic idealism, which fuses the great traditions of legal philosophy and old-fashioned populism with plain, tough know-how, we have as good a guaranty as any government can provide that we are not going to become a regimented or tired nation and that we know what we are arming to defend. For his is the kind of loyal and effective personality which this democracy has always managed to have on tap in adequate quantity for its great crises. We may count ourselves lucky that the present crisis finds Mr. Douglas still a very young man. ELIOT JANEWAY

Napoleon III

THE SECOND EMPIRE. By Octave Aubry. Translated by Arthur Livingston. J. B. Lippincott Company. \$5.

"I HEAR the complaint," Napoleon III once remarked, "that things never go straight in my government. How could they? The Empress is a legitimist. Morny is an Orleanist. I am a republican. There is only one Bonapartist. That's Persigny—and he is crazy!"

At any rate, there was only one person with the power to resolve the confusion, and that was Napoleon III himself. That he increasingly failed to do so was due partly to progressive weariness and ill health. But it was also due, as has lately been forgotten but as M. Aubry reminds us, to the fact that "too many ideas were stirring around in the head of the second Emperor. They were noble, broadminded ideas most often, but the attempt to reconcile them the one with the other raised unsolvable problems." And back of it all was the inescapable fact that although "he stood forth as the mandatory of the people," he had achieved his position by a bloody coup d'état and maintained it by the exercise of absolute dictatorship and all that implies, or used to imply. For in the "liberal and progressive" nineteenth century even dictators could not imagine the return to the methods of the Inquisition which it was left for their twentieth-century successors to realize.

M. Aubry, who gives a survey of an era as much as the life of one man, recalls to mind the many good points of the Second Empire. It was on the whole a time of ordered prosperity, in which Paris, newly beautified into the sweeping capital of avenues and boulevards that we know, really became "*la cité souveraine, le séjour du plaisir*" which we also know. The very mediocrity which reigned in official circles, artistic and literary as well as political, gave more iconoclastic talents a medium in which to crystallize, even if, like Baudelaire, they risked judicial condemnation or went into exile like Victor Hugo. At the same time ambitious foreigners like Offenbach and Wagner came to Paris to achieve fame.

Paris was not only the capital of Europe in the artistic, intellectual, theatrical, and financial sense, but also un-

doubtedly in the political, until Napoleon III, thanks to the ideas trying to reconcile themselves in his head and also to the disunity indicated by the statement quoted above, threw away all his advantages. Largely for idealistic reasons he assisted in the unification of both Italy and Germany, while weakening Austria from less worthy motives. Too late, he saw that the real danger lay on the Rhine. But even then no adequate preparation was made for the inevitable showdown, and the crisis found everybody pulling in a different direction and the army, though full of seasoned fighters and brave men, at the mercy of politicians and incompetent generals. France was reduced from the dominant position in Europe to what was, when M. Aubry wrote his book, the lowest point in its history.

The present struggle had not broken out when this book was written; but had M. Aubry set out with the collapse of France in mind to draw a deadly historical parallel he could not have produced a more timely work. Solid, detailed, documented, detached, clear, and very readable, it will undoubtedly be an important book for some time to come—until it is possible to write a new study, which the author foreshadows in his last sentence, a study of Napoleon III as a European, "one of the forerunners, one of those forerunners whom fate betrays in their attempt to realize great conceptions." In the meantime France is once again faced with the fact which was Napoleon III's undoing; namely, that it does not seem possible for a German to attain political greatness except, like Bismarck, "by brutally destroying the European spirit."

JAMES ORRICK

Long-Range Planning

FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN POPULATION POLICY. By Frank Lorimer, Ellen Winston, and Louise K. Kiser. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

FEW persons realize the extent to which America's population is failing to reproduce itself. The continued increase in population in the past decade has blinded most of us to the fact that we are already well along in the spiral of declining population. In 1935 the reproduction rate of the white families was only 96 per cent of that necessary to maintain a stationary population. For Negroes it was slightly lower. The actual peak in population will be reached some time between 1955 and 1980, and by that time the change in age distribution will be such that a resumption in population growth would be unlikely even if the birth rate should suddenly rise. It is estimated that there will be eight million fewer persons under twenty years of age in 1980 than there were in 1930 and, at the same time, some fifteen million more of sixty-five years and over.

To a greater extent than most recent books on population, this brief, popularly written work deals with the social and economic consequences of current population shifts. The unemployment problem, it points out, has been intensified by the disproportionate number in the population who are now at the productive ages. Between 1870 and 1930 the total population doubled in size, but the labor supply tripled. In recent years an abnormally large proportion of the population has been coming of age each year; hence the so-called youth

problem. The fact that large families are prevalent chiefly among unskilled workers and in agricultural regions where inadequate educational opportunities exist makes the absorption of these young people especially difficult in a highly mechanized society.

The authors are quite aware that what ordinarily is referred to as a "population problem" is really an economic problem. Given reasonable assurance of security, the birth rate would probably rise enough to check the decline in population. Given a more widespread distribution of wealth, we should no longer be plagued with concern lest the least fit and least trained swamp those who are well trained and of good stock. To meet the situation the authors present a fairly comprehensive program of reform. They point out that new means of facilitating investment and stimulating economic enterprise will be required, together with an increase in the general levels of consumption and a more rational coordination of economic activity through planning on a national scale. Such planning should place special emphasis on a more equitable distribution of economic opportunity in relation to the distribution of the population. Sound population trends, the authors maintain, are likely to appear only if society is motivated by social and cooperative ideals.

The book is a valuable contribution to the necessary integration of the social sciences and deserves wide reading.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

The Life of Father DeSmet

FATHER DESMET: PIONEER PRIEST OF THE ROCKIES. By Helene Magaret. Farrar and Rinehart. \$3.

MISS MAGARET tells the story of a Belgian priest, Pierre Jean DeSmet, who first came to America as a young man of twenty in 1821 and who for more than fifty years thereafter was benevolently active among the Indians of the West. Father DeSmet's special ambition was to found peaceful and "uncivilized" agrarian communities of Christian Indians, along the lines of an earlier community, of brief existence, in Paraguay. He won a few temporary successes through the exercise of unusual tact and determination, but the times were dead against him, and in the end he saw his best hopes baffled: the tribes were everywhere outwitted, corrupted, and destroyed by the whites who flooded the West.

The general literary virtues of Miss Magaret's book, if they are not deeper than wells or wider than church doors, are enough and will serve. Accounts of events and scenes are rich in concrete detail, judiciously planted, and communicated without pretense or undue histrionics. Occasionally a stylistic absurdity is encountered ("Father DeSmet was usually awakened in the morning by the inaudible movements" of his servant), and occasionally we meet the blunderbuss cliché ("appalling misery," "the horror" of the scene), but on the whole the writing is solid and good. The character of Father DeSmet is conceived, no doubt, in a spirit of not too critical piety and within a limited range of analysis and understanding, but the conception, so far as it goes, is sincere and free from Y. M. C. A. catchwords and moralizings.

Yet when one has granted "Father DeSmet" its really considerable degree of dramatic and compositional excellence,

one has not said all, for the book is, I think, guilty of a certain basic ambiguity of structure. What has Miss Magaret written, a biography or a novel? Superficially, in its technique, the book conforms to the ordinary canons of the modern novel. We are shown characters, major and minor, who are engaged in working out their destinies in collaboration with each other and their physical circumstances, and the author assumes her ability to tell us anything about these characters we ought to know, including both details of behavior and significant subjective occurrences that are not verbally communicated by the characters themselves. Yet Miss Magaret's manner of writing, coupled with the fact of her protagonist's historical existence, surely implies that we are to accept her material at the level of biography as well as of drama. Unfortunately, it is impossible to separate the biographical elements from the fictional, for the author's fictive additions, though one suspects that they are all-pervasive, cannot be systematically identified; and the extra-textual documentation is remarkably slight. Miss Magaret has made her book interesting and dramatic, but she has also left her audience somewhat in the dark. *Caveat paedagogus*, we may imagine her saying with a subtle smile.

E. S. FORGOTSON

Middle Class and Democracy

THE MIDDLE CLASSES IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By Arthur N. Holcombe. Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

THE relation of the middle class to democracy and social change becomes constantly more significant and crucial. Yet the subject is curiously neglected, save for appeals to prejudice and passion. In this sober, thoughtful study Dr. Holcombe develops the thesis that the rural middle class was formerly "on the whole the dominant factor in national politics," that the urban middle classes are now the dominant factor, and that these classes are the foundation of democracy. The study offers many suggestive analyses and ideas; it throws considerable light on the influence of the middle class in American history, especially on how a small minority of middle-class delegates to the Constitutional Convention was able to get democratic provisions, and on the class nature of the sectional struggles from Jefferson and Jackson to the Civil War.

Yet the net result is disappointing because of serious shortcomings in Dr. Holcombe's historical analyses and approach. He tends to neglect the urban middle class of small independent enterprisers and the workers, overlooks the popular alliance between them and the farmers that was the strength of Jacksonianism and populism, and ignores altogether the part played by labor unions in broadening and deepening American democracy. Nor is it made clear that the old middle class was bound up with small-scale competitive capitalism; that its ideal was an economic democracy of small independent enterprisers—80 per cent of the American people in Jackson's day—who owned their own means of livelihood; and that the ideal, despite the middle-class "political dominance" that Dr. Holcombe stresses, was destroyed by the onswamp of industrial and monopoly capitalism that converted the majority of the American people into property-less dependents on the property of a small minority.

The economic basis of the old middle-class democracy was the identification of its functional interests and dominance with the relations of liberal competitive capitalism. Now that those relations are gone, or going fast, what is the economic basis of urban middle-class democracy? Dr. Holcombe does not say. Instead he emphasizes numbers and attitudes. Thus he cites a *Fortune* survey which shows that 80 per cent of the American people think they are middle class—as if, important as it is, what a man thinks of himself tells the whole story. By means of additions and subtractions Dr. Holcombe makes the middle classes greatly outnumber the proletariat—as if that weren't precisely what orthodox Marxists, whom he criticizes, do when they add and subtract to make nearly everybody a proletarian. (You can no more dispose of workers by calling them middle class than you can dispose of middle-class groups by calling them proletarian.) And just as Marxists speak of the "proletarian state," Dr. Holcombe speaks of the "middle-class state"; just as they ascribe a "historical mission" to the proletariat, he says it is "the mission of the middle classes to maintain freedom and justice." Dr. Holcombe makes a good "middle-class Marxist"!

Now that sort of thing is dangerous. It substitutes abstractions, into which one can pump different meanings, for the concrete analysis of functional relations and interests. The middle classes are significant for democracy and social change because they include, in the new middle class, *the technical, managerial, and administrative employees who direct the activity of capitalist economic collectivism and who come to functional dominance as capitalism is transformed into a new order*. It is not enough to say, as Dr. Holcombe does, that capitalist development has transferred "political dominance" from the rural middle class to the urban middle class. We must understand the relation of the new middle class to three major institutional pressures of economic collectivism and social change. These are:

1. Corporate industry, in which ownership is separated from management and management becomes a collective function of technical, managerial, and administrative bureaus, authorities, and commissions and their employees, increasingly uncontrollable by the millions of absentee "capitalist" stockholders.

2. The labor unions, which through collective bargaining (and politics) are constantly limiting capitalist rights in industry, and which develop managerial and administrative groups of their own.

3. The state, which is multiplying its economic functions and power, and which increasingly performs, through its collective technical, managerial, and administrative employees, the tasks of organization and management of industry formerly performed by capitalists.

These three forces are transforming capitalism. The transformation brings the new middle class of technical, managerial, and administrative employees to functional dominance as the capitalists are wholly or partly dispossessed under one set of conditions or another. Dr. Holcombe casually refers to the new middle class merely as "the more responsible and better-paid employees of capitalist enterprises," describes the enlarging powers of government in purely political terms, and altogether forgets the labor unions. Yet the whole problem of democracy and social change is the relation of those

three forces to one another: whether they can combine in a democratic manner to let the new middle class come to functional dominance under conditions of democratic collectivism. It is within this framework that Dr. Holcombe's illuminating emphasis on the "political interpretation of history"—the influence of political ideas on institutions—becomes suggestive for program and action.

If the three forces that are transforming capitalism combine in one all-inclusive centralized power, we shall have the totalitarianism of the communist or fascist corporate state. If government usurps all power over industrial management and labor unions, totalitarianism is inevitable. Communism and fascism do not abolish unions, but deprive them of freedom and transform them into totalitarian institutions with a new type of "labor leader" to "manage" them for the corporate state. Middle-class elements who feel it is a good thing for government to control unions should remember that *unfree* unions are a mainstay of totalitarianism.

But the institutional forces of capitalist transformation need not combine in a totalitarian manner. They can combine in a democratic balance in which management, labor unions, and state have definite but limited rights and powers, and check one another in a constitutional economic setup. Dr. Holcombe is right: "collectivism presents possibilities for [democratic] economic and political forms," and the "independent influence of political ideas" allows us to choose and shape such forms. But under what conditions? Not if there is a middle-class struggle for "ascendancy." The proletariat swung to communism against the middle classes in Russia and got totalitarianism; the middle classes swung to fascism against the proletariat in Italy and Germany and got totalitarianism too. Capitalists are dispossessed or suppressed in the corporate state, the middle classes are ascendant: where is their "mission," in Dr. Holcombe's words, "to maintain freedom and justice"? Middle class and proletariat need each other; they can implement greater democracy and freedom if they recognize each other's functional interests and rights, and cooperate to build a new order. We must revive the *people's* alliance of middle class, workers, and farmers that shaped American democracy in the past, to shape a new democratic collectivism. The workers and free unions can be depended upon to struggle for democracy, for democracy gives them the chance to get freedom and justice. Can we depend upon the new middle class? Yes, if social change is not the expression of brute mechanical pressures, if there is awareness—itself a social force—of the conditions that bring the new middle class to functional dominance, if it is recognized that totalitarianism enslaves the middle classes too. While there are authoritarian elements in those classes, there is no inescapable connection between totalitarianism and the functional dominance of technicians, managers, and administrators. The destructive irrational ideology of totalitarianism distorts the constructive functional characteristics of the new middle class—the urge for economic efficiency and plenty, the instinct of workmanship evident in our technological marvels and in the new art of industrial design, the rational scientific approach, service in the performance of functional tasks. These characteristics can flourish only in a world of democracy, freedom, and peace.

DRAMA

IN "FLIGHT TO THE WEST" (Guild Theater) Elmer Rice has gathered together a group of contemporary characters, put them on a transatlantic plane bound from Lisbon to New York, and given them their heads, or rather their hearts. There is an American girl, daughter of a consul, who has just married a young American and is looking forward to settling down to a normal life after years of wandering among the wars from China to Europe. Her husband happens to be a Jew. There are an old friend of the two, a writer who is trying to make order in his own mind, a Nazi representative accredited to the embassy in Washington, a Russian émigré bound for the University of California, an American newspaper woman, a German refugee, a hysterical Belgian whose family has twice been shattered by the destruction of the library at Louvain; finally there is the oil man from Texas, who with his single-minded passion to "do business" and his conviction that Hitler has done some good things has come to be a stock character both in and out of books.

In the course of the first act, which is mostly talk, the girl who is trying to run away from Europe recognizes the Russian as a suspicious character she has met under another name in Palestine. The plot has to do with proving, by radiogram, that he is a Nazi spy. The proof is obtained by the newspaper woman; the plane makes a surprise landing at Bermuda, where the spy is turned over to the British authorities, to whom he tells the truth about the Nazi official in time for him to be met by a Department of Justice agent at New York. The rest of the dramatic excitement is provided by the attempt of the woman from Louvain to shoot the Nazi representative and the involuntary gesture of the Jew, Nathan, whereby he saves the life of the Nazi but is himself badly wounded.

Mr. Rice knows how to construct a play, and though this particular flight is somewhat slowed down at the beginning while the various characters define their roles and attitudes, it proceeds swiftly after that to a dénouement satisfactory in terms of the immediate situation. The girl (Betty Field) accepts the fact that a "normal" life is no longer possible and that her husband must take part in the fight; while he has cast out his fear of bringing another

Jewish child into the world. The oil man is unregenerated and will probably be seen in many another play in the months to come.

If I seem less stirred than I should be by the slice of life Mr. Rice holds up to view it is because the writing and the thinking never rise above the level of average anti-fascist commentary. And when Mr. Rice reaches for a conclusion, he pulls one out of the air that would be disturbing if one took it literally. The writer, in his last speech, defines the struggle as one between the insane rationality of the Nazis and the healthy irrationality which causes Nathan to prevent the Belgian from killing the Nazi. So far so neat for purposes of epigram; but when he goes on, in effect, to advocate thinking with the feelings one has the unpleasant impression that Mr. Rice, in keeping his hearers suspended in supercharged emotional air for two hours and then landing them on a cloud, is unwittingly indulging in a little demagoguery himself.

The play is well acted throughout by an intelligent cast. The part of the German refugee is performed by a German actress, Frau Clara Rosenthal, who does not seem to be acting at all; the French actress, Lydia St. Clair, who plays the Belgian victim was formerly a star in Paris. Both performances are painfully convincing.

MARGARET MARSHALL

"MY SISTER EILEEN" (Biltmore Theater) is an amusing farce that should have been an even more amusing comedy. The material is all there. Two sisters, fresh from Columbus, Ohio, are high-pressured into renting a Greenwich Village basement "studio" equipped with beds you "wouldn't lie on in a morgue," ventilated by a street window which exposes them by day and by night to the rapt attention of drunks, dead-end kids, and policemen, and decorated by the ice-cream-parlor oils of Mr. Appopolous, the lecherous Greek landlord who steps out of his blue-and-green period long enough to nail the girls for a month's rent "on trial." Ruth is the plain but golden-hearted cynic who draws the sparkling gags, of which there are many, and Eileen is the pretty innocent who, Ruth says, wasn't really "prepared to leave Columbus." Prepared or not, Eileen has drawing power, and the apartment soon becomes a parade ground for all the happy crackpots who fill the stage in plays that bear the touch of George S. Kaufman. Some of these are believable and would have

sufficed to give the show a high degree of hilarity without draining it of all plausibility. I gladly swallow the oafish football pro who lives in sin with the girl upstairs, ambles about in running trunks all day, and does the ironing for Ruth and Eileen in return for a few nights' refuge in their kitchenette while his girl's mother is in town. But couldn't Messrs. Fields and Chodorov, who wrote the play, or Mr. Kaufman, who collaborated, or Miss McKenney, on whose stories this gay froth is based, have been satisfied with a few semi-believable specimens of this sort? Did they have to have six Brazilian naval cadets snake-dance in and out of the apartment in pursuit of the fair Eileen? Did they have to drop the third-act curtain on the emerging figure of a subway riveter who has accidentally drilled his way up through the apartment floor? If restraint is lacking in the writing and direction of "My Sister Eileen," the same cannot be said of the performance, which is uniformly good and always on the side of understatement. Particularly enjoyable are Morris Carnovsky's Mr. Appopolous, Gordon Jones's domesticated football player, and the Ruth Sherwood (read McKenney) of Shirley Booth.

ROBERT BENDINER

[Joseph Wood Krutch will resume his regular drama column next week.]

MUSIC

IF "FANTASIA" were being shown in the way anything else of Disney's is shown—that is, just the sequences of images and music with no verbal introductions in the program or from the screen—one would take it as one takes anything else of Disney's: as something primarily and chiefly for the eye. One takes a Disney film in this way despite its occasional use of music; and one would take "Fantasia" in this way even though the music was by important composers and was used in the film sequences as it is in a ballet. And taking it in this way one would not be too upset when the music was misused.

One would, that is, note that in certain instances—the Chinese Dance and Russian Dance of Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker" Suite, and Dukas's "L'apprenti sorcier"—the pictorial sequences had the feeling for the quality of the music that is revealed in the "Hand of Fate" pas de deux which Balanchine devised for Chabrier's music in "Cotillon." One would note in other instances the use of music without such feeling for its

essential quality, and without regard even for specified programmatic meaning and for organic structure. Disney's Water Ballet may be charming, but Tchaikovsky's music is an Arabian Dance. The first and second movements of Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony have programmatic meaning, but only of a generalized sort—only as much as is embodied in the "pastoral" idiom of the first, the murmuring strings of the second, not Disney's charming pictures of flying horses in the first, nor his monkeyshines of centaurettes in the second; moreover the music establishes an emotional level for any imagery associated with it—a level which some of the centaur-centaurette details fall far below; and finally, with the country indicated by the "pastoral" idiom of the first movement, the emotions aroused by the country are embodied in a purely formal design which is not indicated in the pictures of "Fantasia" and is destroyed even in the music—the exposition of material being used without the development and recapitulation that make out of this material the organic sequence which is the first movement of Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony. One would note the similar inadequacy of the pictures to the content and quality of Stravinsky's "Sacre du printemps," and the fact that the work was not only chopped up but rearranged. One would note that Disney failed equally when he set out to be faithful to large-scale musical content and structure—when for the purely formal design of sounds in combination and motion in Bach's Toccata and Fugue he created a purely formal design of line, mass, and color in motion, a literal sight-for-sound translation (like Massine's of the final passacaglia movement of Brahms's Fourth) which did not even remotely represent the substance and organic development and structural complexity of Bach's music or exert anything remotely comparable with the power of the music's formal eloquence. But in the

situation I have assumed, in which "Fantasia" would be offered as something for the eye, these things would not be anything to get upset about, as they are in the actual situation, in which "Fantasia" is offered as a presentation of the music—in the combined form of the sound itself and a pictorial representation of its meaning, quality, structure.

Actually, that is, one is handed a program which opens to a statement by Stokowski that "the beauty and inspiration of music must not be restricted to a privileged few but made available to every man, woman, and child. That is why great music associated with motion pictures is so important, because motion pictures reach millions all over our country and all over the world." This act of Stokowski's, in which he brings to the many what has been jealously withheld from them by the privileged few, was phony even ten years ago when with four one-hour broadcasts spread over months he first brought the beauty and inspiration of music to those who had been hearing Toscanini's two-hour broadcasts with the New York Philharmonic every Sunday. But even if one accepts Stokowski's assumption that the millions who will see "Fantasia" have never heard a broadcast of a symphony or an opera, then it is a matter of great concern that what is offered to them as the first movement of Beethoven's "Pastoral"—to consider only the music itself—is the exposition of material without the development and recapitulation which continue and complete the organic sequence; that they are offered Stravinsky's "Sacre" chopped up and rearranged, its essential quality falsified by things like the perfumed phrasing of the stark opening woodwind passages, the lush sonorities elsewhere; that Bach's Toccata and Fugue, played complete, is falsified by a performance which imparts to it the feverish excitement that Stokowski imparts to any music he conducts, and which makes of it the mere succession of dazzling effects of orchestral virtuosity and sonority that music is for him.

But "Fantasia" does not offer the music by itself; and a couple of pages further one reads that the "movements, situations, colors, and characters which the music painted on the canvas of [the Disney artists'] imaginations" should make the average listener "much less humble about his ability to understand good music." Images of movements, situations, colors and characters are properly the effect of program music; but not any and all such images; and it is a matter of some concern that millions

of people should be given the idea that images like Disney's represent understanding of some of the program music in "Fantasia." Moreover, it is questionable whether from music with generalized programmatic significance like the first movement of the "Pastoral" Symphony one should derive anything more specific than the impression of "country" from the "pastoral" idiom, and whether, for the rest, the effect of the movement should not be that of its formal design. Of this formal design, obviously, representational images of characters and situations are not properly the effect; but neither are non-representational images, such as Disney offers with Bach's purely formal Toccata and Fugue. Speaking from the screen Deems Taylor introduces this sequence with the statement that "what you will see . . . is a picture of the various abstract images that might pass through your mind if you sat in a concert hall listening to this music." The fish swims, the woodpecker pecks, and Mr. Taylor—called on to speak about music—exercises his extraordinary capacity for subtly, and in effect treacherously, obfuscatory statement that gives error the appearance of reasonableness and truth themselves. I once cited an example worth recalling now—his statement that Walter Damrosch "never was a Karl Muck, and I don't believe he ever wanted to be one. He seems curiously impatient of ultra-subtle readings of the classics"—which converted the difference between Damrosch and Muck into a difference between simplicity and ultra-subtlety, and Damrosch's inadequacy into a defect in Muck. And in the present instance there are implicit in Taylor's statement, as though they were true, certain ideas that are false: the idea that the images which accompany Bach's Toccata and Fugue—images contrived by long and hard imaginative effort—are the kind that would pass through anyone's mind at a concert, or the ones that did pass through the Disney artists' minds in this casual way; the idea that these images can be taken as the proper effect of Bach's Toccata and Fugue; the idea, in general, that images are the proper effect of such music. It is cause for great concern that millions of people are to be given these ideas about music; and on this point there is more to say, but it will have to wait.

B. H. HAGGIN

Help Defend the Bill of Rights in Oklahoma

BENEFIT PERFORMANCE

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MECCA AUDITORIUM, 55th St.

(Between 6th and 7th Avenues)

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Next Week in The Nation

Henri Bergson

An Article by Irwin Edman

Letters to the Editors

Fight Fire with Fire

Dear Sirs: There can be few persons who still doubt that the Axis triumvirate is conducting a campaign within the United States to wean us from our democratic ways and make the "new world order" appear like a great new Land of Goshen. No one, except perhaps the Dies committee and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, knows how much money is being spent in the United States to support the Bund, the Communist Party, and all the other "fifth-column" organizations. Here and there we have moved in minor ways to curtail the activities of the most blatant of such groups. We need to do much more. We need to organize a tremendous counter-attack, to fight fire with fire.

We need an army of secret agents, and we need to spread this army across the face of the globe and to equip it with every device of persuasion and salesmanship we know—the radio, newspapers, magazines, books, pictures, advertisements.

We ought, in other words, to institute an overpowering American advertising campaign with just one thing to sell—the American way. The selling message should be just this: This is how America lives. These are the things Americans have. These are the freedoms, these are the opportunities that are every American's birthright. These are the things *you* can have, in your own country, in your own home, in your own time—if you want them. Compare all these things to what you have. Then choose.

Show the uninformed people of the Old World the real America. Show them the factory worker's new automobile, and tell them the price of gas. Show them the farmer's radio. Show them the bathrooms, the central heating, the endless variety of foods in magnificent plenty. Show them the clothes, the entertainments, the homes, the free schools, the open libraries, the free churches, the uncensored magazines, the uncontrolled newspapers.

Show them the wage scales for workers of every kind. Show them the prices in relation to these wages—the prices for butter, for milk, for sweets, for white bread, for cake, for fresh meat, for fresh vegetables, for fruits.

Show them the telephones, the refrig-

erators, the washing machines, the electric lights, the farm power plants, the sanitary systems, the highways.

Show them our utter ignorance of fear in writing and saying what we please. Show them the Constitution, the Liberty Bell, Independence Hall. Show them the free and secret ballot. Show them all these things. Then ask them this: which of these do *you* have and enjoy?

And then, do what every American advertiser does so well—*go on*, and tell them how they can get these things, in their own country, in their own homes, in their own time. That would be a fifth-column operation the like of which the world has never seen.

Our America is not perfect, to be sure. We should be the first to admit it. But the fact that we *can* admit it, shout it to the heavens, is undeniable proof of how near we have come to such a perfection in human relations. But now is no time to be apologetic. We have forged a reality of the greatest idea of a free life for man the world has ever had. We are certain of it. Yet we do not do a single thing to give its goodness to the world!

We have been playing a garden hose on a conflagration. What we need, and need now, is a roaring back-fire!

C. P. HOLWAY,

Director of Public Relations,
the Cramer-Krasselt Company
Milwaukee, Wis., December 29

Exemption Can Be Waived

Dear Sirs: A recent ruling by the Illinois administrators of the Selective Service System may be of interest to your readers, especially to the clergymen and lawyers among them. It was called forth by my refusal to register because I could not conscientiously accept the automatic exemption from service which I, as a minister, was granted. After I was arrested and arraigned it was learned that numerous divinity students and young ministers in various parts of the country were restive under their cloaks of immunity. Many who did not choose to take the radical step of refusing to register were yet of one mind with me in believing it morally impossible for them to continue indefinitely to accept a protected status. The exemption clause had been secured by Roman Catholic lobby-

ists and is consistent with the Roman Catholic conception of the priesthood, but in the opinion of many Protestants it is a direct contradiction of that cardinal principle of the Reformation, the universal priesthood of all believers. Therefore Protestants of various denominations will find relief in the draft administrators' announcement:

The Selective Service System has no desire to force a minister of religion or a theological student to accept automatic deferment by being placed in Class 4-d simply because the Selective Service law entitles them to that deferment. In case any registrant entitled to such specific deferment wishes to waive being classified in Class 4-d, he can accomplish his desire by making an appropriate notation in the "Registrant's Statement Regarding Classification" section, on the middle of page 7 of the questionnaire. . . .

Those who waive this "privilege" will obtain a "right," namely, that of serving as any other citizen in the military program of the government or securing classification as conscientious objectors if conscription and war are contrary to their principles.

If the precedent set by the Illinois board's action and approved by Director Clarence Dykstra is followed in all other states, the government will be spared much futile friction with the Protestant churches, and the churches will be free to practice their understanding of the Christian faith—that God teaches men his will by incarnating himself.

HOWARD SCHOMER

Chicago, December 19

Council of the Emigration

Dear Sirs: A statement published in *The Nation* of December 14 by J. Alvarez del Vayo, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Spanish Republic, favoring the formation of a Central Council of the Emigration deserves careful attention. I take the liberty to offer a suggestion that applies to the many American groups and organizations that are dealing with the affairs of the nations that are victims of Hitlerism.

I think collaboration in a central body looking toward the solution of their main problems would add greatly to their effectiveness. All the arguments which Mr. Del Vayo advances in favor of his proposal apply with equal strength to this suggestion. It is true that some of the committees in question may have

special nationality problems, but the defeat of the Axis powers is their main objective, and in their effort toward this aim they may well unite.

It is obvious that people in this country would get a much more accurate picture of what is going on if all the groups in this country representing the nationalities oppressed by Hitler—including democratic Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and Chinese—could become more closely associated. How about starting the activities of such a Central Committee with a manifestation on January 30, 1941, the anniversary of Hitler's coming to power?

MARTIN M. FARBER

New York, December 31

Dear Sirs: I am unable to understand what the Central Council of the Emigration proposed by Señor Del Vayo could do at the present time. Even if it were composed only of those men from the different European countries who have a record of struggle and a courageous view of the European situation, it should consist of at least one man for each European country—that is, of at least a dozen members, if we stop at Central and Western Europe. Each one would handle the problems of his own country and would have to accept the solution the others would elaborate for the problems of their own countries. And then what? Who in America can prepare revolt in Europe? Perhaps something might be done for Spain. But what about the countries which are controlled by the Axis?

I think that the first step should be to form as many societies as countries. Each society should work for a given country according to its lights and possibilities. When those societies have been created, a common council might be set up as a clearing house. But if the first basis is lacking, no central council would be of any avail.

G. SALVEMINI

Cambridge, Mass., December 27

On Making America Produce

Dear Sirs: The articles printed in *The Nation* of December 7 under the title Make America Produce were interesting and provocative. The totalitarian success in getting things done is an effective challenge to capitalist economy which will have to be met, one way or another.

Both Mr. Straus and Mr. Noyes say, in effect, that momentous sacrifices will have to be made. They offer previews of state control and collectivism in the

form of superstructures added to our industrial economy. Many people will deny that a vast extension of state control could be worked democratically. Many will doubt the practicability of the regulatory taxation which Mr. Noyes advocates. Taxes, even if related to defense, will continue to be a focal point of resistance. The government might possibly succeed in regimenting industry, but our basic economic problem, the disproportionate distribution of wealth, would remain. It *will* remain, under our present system, as long as profit continues to be arrived at as percentage over cost. This method of arriving at profit is possibly the fundamental flaw in the capitalist economy. Were we to compute profit as a percentage upon pay rolls, capitalism might be preserved more or less intact. If employment became the basis of profit, production would acquire a new exuberance. Furthermore, capital and labor, at long last, would be yoked together and headed in the same direction.

There are profound reasons why we must review the situation with detachment. We ought to know that money power can and will thwart regulatory taxation. And planning boards, competent or otherwise, would be impossibly burdensome. Also let us not forget that consumer habits resist "freezing." Change in buying habits is "of the essence," and freedom of choice will last as long as democracy survives.

When Mr. Straus says "we" must delegate authority to command production, regulate it, decide from hour to hour what we will do with our goods, *by the democratic process*, he implies that business interests are something apart from the body politic. Thus he fails to face the real issue, which is: How many of us are pro and how many con?

The "profit motive," as we have known it, "does not," Mr. Straus says, "make men produce enough"; and he predicts that non-production based on bookkeeping reasons, will be ruled out. "We" are to effect this by rationalizing and extending the methods of the New Deal, an accomplishment possible, according to Mr. Straus, "under the fear of war." But is it true that the fear of war will render entrepreneurs amenable, that the "bleatings of business" will subside? Will the war scare override capitalistic interests and make them submissive to state control?

Mr. Straus declares, "There is no good reason why powers held to be necessary in the public interest cannot be democratically conferred, democrati-

cally controlled, and, if necessary, democratically revoked." If that is an academic exposition of the powers of democracy we must agree, but to put it to the pragmatic test we are compelled to ask, "By whom?"

EMORY L. KING

Ridgefield Park, N. J., December 26

First Aid to Nazism

Dear Sirs: It occurs to me that your readers might be interested in the following telegram which I have just sent:

Mark O. Prentiss, America First Committee, New York

I have your invitation to cooperate with your America First Committee. I see nothing you can hope to accomplish except to make certain of bringing war to America. You should call yourselves America First Aid to Nazism. I will not cooperate with you. I am for "America the Arsenal of Democracy."

UPTON SINCLAIR

Pasadena, Cal., December 30

CONTRIBUTORS

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Woodrow Wilson professor of government at Williams College, has just published "Night Over Europe: The Diplomacy of Nemesis."

LAWRENCE DENNIS, editor of the *Weekly Foreign Letter*, is the author of "The Coming American Fascism" and "The Dynamics of War and Revolution."

MAX LERNER, professor of political science at Williams College, is the author of "It Is Later Than You Think" and "Ideas Are Weapons."

C. B. BOUTELL is on the staff of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

ELIOT JANEWAY has written extensively on economic subjects for *Harper's*, *The Nation*, and other magazines.

JAMES ORRICK was for many years on the staff of the Oxford University Press.

E. S. FORGOTSON has contributed to the *Southern Review* and other publications.

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The Shape of Things

CONTINUED GREEK VICTORIES IN ALBANIA, British successes in Africa, and President Roosevelt's strong hand against the dictators appear to have stiffened Bulgaria's spine to resist Nazi demands. In a public address delivered Sunday Premier Philoff reaffirmed his government's determination to keep out of the war, but pledged resistance in case his country was attacked. The possibility that Bulgaria might keep this pledge was considerably strengthened by the promise of a high Turkish official that Turkey would declare war if German troops crossed the Rumanian frontier into Bulgaria. Added significance was given to the Turkish statement by the somewhat unexpected initiation of consultations between the Turkish and British military and air staffs. Not unrelated was the flat denial by *Tass*, the Soviet news agency, of reports that Germany had requested or obtained consent for the entry of German troops into Bulgaria. *Tass* also denied that Bulgaria had appealed for assistance against a German attack and had been turned down. Since Turkey could hardly have made its pledge of support to Bulgaria without consultation with Moscow, it may be assumed that the Soviets are continuing to give at least tacit backing to Bulgarian-Turkish resistance.

★

IS THE NEW GERMAN-RUSSIAN COMMERCIAL treaty simply an arrangement for the exchange of goods produced by the two countries, or does it include an agreement by which Russia acts as middleman in order to assist the Nazis in breaking down the British blockade? The second possibility is suggested by several circumstances, including the defiant tone of the Soviet press comments, which suggests that protests are expected. In its negotiations with the Soviets, so far abortive, Britain, we believe, has not sought to prevent the sale of Russian goods to Germany but has wished to check the resale of overseas products imported by the Russian government. Nevertheless, in an apparent effort to conciliate Moscow, it has not interfered with shipments into Vladivostok, although it is known that Germany is receiving a certain amount of material by this route. The new agreement, according to Berlin reports, covers additional purchases of cotton, of which Russia is said to have an increased

export surplus. In this case, how are the recent large exports of American cotton to Russia to be explained except as replacements of fiber sold to Germany? We also note that Russia is to supply the Nazis with additional quantities of vegetable oils and that by a curious coincidence large-scale Soviet purchases of similar materials here and in the Philippines have been reported in the past few weeks. Again, in spite of the fact that a bumper harvest is said to have made possible increased sales of grain to Germany, Russian offers to buy large quantities of Argentine grain are rumored. There is reason to suspect, therefore, that Russia is allowing itself to be used by Germany to enlarge the gaps in the British blockade. If this is so, it is hardly possible to blame Downing Street for its alleged intransigence regarding the U. S. S. R.

★

BORDER FIGHTING BETWEEN THAILAND and French Indo-China has gradually intensified until it has taken the form of an undeclared war. Thailand has charged the French with an attempted air attack on Bangkok, and has threatened to retaliate against Saigon, Pnom Penh, and other French cities. Artillery duels and heavy fighting are reported in Cambodia, where Thai troops have crossed the border into French territory. Although Japan is generally recognized to be behind the Thailand demands—and to be the source of Thailand's munitions—Tokyo has so far made no open move to take advantage of the situation. It is probable that Japanese ambitions are directed in about equal measure against both countries. Pressure continues against Indo-China for a naval base in the south which could be used against Singapore or the East Indies. No demands, except of an economic character, have yet been presented to the Thailand government. But the encouragement given to Thailand is reminiscent of the encouragement which Hitler gave to Poland's demands against Czechoslovakia in 1938. If the struggle should develop into protracted conflict, and the belligerents seemed to be about evenly matched, Japan would be in a position to make another bloodless conquest.

★

WE SUSPECT ULTERIOR PURPOSES IN THE NEW drive for a six-day week in defense industries. The truth is that workers in eight defense industries, including machine tools and electrical equipment, are already working from forty-four to fifty-two hours a week. There has been no objection whatever from the unions to working more than forty hours a week provided two conditions are met. One is that the work be really of a kind in which there is a shortage of skilled hands, making longer hours necessary. The other is that overtime be paid. The unions have preferred that employers, instead of paying overtime, hire extra shifts at regular

pay where unemployed men are available. This certainly seems sound policy to us. What some employers apparently want is to get rid of overtime pay. It is good in this connection to note the splendid speech made by Wage-Hour Administrator Fleming over an NBC network on January 8, in which he upheld the payment of overtime in reply to a recent speech made by Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, asking for a longer working day and week. Production Chief Knudsen seems to agree with Colonel Fleming. The latter quoted Knudsen as saying, "What the National Defense Commission wants is more machine hours. Machines if properly cared for can work 168 hours a week. Men can't. I know from my own experience that ten hours a day is too much. The man who works at a machine ten hours a day is good for about eight and one-half hours' normal production."

★

THE PROTECTION AFFORDED WORKERS BY the Wagner Act is extended one crucial step further by Justice Stone's eloquent and persuasive opinion in the Heinz case. Justice McReynolds took no part in the decision, but the court was otherwise unanimously with Justice Stone in holding that an employer who refuses to reduce a collective-bargaining agreement to writing is guilty of violating the act. "A business man who entered into negotiations with another for an agreement having numerous provisions," Justice Stone wrote, "with the reservation that he would not reduce it to writing or sign it could hardly be thought to have bargained in good faith. This is even more true in the case of an employer who, by his refusal to honor with his signature the agreement which he has made with a labor organization, discredits the organization, impairs the bargaining process, and tends to frustrate the aim of the statute to secure industrial peace through collective bargaining." All but one of the Circuit Courts passing on this question have so held in the past, the exception being the Seventh Circuit in the Inland Steel case, a decision given far more publicity by the press than the final one in the Heinz case. The Wagner Act does not require an employer to reach an agreement. It is not a compulsory-arbitration law. But the court now upholds the Labor Board in declaring that where an agreement is reached it must be put in writing and signed.

★

THE AMERICAN RESCUE SHIP MISSION, HIT by a depth bomb last week, is still afloat but listing heavily to port. Founded for the announced purpose of rescuing some 200,000 Spanish Loyalists from internment camps in France, manned by a crew of exemplary citizens including particularly ministers, writers, college professors, and Helen Keller, launched in a blaze of expensive publicity, the mission was ultimately discovered

to be operating under the not-very-remote control of Communists and their supporters. This fact by itself would have been interesting rather than important—interesting because it was so elaborately and effectively camouflaged. What disturbed other organizations working for the same ends was the exaggerated, misleading, contradictory claims made by the Rescue Ship organization. When these were fully exposed in an article by Frederick Woltman in the New York *World-Telegram*, the non-partisan members of the Rescue Ship crew began to scramble hastily over the side. A few, either too devoted or too innocent to desert, remain on board. But the ship, which was little more than a phantom at any time, is not likely to remain afloat much longer. Luckily the fate of the Spaniards in France does not hang on the success of this particular venture. Other organizations are working conscientiously if less spectacularly in their behalf, and their own representatives in the United States and Mexico have been trying desperately to obtain their release from the Vichy authorities and to arrange for their transportation.

★

FRANCO IS TO BE APPEASED EVEN THOUGH vigorous opposition to such a move has sidetracked an official government loan. It has been announced that the American Red Cross, with the full approval of the State Department, will dispatch a shipload of food to Spain late this month. The food is to be bought out of the \$50,000,000 which Congress voted to the Red Cross for relief abroad. In line with its general appeasement policy toward Spain, Great Britain has granted permission for the ship, which will also bear condensed milk and vitamin concentrates for French children, to pass the British blockade. Meanwhile, Argentina is reported to be considering granting a \$100,000,000 loan to Franco. This loan would equal in size the much-disputed credit which was not granted by the United States. It would be made possible by the \$50,000,000 credit recently granted Argentina from the United States Stabilization Fund. In this case Britain has apparently not only agreed to pass Argentine products but undertaken to aid the clearing arrangements. Franco has not been asked to make any commitment with regard to entry into the war in return for the projected Argentine loan. The United States, it is believed, has demanded such a promise in return for the shipment of food, but since the decision for or against entering the war depends in the end on Hitler, and not on Franco, a promise means rather less than nothing. What the United States should demand as a minimum condition for sending relief is an end of Franco's indiscriminate persecution of Republican sympathizers. We should also insist that he withdraw all objections to the removal of Spanish refugees from unoccupied France to Mexico and other countries in the Western Hemisphere.

The President's Plan

THE people of the United States have set their President a tremendous task. They have asked him to provide aid to Britain on a scale which will enable that country to overcome the terrific odds against it, and they have asked that this end shall be accomplished without our physical involvement in the war. That is an assignment of an unprecedented nature, and if it is to be carried out with any hope of success Mr. Roosevelt must be given authority of an unprecedented kind. He must be enabled to act with speed and secrecy; he must be left free to decide on the quantity and quality of aid indicated by the course of events. If the dikes of European democracy, which are holding back the tide of war from our shores, develop a weakness at any particular spot he must be empowered to send swiftly whatever form of material aid is needed to reinforce that position.

These are the broad purposes of the new bill to "further promote the defense of the United States," and in the light of the world situation we do not think that the additional powers it confers on the President are excessive. But we think that Mr. Roosevelt might have been wiser in his manner of requesting these powers. In preparing the ground for the bill he moved with his usual sureness of touch. He waited until public opinion had matured to the point where he could sum it up with masterly clarity, and in so doing he elevated the whole question of our part in the war to a position above politics. But in the drafting of the bill, and still more in its method of introduction, Mr. Roosevelt seems to have made errors in tactics which reduce the effectiveness of his strategy. In particular, it is difficult to see why he failed to capitalize the non-partisan support he was receiving by omitting Republican Congressional leaders from the prior consultations, especially when Senator Austin, acting minority leader in the upper house, is one of the strongest advocates of aid to Britain.

A second mistake, we believe, was the absence of any time limit in the bill. Since the President is asking for extraordinary powers, which he himself recognizes can only be justified by the intensity of the emergency, a request limited to a definite period would have done much to disarm suspicion. At the end of, say, two years, either the bill will no longer be necessary or events will dictate its renewal. We hope, therefore, that Mr. Roosevelt will bow speedily and gracefully to the widespread demand for a time limit.

Another criticism of the measure which seems to us to carry weight is the failure to make definite provision for keeping Congress informed of the steps taken by the President to implement its purposes. Obviously military necessities may preclude prompt disclosure of some actions taken under the authority of the bill, but it would seem possible to provide for periodic reports to Congress.

In this connection, however, it should be noted that the bill confers general authority only and will have to be supplemented from time to time by appropriations which will afford Congress an opportunity for discussion and the exercise of general supervision. As a matter of tactics, it would have been wise to place more emphasis on this point.

While calling attention to such possibilities for strengthening the bill, we should like to make it clear that most of the attacks on it seem to us fantastic. The power which it will give to the President is intensive rather than extensive, for it is confined to the field of procurement of military supplies. It does not, as some of its wilder opponents aver, enable the President to upset the Constitution, suspend the Bill of Rights, or declare war. Only an irresponsibility literally blind could have led the *Chicago Tribune* to comment: "This is a bill for the destruction of the American Republic. It is a bill for an unlimited dictatorship with power over the possessions and lives of the American people, with power to make war and alliances for war."

We are sure that both Congress and the people will reject such violent distortions and that the bill will be enacted into law. Its importance is such that it demands full debate, but we hope that attempts to delay its passage by obstructionist tactics will be sternly resisted, for time is still snapping at our heels. The American people, to quote the *London Economist*, are "running a big enough risk in all conscience to expect the people of Britain to hold out with their own resources all through a year with such a grim augury as 1941. If the British people must not set their expectations any earlier than January 1, 1942, the American people must not set their expectations any later."

Billions for Defense

SEVENTEEN and a half billion dollars is a staggering sum, difficult to deal with mentally, for it is of the same order of magnitude as the distance to the sun or the speed of light. It is well to remember, therefore, that there is economic as well as astronomic relativity, and we can better grasp the significance of the budget total if we consider it as a proportion of that still vaster sum, the national income. By this we mean the whole amount of goods and services available for our consumption in a given period. In the year just closed, national income is estimated to have been approximately \$74 billion; for the fiscal year 1941-42 a conservative guess would place it at around \$85 billion, and it may easily reach \$90 billion.

We see, then, that the \$17½ billion which the President proposes to lay out in 1941-42 is equivalent to nearly one-quarter of the national income in 1940 but

is only about one-fifth of the national income which we may reasonably expect during the period for which this expenditure is budgeted. Looking at it another way, we can deduct what the government will spend from the total goods and services produced, and we shall find that the amount available for civilian consumption will be greater than it has been in any recent year.

In citing these comparisons we do not intend to belittle the effort which a national expenditure of \$17½ billion involves or to imply that a budget of this magnitude is a good thing *per se*. It is, as the President pointed out in his message, "the reflection of a world at war" and a burden which we accept only because of bitter necessity. Nevertheless, it is a burden which will be more easily handled if we retain a sense of proportion about it. And we may still count our blessings after reflecting on the much heavier load weighing upon other countries. In the current year Britain's war expenditures will amount to at least 60 per cent of the national income, and European neutrals, such as Sweden and Switzerland, are forced to meet, from incomes much reduced by the collapse of their foreign trade, defense bills proportionately much larger than our own.

In the coming year our chief fiscal problem will not be to keep within the limits of the budget but to spend the full sums provided. For a saving on the estimates can only mean, by and large, a lag in the production of the weapons we need for defense. During the second half of 1940 monthly expenditures under the defense program averaged nearly \$300 million. According to the President, the first six months of this year should see this average stepped up to nearly \$800 million, and the fulfilment of the program for the fiscal year 1941-42 calls for an average monthly outlay of \$900 million. To attain these figures an enormous increase in the output of the defense industries will be necessary, and we must remember that they have also huge orders to fill for Britain. Success in this direction can only be achieved by arduous planning to avoid bottlenecks and by the inclusion in the defense program of all idle productive capacity. As President Murray of the C. I. O. and other authorities have been pointing out, there is a tendency to overload the major industrial units while neglecting smaller concerns capable in the aggregate of making a very important contribution to our needs.

The rapidity with which defense output is increased has a very considerable bearing on the extent to which it may be possible to reduce non-defense expenditures. In the budget message Mr. Roosevelt pointed out that nearly half the items in this category were fixed obligations, such as interest and pensions, or were required by legislative commitments. However, items susceptible to administrative action have been cut 15 per cent below last year's estimates. The largest reduction is a 50 per cent decrease in the proposed appropriation for the

WPA. Critics have objected that this and other cuts are inadequate, but that is a matter which can hardly be decided until we learn by experience how rapidly defense production can be accelerated and how extensively it sops up unemployment. If during the next fiscal year defense expenditure achieves budget objectives, it is possible that the sums required for WPA will fall below estimates. But if industry lags behind schedule, the provision made for work relief may prove too small.

The President pointed out that employers could assist in the reduction of WPA costs by hiring unskilled or semi-skilled or older workers for jobs not requiring extensive training. Unfortunately there exists an unjustified prejudice against WPA workers in some quarters. Further, it is a disgraceful but proved fact that certain industrial concerns would rather suffer a shortage of labor than hire colored workers. While this attitude persists, WPA may be the only recourse for numbers of hard-working men who are denied an opportunity to contribute their labor to national defense.

We must expect that during Congressional consideration of appropriations attempts will be made to whittle down other items of social significance in the civil section of the budget. All such efforts must be carefully watched, for there are false prophets of economy in Congress who tend to regard all social expenditure as waste. The total defense of democracy, as the President pointed out, does not depend on weapons of war alone. We need those to defend us from external aggression. But we must also have "jobs, health, and security to strengthen the bulwarks of democracy." Those are the twin objectives which the budget message sets for the nation, and in reaching toward both we must be on our guard against uneconomic economies.

China in Danger

A HIGHLY pessimistic report of political and economic conditions in China is contained in a dispatch from Edgar Snow, one of the best-informed American journalists in the Far East, printed recently by the New York *Herald Tribune*. It would seem that despite the prospect of increasing aid from the United States China is threatened with defeat, not because of Japan's superior military power, but because of growing internal dissension. This dissension has its roots in the extremely difficult economic situation which has developed in free China. The full cost of three and a half years of war is now making itself felt. Prices have skyrocketed as much as 1,000 per cent since last March. Widespread profiteering and hoarding have intensified the shortages resulting from the war and blockade.

The existing discontent has found expression in a renewed conflict between right-wing elements in the

Kuomintang and the Communists. Antagonism between these groups has been smoldering throughout the war. On several occasions it has flamed up in fighting that was close to civil war. But each time an open cleavage has been averted by the personal intercession of Chiang Kai-shek, who has recognized, if some of his subordinates have not, that a divided China could not hope to hold out against Japan. The present difficulties seem to have started in November, when Ho Ying-chin—the Minister of War whose anti-Communist bias nearly cost Chiang Kai-shek his life when the Generalissimo was kidnapped in Sian four years ago—demanded that the Communist Fourth Route Army withdraw from the rich Shanghai-Nanking area which it has recovered from the Japanese during the last three years. The Communists countered by renewing their long-standing demands for legalization of their party, release of Communists imprisoned by the Kuomintang, resumption of ammunition shipments to the Eighth and Fourth Route armies, and the summoning of a national people's conference to institute a more democratic rule in China.

Although details are not available, the most recent reports indicate that the Red Army leaders have given way all along the line. Major Carlson, who has just reached Hongkong after a four-month tour of nine provinces in free China, declares that although the friction between the right-wing elements in the Kuomintang and the Communists has been critical, the crisis has passed. This is disputed by Snow, who fears that the dispute may become intense enough to precipitate civil war in the spring. Unlike the earlier agreements between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists, the present understanding does not seem to be based on reciprocity. The Communists, with some cause, feel that they have been unjustly treated, while right-wing elements are little better satisfied. The issues which divide the groups are basic and cannot be resolved in the midst of a life-and-death struggle with Japan. But it is clear that whatever happens unity must be maintained. By taking definite steps to extend political democracy within China, Chiang would provide a safety valve for all forms of domestic discontent. The right-wing leaders insist that a people's congress, if called at this time, would not be fully representative, because numerous delegates in Japanese-occupied regions would not be able to reach Chungking in time, thus leaving the field to the Communists. This may be true. But the announcement of definite plans to summon a conference on a more suitable occasion would help remove a serious element of conflict.

Of equal importance, if China is to be saved from defeat, are measures to relieve the acute economic situation. Here responsibility falls primarily upon the United States. Immediate assistance on a large scale—or even news that such aid was on the way—would lessen the discontent and prevent a collapse of Chinese resistance.

'Uncensored'

AT REGULAR intervals we wonder if there is anyone in the world quite so naive as a "hard-boiled" reporter. This time the wonder is aroused by an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* by Demaree Bess, who has been touring the "new Europe" with the permission of the German authorities and with their assurance that while his articles would be scrutinized to see that they did not "inadvertently" contain military information they would not be censored in any other way. Mr. Bess's first article contains the results of what he calls his "exploration" of Norway. The first third is devoted to a cozy description of how he obtained the cooperation of the Nazis for his venture and persuaded them that he should be allowed to send uncensored reports to the American public; then he introduces Major Vidkun Quisling and his police chief, Jonas Lie, and outlines at length their view that Germany is sure to win and that their careers as Nazi puppets will be justified by history.

In the course of his article he states that the majority of Norwegians do not support the Nazis' tools—"Quisling himself told me so"; and toward the end he says that Norway is experiencing a form of civil warfare. But he seems to accept the word of Lie and Quisling that no violence occurred in September when Norway was incorporated into the "new order," and he concludes peacefully: "Partly due to the restraining presence of the German army, partly as a result of the calm Norwegian temperament, this civil war has proceeded thus far with little violence. . . . Norway waits today . . . for others to settle its destiny."

The *Post* is sure of Mr. Bess's integrity but obviously skeptical of his picture. It points out that reports of sabotage and bombings anywhere in German-conquered territory presumably would be regarded as military information, and it cites the reports coming out of Stockholm, which, to say the least, do not substantiate Mr. Bess's view. These Stockholm reports are mostly hearsay, of course, but at least one of them is based on specific documentary evidence. It cites an article by Nils Flom, one of Quisling's henchmen, which appeared recently in *Fritt Folk*, Quisling's official organ. "Even Norwegian Nazis have a right to exist," writes Flom, and his article is described as one long appeal for help from Oslo in combating the opposition in western Norway, which "completely dominates the situation." This is only one item, but its point is sharp enough to prick Mr. Bess's balloon.

Mr. Bess's integrity may be unassailable, but we are willing to bet that, given his understandable journalistic desire to visit all of "German Europe" and send back "uncensored" articles, we shall now discover that every conquered country, thanks to the "restraining presence"

of the German army and the "calm temperament" of its people is waiting, etc.

At regular intervals we wonder if there is anyone in the world quite so smart as the Nazis.

Mr. Pollitt as Guide

WHAT do those blind people of the left who find nothing to choose between the tyranny of Germany and the "so-called democracy" of England make of the People's Convention which met in London on January 12? Here in the bombed capital of a country fighting for life 2,200 men and women, under a floodlight of publicity, proposed to overthrow the British government and supplant it with one that would negotiate for peace with the German people. No storm troopers swept down on the convention hall; no delegates were packed into sealed freight cars bound for the pleasures of the concentration camp; no British executioner lopped off the head of Harry Pollitt or of any of his Communist and fellow-traveler colleagues who inspired and operated the convention. In fact, not a single policeman appeared on the scene. The tolerant attitude of the government reflects both the health of British democracy and the relative insignificance of the convention.

Few Britons, we suspect, will be taken in by the convention platform, which calls in effect for a civil war—when the country is on the point of invasion—in order to negotiate a peace with a German people's government that doesn't exist. If the movers of this gathering had the intentions they profess, they would apply their energies to the desperate struggle to overthrow Hitler and then employ their revolutionary strength and tactics to force the people's peace they talk about. They might even take as their guide the excellent statement issued by their own Harry Pollitt on September 14, eleven days after the outbreak of war. As general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain the Mr. Pollitt who is now a guiding spirit of the People's Convention wrote:

The Communist Party supports the war, believing it to be a just war which should be supported by the whole working class and all friends of democracy in Britain. . . . To stand aside from this conflict, to contribute only revolutionary-sounding phrases while the fascist beasts ride roughshod over Europe, would be a betrayal of everything our forbears have fought to achieve in the course of long years of struggle against capitalism. . . . The British workers are in this war to defeat Hitler, for a German victory would mean that fascism would be imposed on the defeated countries.

Then the new line, based on Russia's pact with the "fascist beasts," came through from Moscow, and in the twinkling of an eye Mr. Pollitt found himself fighting against an "imperialist war."

From NDAC to OPM

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 12

THE course of human affairs may not proceed with Euclidean neatness, but the bitter fight being waged here for control of the defense machinery will be better understood if we start with a few simple axioms. War increases the demand for labor and for capital. Capital in war time invariably seeks to use its increased bargaining power with government as a means of reducing labor's newly enhanced power to bargain with capital. Capital tries to prevent labor from "taking advantage of the crisis" while itself fully exploiting the improved bargaining position conferred on capital by the war-time market. The organized cry to outlaw strikes on defense contracts is proof of the one. The ease with which capital last year obtained repeal of profit limitations on defense contracts is proof of the other. For both purposes capital needs control of the defense machinery. Basically it is this which lies behind the alphabet soup reshuffle from NDAC to OPM, and it is this which accounts for the disappointment felt in business circles over the President's refusal to make William S. Knudsen the one-man boss of the new Office for Production Management. The executive order naming Sidney Hillman as Knudsen's associate was the greatest setback the dollar-a-year men have suffered since the election.

In a very real sense the behind-the-scenes fight over the executive order was an extension of the election campaign. The masters of enterprise are not content to cast a ballot once every four years. Their failure to instal a Willkie in the White House only made them the more eager to instal a Willkie in the defense machinery. They complain that the new OPM order divides authority between Knudsen and Hillman. They wanted to divide authority between Knudsen and Roosevelt. The division of authority between Knudsen and Hillman makes Mr. Roosevelt the final arbiter on defense matters. That is what they resent, and that is what they sought to avoid by a palace cabal. The President's intentions, despite claims to the contrary, were made quite clear in the December 20 press conference, at which he first announced the establishment of the OPM. At that time he decried talk of a one-man boss for production for defense, explaining that there were three elements in the productive picture, management, labor, and the buyer, and that he wanted all three equally represented in the OPM. Knudsen was to represent management, Hillman to represent labor, Stimson and Knox the army and navy as purchasers. Obviously this was quite different from the

one-man setup proposed by the conservative press and from the three-man board made up of Knudsen, Stimson, and Knox which was suggested by the army and navy. The drafting of the executive order to carry out the President's instructions was left with Budget Director Harold Smith, White House Administrative Assistant William McReynolds, and Louis Brownlow, coauthor of the President's government-reorganization plan. To attribute what they did to the "extreme vagueness" of the President's instructions, as two conservative newspaper columnists have since done, is feeble apologetics.

What these three gentlemen did was to confer with Knudsen's counsel, Frederick Eaton, and Stettinius's counsel, Blackwell Smith, both Wall Streeters, and emerge with a draft that would have made Knudsen the "director general" of the new Office for Production Management and left Hillman a mere "adviser." Characteristic of the way the dollar-a-year men tend to operate was their failure to consult with Sidney Hillman, who was laid up with the grippe, or with Hillman's devoted counsel, Maxwell Brandwen. Neither side in this fight will do much talking, but so far as I can determine, Brandwen first learned of this order from a story about it in the *Wall Street Journal*. Stimson and Knox, the story said, were to retain their administrative functions under Knudsen, and these three would comprise the administrative board of the OPM; Hillman would be "relegated to a position of 'adviser' to Knudsen with no administrative authority." Brandwen read this and went to battle.

Harry Hopkins and Attorney General Jackson helped to defeat the dollar-a-year men. I hope revelation of the part he played will not cause trouble for the Attorney General. The day before I learned of the help he had given, I was informed by two persons, both in the government, that the FBI in checking on the household help and landladies of government employees, was asking whether these employees had entertained or consorted with any persons of "communistic" or "pro-labor" views. My informants, neither of whom had any sympathy with the Communist Party, insisted that the phrase "pro-labor" had been used by FBI agents.

The bitter attacks made on Hillman in Congress last week were not accidental. "Let Congress act," the *New York Herald Tribune* demanded on January 9. "It has the power to direct the organization of the defense program upon a sound and efficient basis—with a single head in supreme control." The dollar-a-year men will

seek to do through Congress what they have failed to do in the White House. Their defeat is essential if the United States is to be adequately prepared and to give increased aid to Britain. Knudsen, a man of winning sincerity and simplicity, did not lack authority before and does not lack it now. Legally, the shift from NDAC to OPM has given him more power. Actually he lacked not power but imagination, daring, and will. Spiritually he is still a General Motors employee and cannot be expected effectively to boss men who were his employers before and may be so again. He is neither ■ Baruch nor ■ Beaverbrook, and if he is given supreme power it will be exercised not by him but by shrewder and less honorable men in less conspicuous posts. The effect of giving Knudsen supreme power would be not to speed production but to push labor out of the picture.

The events of the past few weeks have vividly demonstrated the need for labor representation at the top of the defense picture, and not merely as an aid in winning justice for the worker and preserving his morale. Labor through the Reuther plan first brought home the existence of unused man-power and machines in the automotive

industry. Labor through the S. W. O. C. was the first to reveal the existence of unused capacity in steel. Experience in the last war showed that there is a tendency on the part of the big companies to monopolize war orders at the expense of productive efficiency. Only labor has an interest in maximum employment and maximum productivity. In the last war it did not matter that many American concerns failed miserably to provide planes and ordnance in sizable quantities, for the factories of the Allies could supply our troops. This time the situation is different, and it is only on labor that we can rely for the discovery of the productive short cuts that may eat into profits but can speed output. Philip Murray is now preparing "Reuther plans" for other industries. Hillman in the past has had a kind of stepchild role. He was not consulted on production. He wasn't shown production contracts and could not see whether army and navy were keeping their pledges to labor, which they are not. Now, if he has the courage and energy, he can have a voice in the productive process. The public is waking up to the fact that labor can provide production leadership.

Paris in the Reich

[For obvious reasons the author of this letter must not be named, but his identity is known to us. He is an American who has lived in Paris for more than twenty years. — EDITORS THE NATION.]

Paris, December 22

SIX months of living under German occupation should allow an observer to give an exact impression of the state of mind of the people of Paris. The feeling of moral annihilation which followed the lightning collapse of France has been succeeded by a new spirit of confidence, which is not unrelated to the strength of British resistance and to the Italian reverses in Greece and Egypt. It should not be assumed that this means that the Parisian carries his sincere dislike of the Germans to the point of heroic opposition to the regime of occupation. But it is evident, at least, that the people know perfectly well what is going on. Even though in the Paris press one sees no other news than that authorized by the Nazi high command, each Greek victory and each success of the British navy is known almost instantaneously here. People do not read the French papers. Long ago they rejected them as *boche* journals, and it is useless for M. Déat to exercise his mediocre talents in trying to convince his countrymen through the columns of *l'Œuvre* that the best interest of France is to cooperate in the establishment of a new European order under Hitler. On the other hand, everyone who

owns ■ radio uses all his imagination and initiative to subdue the conflicting noises in his machine in order that he may listen quietly to London or Boston. The Boston short-wave station, which broadcasts in French, is immensely popular. Anyone who has lived in India knows from experience how news or rumor travels by word of mouth hundreds of miles with incredible speed. In the same way news of the Italian defeats circulates here, and hatred and contempt for the enemy, which dishonored itself forever with the "stab in the back," contribute to make the Italian disasters in Albania and Libya fully enjoyed as the only sparks of light that illuminate this dark Christmas Eve.

If in the beginning anti-British propaganda, carried out by Goebbels's agents and by the versatile Marcel Déat, showed itself efficient, now the majority of Parisians begin to look upon British resistance as their own battle. With that spirit of grace which never deserts this people even in its blackest hours, a French friend told me, commenting on the attitude of his countrymen toward England: "To be exact, the population can be classified as follows: 38 per cent Anglophile, 42 per cent Anglophobe, and the rest without opinion. The Anglophile says, 'Pray God the English will win!' The Anglophobe says, 'The question is, will those damn English have enough guts to lick Hitler?'"

Since November 11 the Nazi authorities have realized

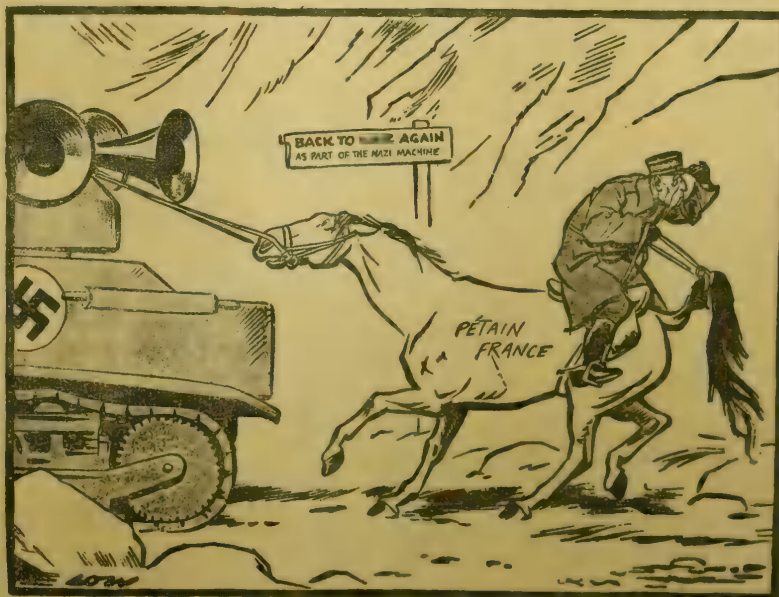
that the occupation of Paris by the armies of the Führer is purely material and that the soul of the French capital will forever escape them. Foreseeing that the commemoration of the Armistice would provide an opportunity to the French people to show their true feelings, Vichy ordered that Armistice Day should be a day like any other. Everybody should go to work. But that evening the people of Paris, instead of going back to their sad homes, started to march, as if following an inner command, to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. In less than an hour the Champs Elysées was as crowded as on the most exciting July 14. It was a compact and grave crowd, impressive through the dignity of its silence and its sorrow. Nothing could be heard except the tramping feet or the impatient horn of some car carrying Nazi officers. Suddenly in the tight ranks of men and women a daring group of young people, mostly students, pushed through. Each one carried in his hand a long stick such as is used in this country to knock nuts from the trees, a *gaulle* (*gaulle les noix*). They thrust the sticks above the heads of the crowd, shouting "Vive De —! Vive De —!" Everyone realized at once that they were crying "Vive De Gaulle!" The police tried to reach them. It was impossible. The people crowded together tighter and tighter. The students were already at the base of the Unknown Soldier's tomb. And now a great chorus cried "Vive De —!" and raised the *gaullies* in time with their shout. The Gestapo came up in their cars. They shot into the air. It was too late. Paris had already celebrated the Armistice by acclaiming the leader of "Free France" and demonstrating against Hitler.

Minor manifestations of this feeling have taken place in the movie houses. People no longer like to go because they are afraid of the consequences. For instance, one day the Nazi propaganda bureau was showing a film of so-called "British atrocities"—British bombers over German cities. Exclamations of "Bravo!" swept through the crowd. The show was halted, and the people were warned that if such a thing happened again two persons selected at random from every row would be arrested. The lights went out and the show continued—now in a most impressive silence. The silence was absolute—because as soon as the theater became dark the entire crowd had moved out.

This spirit makes more and more difficult the task of the internal traitors. Laval, for instance, is finished. Since he came from Vichy, his car escorted by the personal guard of Abetz—today Hitler's ambassador, previously his leading fifth columnist in France—Laval has been for Paris *l'homme des Allemands*. By trying

to force the situation, to impose Laval on Pétain, Hitler showed how the Italian defeats had shaken his nerve. When Hitler realized that the game was lost in the eastern Mediterranean as a consequence of the Italian defeats, he tried to offset the deterioration of the situation of the Axis powers by planning a new coup against Britain in the western Mediterranean. For that he needed the cooperation of France. Through Laval, Hitler tried to induce Vichy to consent to change the present transitory status of an armistice into a peace treaty. France, he suggested, could immediately obtain a peace much better than that which would await it if Hitler should succeed in breaking the British resistance. The price of that peace would be that France should place the rest of its navy at the service of Germany and co-operate from Africa in a general offensive in the western Mediterranean—an offensive which would include the much-announced assault upon Gibraltar through Spain.

It was at this moment that the intervention of Weygand showed itself decisive. All the rumors that circulated about Weygand's turning against Pétain were fantastic wishful thinking. It is far more likely that Weygand cherishes the hope of superseding the old marshal when age finally proves stronger than senile tenacity. Weygand will never rebel against Pétain, and though one cannot foresee the future, he will only *à contre-cœur* identify himself with De Gaulle, whom he sees as a high military officer who has defied the discipline of the army. Weygand is the man of the armistice. It was he and not Pétain who imposed the armistice. Considering himself responsible for its terms, he does not want a transitory situation to be transformed through a peace treaty into a definitive one. He wants this much less since British resistance and Mussolini's defeats have offered France an outlook which was not before it at the moment



THE PEACE-SEEKER'S PROGRESS

it gave up the fight. Weygand does not like the British, but he does not go as far—in his animosity—as the simple-minded and rough Admiral Darlan.

Instead of allowing Laval, who for a time enjoyed the absolute confidence of Pétain, to play the game of the

Germans under the cover of Pétain's name, Hitler tossed Laval on the table in one theatrical play—and lost it. Laval's failure has been a warning to the French collaborationists—at-any-price. Gaston Bergery shows himself every day more cautious. Only people like Doriot, who have nothing to lose, remain to be used by Hitler.

In the world of business the Germans are having greater success. If the average Nazi, after admiring the enchanting city from the Eiffel Tower and drinking

champagne mixed with beer, is satisfied to buy silk underwear and perfumes for his Gretchen at home, the Nazi bosses have much wider aims. With frantic unanimity they have proceeded to grab the most remunerative Paris businesses. All those stories told by Knickerbocker and others at the beginning of the war about the greed of the Nazis and their foresight in placing their money abroad against the day of shipwreck in Germany have been fully confirmed here. Personal agents of Goebbels, Göring, Ribbentrop, and Ley have assumed the task of exploring the Paris market, acquiring for their bosses the most attractive enterprises. In accomplishing this no violence is used, there is no talk of forcible expropriations. They operate very gently, with white gloves and extraordinary caution, on a strictly commercial basis.

If the shares of a business enterprise are found to be for sale in the Bourse they take full advantage of the rate of exchange fixed by the Nazis, under which they get twenty francs for every Reichsmark. As soon as they have acquired a majority of the shares the business automatically goes to them. In other cases they investigate the financial situation of an enterprise in which they are interested. Since the start of the war the majority of businesses in Paris have suffered from a lack of capital. Well informed about each particular case, Nazi agents present themselves, generously offering money to tide over the period of crisis. In most cases this suggestion is enthusiastically welcomed. The new partner wastes no time. Rapidly he becomes the master. At other times the Nazi agent, carrying in his hand a list of the creditors of an enterprise which is in debt, goes around

buying up the notes they hold until he is in a position to appear in the manager's office as the sole creditor with power to foreclose.

French business men who, like some of their fellows in the United States, believed in collaborating with Nazi business men have experienced a bitter disappointment. Amusing in this respect is the case of *l'Illustration*. Shortly after the armistice was signed, the owners of that well-known publication came back to Paris warmly disposed to work for French-German cooperation and eager at the same time to make good the losses incurred during a year of war. One morning there appeared in the publisher's office, amiable and smiling, a Nazi carrying an impressive dispatch case. "Good morning. I am delighted to work with you. I am the new administrator." Surprise on the part of the publisher; protestations that the main purpose of the review was to imbue its readers with an understanding of the new role which events had thrust upon the Germans in Europe; "Heil Hitler"—and all the rest. More smiles from the visitor, several heel-clickings and bows, and an insistence that he must have an office where he could begin work immediately. His interest in the affairs of the review was touching. A fortnight later he knew the situation and the internal workings of *l'Illustration* better than "the four Baschet" who had always monopolized the masthead of the paper and were also the owners. On the sixteenth day he called the owners to his office and addressed them thus: "Gentlemen, I don't know how to express my gratitude for your cooperation. *L'Illustration* is a publication which honors you. You may feel sure that in new hands its artistic standards and its traditions will be preserved. I do not consider myself entitled to abuse your kindness any further. After today your presence here will be unnecessary. From now on I take upon myself the responsibility for conducting the review."

Six months of Nazi occupation have been sufficient to cool the ardor of the partisans of collaboration. Even those ladies in high society who saw in the Germans the men who would save France from the vulgarity of again being seduced by such democratic experiments as the Popular Front now cry out to heaven because their children's British nurses have been put in concentration camps.

For the rest life goes on: there is the unpleasantness of seeing agents of the Gestapo nearly every morning in the halls of the hotel, but there is no serious trouble for those foreigners who can afford to pay six times more for many things than they did in peace time. With money practically anything can be bought in Paris—especially from the Germans themselves. If you are ready to pay forty francs for a piece of soap, which with coffee and sugar has become very rare, you can still get a good specimen from Coty. In the high-priced restaurants, pro-



General de Gaulle

vided certain restrictions in force since the beginning of the war are observed, important officials, war profiteers, and some privileged foreigners—who risk the black bourse and obtain 80 or even 100 francs for the dollar—may still indulge in a meal which recalls the good days of Drouant and La Tour d'Argent. Naturally it is the middle class, the small functionaries, and the workers who suffer the most. In general the Nazis have taken good care that the price of food does not rise too high. Nobody can forecast the situation in the next two months. But today one cannot talk of famine in Paris—any more, at least, than one could talk of famine in Germany in the years of inflation.

For several reasons unemployment is practically nonexistent in the occupied zone: first, the large number of French prisoners still held by the Germans; second, the fact that people from rural areas, who in past years were drawn to the big towns, are now going back to work the land. Besides, the Nazi administration forbids a woman to work if her husband has a job. Many jobs which during the war were filled by women have been taken over by men. In addition, one sees daily in the newspapers advertisements inviting professionals, technicians, and other qualified workers to go to work in Germany. The temptation is great for the French. They are paid the same as the German workers, and if this is not much in Germany, their wages translated into francs amount to quite a good sum. The Nazis do not want to

risk sabotage in French factories working for the German army. They allow the French to produce in France only separate parts—motors, airplane wings, and the like—and prefer to have everything assembled in Germany under the direct control of the factory police.

I imagine that many fantastic tales have been spread abroad about those Nazi conquests which cannot be ascribed to military genius alone. Evidently, in accordance with the old French tradition of political salons, there are certain ladies who entertain high Nazi officers in their homes. Long before the war the handsome Abetz was a favorite in certain circles. But generally speaking, a woman who is seen with a German is marked. She will soon notice, through the glacial reception accorded her by her friends, how severely she is judged.

The Germans, on the other hand, can count upon the generous collaboration, sometimes more forced than voluntary, of the *demi-monde* and of the whole underworld of Paris—Lesbians, pederasts, traffickers in morphine and cocaine, whose names have figured in the police records and are today in the famous card-index of the Gestapo. The apostles of the pure race and of the regeneration of youth move as if in their own waters in that Paris which has so strongly attracted foreigners avid of sensation ever since the days when Charles Louis Philippe wrote, with his bitter grace, "Bubu de Montparnasse." And it is not unusual to find on the garter of some of these ladies the emblem of the swastika.

The Choice for the Americas

BY LEWIS COREY

II. An All-American Economy

NO HALFWAY measures piling up costs and arousing discouragement by their futility can bring about the economic cooperation of the Americas. What is needed is a long-range program that is far-reaching enough to transform old trade relations and set in motion new forces for all-American economic unity. But speed is also necessary, quick action to ease the economic crisis of Latin America.

The opinion of Latin Americans in Washington, confirmed by reports of United States correspondents beyond the Caribbean, is that unless this country finds a way to dispose of the most serious Latin American surpluses an economic collapse may be imminent. A collapse may mean fascist uprisings. If these occur they will be a result of the collapse and due only incidentally to "fifth column" activity. The cartel plan of absorbing the surpluses was rightly scrapped; another plan is needed whose costs,

not necessarily heavy, must be borne by the United States. Action on the surpluses would be a most effective answer to Nazi machinations.

Latin Americans suggest that many products now stored in their warehouses could be released by barter trade with the United States without hurting regular commerce. No action was taken, however, on the Brazilian government's proposal to the United States Maritime Commission that it provide ships to carry manganese to this country in exchange for coal, of which *we* have a surplus. An agreement drawn up by a subcommittee of the Inter-American Financial and Advisory Commission and accepted by the United States and fourteen coffee-growing nations has set up quotas in the American and world markets to prevent coffee price wars and to withstand totalitarian pressures. A combination of barter and quotas could be used to increase United States purchases of other Latin American products. According to the National Foreign Trade Council we could import more

Argentine meat on a quota basis without harming the home industry, and more flaxseed by reducing one-half the "ridiculously high" tariff; these measures would increase Argentina's exports to this country by \$50,000,000 a year. We can and should increase our Latin American imports as much as possible; yet when Nelson Rockefeller, coordinator of commercial and cultural relations with Latin America, proposed to the National Defense Commission that Brazilian diamonds be bought for industrial uses (we now buy from the De Beers African monopoly) and Argentine leather for military shoes, his suggestion, it is reported, was flatly rejected.

ON THE LATIN AMERICAN FRONT

Since surpluses are a many-sided problem they call for action on more than one front. Independently of the United States, the Latin American nations are making a threefold attack that promises substantial results. They are promoting:

1. The exchange of their products among themselves. Only 10 per cent of their foreign trade is now with one another. The chief difficulties, their competitive production and their lack of purchasing power, will take time to overcome, but meanwhile the Latin American nations are making regional agreements to consume more of each other's surpluses of all kinds: to exchange Bolivian oil for the products of Argentina, Paraguay, and Brazil; Peruvian sugar for Chilean nitrates; Brazilian coffee for Argentine wheat and flour; Mexican oil and cement for Chilean nitrates and wines. The agreements mean lower customs barriers, planned regional exchange of goods, regional economic integration. Most interesting is the arrangement between Brazil and Argentina, considered a model for Latin America, by which each agrees to buy \$20,000,000 worth of the other's surplus products. Barter agreements make the planned exchange easier. Some of our business men attack the pact as a "conspiracy" because under it Argentina and Brazil will buy from one another goods they now buy in the United States. But such regional trade should be encouraged as part of the larger cooperation of the Americas.

2. Transformation of surplus products into plastics, synthetics, and other industrial goods. The Argentine government now buys surplus corn to store or to burn as fuel, yet corn can be converted into many kinds of industrial goods. Brazil is already turning its surplus coffee into an asset. Research by the H. S. Polin Laboratories of New York reveals that coffee has almost an amazing range of industrial uses as the soy bean and yields a variety of new products not obtainable from other vegetable sources. With machinery built in the United States but through its own initiative and resources Brazil will shortly begin to convert 5,000,000 bags of coffee—1,000,000 bags more than the normal yearly surplus—into a plastic and other industrial materials. The plastic,

called caffelite, has either a hard, opaque or a rubbery, translucent form and a variety of colors; it can be used as wallboard, flooring, and insulating material, and for molded objects such as buttons, inkstands, furniture, radio cabinets, and costume jewelry. Caffelite is cheaper than any other plastic in the world and as good as any. In addition to caffelite the coffee bean yields cellulose, furfural, caffeine, and oils. The chemistry of coffee oil is different from that of other vegetable oils, but its uses are similar—for soaps, paints, foods, lacquers, medicines, insecticides, and as a source of vitamin D. The Brazilian output of caffeine can be used to end the shortage and the artificial high price of that substance, since the new caffeine is a cheap by-product of the plastic. In the past nine years Brazil has spent \$17,500,000 on the destruction of surplus coffee; destruction of wealth is now replaced by creation of new wealth, while competitive pressure is lifted from the exports of smaller coffee-growing nations. Many other Latin American products besides coffee and corn can be industrially utilized. Mandioca, for example, now grown only for food, yields materials which are used in adhesives, textiles, and paper.

3. Agricultural diversification to reduce surpluses and end the unbalanced production of one or two crops for export. Latin Americans are preparing to grow more of the foodstuffs they now import. They can and should produce the lard, dairy products, flour, potatoes, barley, and hops that they import from the United States. Regional agreements among Latin American nations encourage agricultural diversification by providing definite markets and facilitating the exchange of tropical products for those of the temperate zone. Diversification will not only bring about economic balance but will promote public health by improving the limited diet of the people—it is pitiful to see Latin American peasants produce great crops for export while they eat so little. Diversification will have political effects also, for it will help to create a class of small independent farmers. And by raising rural purchasing power it will speed up industrialization.

WHAT WE CAN DO

Much of the success of Latin American self-help will depend upon United States cooperation. One of the readjustments we must make is to open our markets more fully to Latin American exports. We must buy more to sell more, for the shortage of dollar exchange is increasing. During the first year of the second World War United States exports to Latin America went up 50 per cent, imports from Latin-America only 31 per cent. The disparity is even greater when Argentina is considered by itself. Loans to ease the unfavorable trade balance are no final answer, for they are essentially unproductive. A good beginning would be made if plans now being developed in Washington were carried out and certain Latin American products of which this country has an insuffi-

cient supply or which it does not produce at all were admitted duty free. But that is not enough. There should be repeal of such irritating subterfuges as the "sanitary convention" to keep out Argentine meats. Nor should marginal high-cost producers—for example, of sugar or copper—get tariff protection; the capital and sweated labor can be put to better use. True economic cooperation of the Americas is impossible without a tariff system that encourages complementary production and trade.

Another necessary readjustment, supplementary to tariff changes, is for the United States to cease competing with Latin America (and Canada) in the export of agricultural products, especially cotton, wheat, and corn. This would not only strengthen hemisphere cooperation, but respond to our own economic needs and the trend of the times. For years increasing world production has been driving United States agricultural products out of world markets. The costly rout should become an orderly retreat. The agricultural crisis will never be solved by trying to sell surpluses in markets in which they can be sold only at a loss. These surpluses are evidence of economic unbalance, the worst manifestation of which is the disastrous one-crop system in the cotton states. In the United States as in Latin America we need more agricultural diversification, greater consumption of foodstuffs, plants to convert agricultural products into synthetics and plastics—an industrialization of backward agrarian regions that would create greater economic balance and raise standards of living.

Meanwhile, results may be more quickly obtained by the transfer to Latin America of purchases now made in Asia or Africa. These amount to around \$500,000,000 yearly, \$100,000,000 of which, I am told, could be switched at once. Virtually every agricultural, mineral, and forest product that this country needs but does not produce can be secured from Latin America. Among the agricultural products are flax and wool; nut and vegetable oils; substitute fibers, including carao, which has three times the tensile strength of jute, and kapok, some of which we already import; tapioca, which can be made from a slightly improved quality of mandioca; carnauba wax, for which there are many industrial uses; digitalis, quinine, and other drugs. Among the metals are tungsten, antimony, manganese, platinum, chromite, copper, lead, zinc, vanadium, molybdenum, asbestos, mercury, tin. There is some fear that the Bolivian supply of tin may run out but it is nothing to worry about since our tin requirements are being heavily reduced by the increasing use of plastics and other substitutes, and there are possible new sources of tin in Argentina and also perhaps in Mexico.

The development of these new sources of supply will bring many advantages. It will diversify and balance Latin American production, tighten the economic cooperation and unity of the Americas, and make this

hemisphere militarily self-sufficient. It will also offer us the means to break monopoly controls. All the metals and some of the other products are controlled by a handful of corporations operating as international cartels, many of them in Latin America; it will not be easy to break their grip but it can be done. Latin American quinine, which is now being produced in Guatemala, can be used to break the Dutch monopoly, whose prices are eight times higher than necessary for a reasonable profit. Mexican mercury, added as a source of supply to the high-cost California output, can be used to break the Italian-Spanish monopoly. Brazilian industrial diamonds can be substituted for those from British Africa. The United States agreement to buy and smelt Bolivian tin strikes a blow at the Patiño monopoly interests and the international tin cartel.

Government action is needed to develop these new Latin American supplies. The job and the stakes are too big to be left to shortsighted, conflicting corporate interests. The government can assure markets through agreements to buy definite amounts of a product for a definite period; such an agreement has been made by the Metal Reserve Company, a subsidiary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which has contracted to buy for five years Bolivian concentrates to yield 18,000 tons of tin yearly. It is important, however, not to develop a product for which there may later be no market, for instance, rubber. It takes seven years for rubber trees to produce, and meanwhile synthetic rubber will be making rapid progress. The National Defense Commission has called upon synthetic rubber factories to speed up production, and their output will soon meet all military needs. Synthetic rubber, moreover, is being produced to sell for 25 cents a pound, only 5 cents more than is paid for natural rubber, and the price will come down as mass production grows. The United States may continue to import rubber as an additional source of supply, but Latin America should grow rubber largely for its own use. The same situation may develop in other natural products.

Those who oppose shifting our raw-material purchases from Asia to Latin America argue that the United States should not give up its economic stake in Asia. But the stake is not large or crucial, and to emphasize its importance is wrong-headed and imperialistic. Of the eleven strategic materials now obtained in Asia nine can be got in Latin America—namely, tungsten, antimony, manganese, chromite, tin, quinine, vegetable oil, sugar, and fiber. The other two, rubber and silk, are being replaced by synthetics; nylon, rayon, and other synthetic substitutes are already used to make parachute cloth.

But if it is desirable to buy our raw materials in Latin America rather than in Asia, overemphasis of this branch of trade must be avoided, for an increase in the production of raw materials without a still greater increase in manufactures would confirm Latin America's status as a

backward low-wage region from which high-wage countries get cheap raw materials. Latin Americans themselves understand the need for industrialization, and considerable progress in manufactures has been made in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. The advent of five-and-ten-cent stores in Brazil led to the production of a diversified line of small articles. Much more can be done in the manufacture of lumber products, pharmaceuticals, cotton textiles, leather goods, synthetics, paper, and toys. New plants are opening steadily if slowly. One neglected field—an imperialist neglect—that offers great promise is the smelting of metals which are now exported as ores or concentrates. Why should Latin Americans use metals smelted in the United States or England? They could get copper from Chile, steel from Brazil, which has immense reserves of high-grade iron ore in Minas Geraes, and other metals from other countries.

INDUSTRIAL LOANS WITHOUT STRINGS

The whole program of democratic cooperation centers in industrialization. A Mexican diplomat called my attention to what a representative of his government said at the Havana conference: "The economic development of the Latin American republics can be accelerated by an ample liberal policy of prudently made investments—which of course must not imply the threat of imperialist absorption—that will increase industrial production and buying power." Industrialization loans by the United States are part of the Havana policy. Several such loans have already been made, the most important being the Export-Import Bank loan of \$20,000,000 to Brazil—which invested \$25,000,000—to build a plant for the production of basic steel products. The Inter-American Development Commission has many industrial projects under consideration. One of these, now moving toward completion, is for a prototype plant in Brazil in which mandioca will be processed to supply material to local adhesive, textile, and paper industries. President Pierson of the Export-Import Bank may have arranged industrialization loans while in South America. Such loans are slated for Argentina, Bolivia, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela. But larger and speedier action is needed.

The United States should lend to Latin American nations, at low interest and for approved industrial projects, around \$500,000,000 a year—say, roughly, \$3,000,000,000 in five years. Such a capital investment would create an effective foundation for industrialization, stimulate the local production of capital, and move toward greater, more balanced economic development. Plans have been made and approved by eight Latin American nations, including Mexico and Brazil, for an Inter-American Bank with \$100,000,000 capital to make industrial and other loans, but prejudices and interests may limit action. There are those who insist that industrial loans should be made only for the production of goods that do not

compete with United States exports to Latin America. This is wrong. Our Latin neighbors must be encouraged to produce all the manufactures that they can, regardless of whether these compete with United States goods in their markets. President Pierson of the Export-Import Bank is reported to have refused industrial loans to the Argentine government for oil pipe lines and hydroelectric power because the projects "competed" with United States corporate interests there, but the opposition of utility interests should not stop loans for government power projects in Latin America any more than similar opposition stopped TVA. You read in the newspapers: "Loans to Bolivia and Mexico will be encouraged by a solution of the oil disputes." If Mexico, or Bolivia, or any Latin American nation wants to nationalize the oil industry, or any industry, it should be allowed to do it; nationalization is a necessary part of the program to get industrialization. Interference may disrupt the whole program of economic cooperation and therefore be as much against our interests as against Latin American interests. There must be no strings attached to industrial loans.

An industrial-loan program cannot be carried on by private investment. There is much talk of "a new flow of venture capital from this country southward," but it is the product of a mixture of outworn textbook economics and imperialist appetites. While the Latin Americans want loans they want ownership of the new industrial projects to remain in their hands. They do not want to strengthen foreign imperialist controls but to break them. Moreover, Latin America is unable and unwilling to pay the high profits that alone tempt "venture capital." Nor does it want capital with reactionary objectives, like those of the United States Steel Corporation, which made investment in a Brazilian steel industry conditional on changes in the mining and labor laws. There is room for private investment of capital on a small scale, especially by business men who will live and work in Latin America, but it must be within the framework of government action to supply the great capital needs.

Industrial loans must be made by the United States government to Latin American governments. The totalitarian potential in government enterprise can be overcome by democratic safeguards. In Mexico's experiments with the distribution of power the safeguards are found in the balance of management, labor unions, and the state. Moreover, industrialization will strengthen Latin American democracy by increasing the new middle class of technical, managerial, and administrative employees and calling into being the labor unions whose interests are served by democracy and freedom.

The United States, too, will make gains. Industrial loans to Latin America will not be a burden on the Treasury, since they will be loans made at interest for income-producing projects. The loans will be used to buy industrial equipment in this country and will therefore absorb

idle capital and provide new employment. If the very low incomes of 30,000,000 Latin American families are raised on the average \$100 a year, their purchasing power will be increased by \$3,000,000,000, and much of this will be spent on imports from the United States. Thus, while the nature of our exports will change as Latin Americans manufacture more of their own goods, total exports will mount. As intensive all-American cooperation gets under way, we shall approach a full utilization of productive resources that should mean a national income of \$120,000,000,000 within five years (the labor of 9,000,000

unemployed is still being wasted, and only part of it will be absorbed by the defense program).

Hemisphere defense and cooperation are stern necessities that can be shaped into a larger pattern of gain. They mean action to solve our own problems of unused productive capacity and insufficient purchasing power and consumption. They mean struggle against imperialism and fascism, for democracy. A dynamic all-American program to shape a new democratic world is the answer to totalitarianism.

[The first part of this article appeared on January 4.]

Youth Reorganizes

BY ROBERT G. SPIVACK

THE Young Communist League has lost the initiative in the American youth movement for the first time in six years. That is the important result of the four conferences which were held during the Christmas holidays. College students, however, are not turning reactionary. At the conference of the International Student Service on the campus of the New Jersey College for Women some twenty youthful left-wingers, conscious of the importance of combating fascism at home and abroad, banded together to form the Student League for Progressive Action. This outcome of the confusion prevailing among young progressives since the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact is a tribute to the emotional stability and intelligence of the group. For a mood of frustration and gloom settled on the campuses after the outbreak of war. Many a sensitive adolescent intellectual was heard to remark, "Here we are, not even in the war, and already a lost generation." It looked as if F. Scott Fitzgerald were staging a comeback.

Hopefulness and not defeatism characterizes the students who formed the new organization. Much of their inspiration came from Joseph P. Lash, former secretary of the American Student Union and present general secretary of the International Student Service. But the students from Swarthmore, Harvard, Mount Holyoke, and Smith will work out their own program. Not unlike their elders, most of them want to send full aid to Britain but do not want to fight abroad. They favor completion of the New Deal revolution at home as a means of defending our democracy and as a substitute for Hitler's New Order. They are not doctrinaire, but increased social ownership of vital industries does not scare them.

The formation of the Student League for Progressive Action marks the opening of the "fourth period" in the development of an indigenous youth movement. It all started back in 1905 when Jack London helped to form

the Intercollegiate Socialist Society to offset the ineffectiveness of college education, which he once described as the "passionless pursuit of passionless intelligence." American entry into the World War saw the end of that organization. After the Armistice George Pratt and others published the *New Student*, seeking, from a non-Marxian standpoint, to discover a basis for the better life which would be more enduring than Wilsonian idealism. Flappers, good times, jazz, and gin, plus Harding and Coolidge, put an end to that quest. Intellectual meanderings were translated into "action" eight years ago, when eighty social-science students journeyed to the bloody mine fields of Harlan County, Kentucky. What they saw there aroused their burning indignation. Out of it grew the "revolt on the campus," which was sponsored jointly by the Student League for Industrial Democracy (Socialist) and the National Student League (Communist). In 1935, in the period of left-wing good-feeling, the two merged into the American Student Union. The Communists in that period were the more vigorous, and it was not long before they began to play the leading and often dominant role. The American Youth Congress, formed simultaneously among non-student youth by Viola Ilma, was also captured by aggressive young radicals.

The Student Union and the Youth Congress were able to exert considerable influence and to obtain some needed youth legislation despite their small numbers. At its peak the A. S. U. could claim 15,000 members. Included in the A. Y. C. were sixty-two organizations which cooperated on specific measures; the Boy Scouts and Catholic youth groups remained outside. By 1938 Mrs. Roosevelt and many other prominent New Dealers saw in the World Youth Congress meeting at Vassar College an important movement to be encouraged. By 1938 Gene Tunney recognized it as a "menace" and sponsored a curious conglomeration of Coughlinites and Jewish

Young Republicans who made an attempt to break it up.

Then came the Soviet-German pact. The reaction of American youth revealed that the leaders of the Young Communist League had taught others a great deal more about the menace of fascism and the qualities of democracy than they had learned themselves. Not only did young friends part company in shock and bewilderment but the organizations rapidly began to disintegrate. The A. S. U. membership dropped to less than 2,000. The Youth Congress lost the respect of two-thirds of its collaborators; the recent withdrawal of the middle-of-the-road National Student Federation was the latest blow.

Despite the important gains for youth embodied in the CCC and NYA, only one national youth group supported the President actively during the campaign. This was Joseph P. Lash's youth division of the National Committee of Independent Voters. It was organized so late, however, that many youthful New Dealers found no vehicle for expressing themselves. The possibility of a Willkie victory worried them and spurred their desire for organization. Without any national leadership local movements sprang up in Kansas, Illinois, and Massachusetts. New Yorkers joined belatedly.

Although the picture is still incomplete, the position of youth is becoming clear. The trend is decidedly away from nationalism. There is a growing realization that wherever democrats are fighting against fascism they must be supported. With greater maturity than some of their elders large numbers of young people are veering away from the perfectionist school of social philosophy. In democracy they see the opportunity, as Archibald MacLeish put it last fall, to keep the future open.

In the developing movement there are many shades of opinion, but all have a progressive emphasis. At Kansas State College two students have formed "Democracy's Volunteers." Thoroughly unsophisticated, they display a native militancy by calling their chapters, of which there are now six, "battalions." They advocate government-supported work camps. At Harvard, where the Student Union found itself practically immobilized by divisions on foreign policy, certain members have formed their own Liberal Union. The Swarthmore Student Union has decided to withdraw from the national body and be independent. The Harvard and Swarthmore groups form the nucleus of the new Student League for Progressive Action.

Concentrating exclusively on foreign policy, twenty college chapters of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies are functioning under leadership considerably to the left of William Allen White. Working closely with them is another Cambridge group known as the Harvard Student Defense League. Their four-page journal, *Defense*, recently set forth the credo of the new movement in an editorial called A Cure for Cynics. It read in part:

In colleges all over America cynics come a dime a carload. . . . They have put a price tag on every ideal, they have refused to believe that men could see beyond their own stomachs; they have doubted everybody's sincerity including their own. . . .

The fascists want us to believe that this war is not our war. They want us to believe that democracy is a myth. . . . The cynics are doing these jobs for them, doing it as surely as if they were paid propagandists of Berlin. Many of these cynics were once liberals. They must find it a little strange when their sentiments are echoed in both the *Daily Worker* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. . . .

Four student groups met during the holidays to work out plans for the coming year. The American Student Union met in New York, partly because its membership is concentrated there, and partly because it is unwelcome on most campuses. The Youth Committee Against War held its sessions at Madison, Wisconsin. The International Student Service met in the second of a series of conferences on "How Students Can Serve Democracy" at the New Jersey College for Women. The National Student Federation convened on the same campus to discuss student self-government.

The A. S. U. convention was able to attract 350 delegates largely because reactionary college authorities, plus the Dies committee and the Rapp-Coudert committee, insist on persecuting young people who stand by their convictions. Roosevelt, of course, was assailed as a greater menace to America than Hitler, and a good case of anti-war hysterics was enjoyed by all. The "tory" New Deal government was urged to form an alliance with the Soviet Union and China! The discussion of civil liberties illustrates clearly why the A. S. U. has lost so much influence. The whole question was considered only in terms of the rights of members; no mention was made of the attempts of the New York University chapter to prevent recognition on that campus of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

The Youth Committee Against War is largely made up of pacifists and Socialists. Communists, Nazis, fascists, and Trotskyists are barred from attending its conferences. Through the years the interplay of pacifist sentiment and socialist theory has led to an almost undiluted pacifist approach. Its program does not mention socialism. Agitation for repeal of the conscription act and defense of conscientious objectors are major activities. Its analysis of the present war strongly resembles that of the A. S. U. except in one important respect—the Y. C. A. W. considers the Soviet Union an imperialist power. To garner isolationist sentiment on the campus it is forming a Progressive Student League.

Among important current developments in the youth movement is the decision of the executive board of the International Student Service to extend its action. The board consists of young people and adults—students from Eastern schools and such prominent liberals as

Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach, Mrs. Eliot Pratt, Dr. Alfred E. Cohn, and Professor Walter Kotschnig. It is headed by Dr. Alvin Johnson. In the last two years the I. S. S. has helped nearly 300 student refugees. It expects to organize six work camps next summer and is planning to publish a magazine along the lines of Randolph Bourne's *Seven Arts*. Its main purpose is to "train student leaders for democracy."

The I. S. S. has already incurred the intense hostility of the Young Communist League, which has launched bitter personal assaults upon Joseph Lash, Mrs. Roosevelt, and others of its leaders, and charged it with sponsoring "Hitler-like forced labor camps." The Communists attempted to pack the recent conference with 175 delegates, but the move was thwarted. The conference agreed upon trade unionism, opposition to the award of government contracts to labor-law violators, defense of the civil rights of Negroes, and the necessity for democratizing the army.

The National Student Federation is the most conservative of the various student groups, although its leadership for several years has been liberal. Because a majority of the convention opposed the Youth Congress attacks on the Administration it decided by a vote of three to one to withdraw from that organization. The delegates did not have time to digest the proposal of their leaders for affiliation with the I. S. S. and defeated it by a small majority. It is expected, however, that there will be close collaboration between the two groups.

The next few months will see important developments outside the student field. The Youth Congress is holding its annual meeting in Washington in February. A group of young professionals, generally New Deal in sympathy, have formed an educational group known as the Committee of Thirty Million, which may assume functions the A. Y. C. once tried to perform. A recent issue of *Clarity*, organ of the Young Communist League, carried the suggestion that a working-class youth organization, apparently broader than the league, be formed as the backbone of the Youth Congress. When sounded on this question several young labor leaders (C. I. O.) said they would have nothing to do with it.

Trends of thought and action among progressive young people are in many respects analogous to recent developments in the labor movement. Even though Communist influence is waning, many are coming to realize that the defeat of fascism cannot be accomplished by defense of the status quo. More than 60 per cent of America's first voters supported Mr. Roosevelt because they felt that the war to achieve democracy had only begun. But they eye suspiciously efforts to placate big business and the award of defense contracts to Ford. To the generation now coming of age defense of democracy is a serious business. "Appeasement" is not in their vocabulary.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Case Against Tax-Exempts

IN A session which must inevitably be largely devoted to the unpleasant business of raising the wind for defense, few thornier issues are likely to be presented to Congress than the Treasury proposal to abolish tax-exempt bonds. This is a question cutting clean across political lines and reviving the perennial controversy over states' rights in its most acute form—the control of the public purse. The suppression of the privilege of tax exemption on government bonds, whether federal, state, or municipal, has been advocated not only by President Roosevelt but by his three Republican predecessors. It is supported by Old Dealers and New Dealers, by liberal economists and Wall Street bankers. It is opposed by innumerable state and city officials of all political shades, including two such dissimilar figures as Mayor LaGuardia of New York and Governor Bricker of Ohio.

Recently a new drive on the problem of tax-exempts has been started by the Treasury with some of the steam generated by the defense program. This, perhaps, is partly a matter of tactics, for in the near future the ending of tax exemption might produce less in revenue than it would cost in the shape of higher interest rates. Nevertheless, the huge prospective addition to the national debt does make more imperative the closing of this tempting gap in the fiscal system.

It is hardly necessary to argue that the tax-exempt bond is an anomaly in a country which has adopted the principle of progressive taxation. When income tax is levied on the basis of ability to pay, with rates increasing as income rises, it is absurd to provide the wealthy with an avenue of escape from their fair share of the national burden. Yet by investing all their capital in government securities millionaires can shut their doors on the tax collector; or, by a carefully calculated distribution of principal between tax-free and taxable securities, they can reduce their contributions to the revenue far below the amount payable were their full incomes subject to tax. Witness an example quoted in the *New York World-Telegram* of December 30, 1940:

Taxpayer A is a resident of New York State, and his income from his business last year was \$224,441. Also he received \$880,408 in interest from wholly tax-exempt bonds. This would give him a net income of \$1,104,849. On the \$224,441 he would pay, according to 1940 rates, a New York State income tax of \$17,441. Then he would pay a federal income tax of \$116,586. However, if that \$880,408 in interest from government bonds had not been tax free, this same taxpayer A would have had to pay federal and state income taxes totaling \$818,386—\$87,874 to New York State, \$730,712 to the federal Treasury.

Tax-exempt bonds not only offer an unfair advantage to the man in the upper brackets, but they are positively disadvantageous to the man whose income is too small to be subject to income tax. If the latter has a few hundred dollars saved he probably wants to invest in government bonds, since these provide him with the maximum of security. To him

the tax-exempt feature is useless, but its existence means he must compete in buying his bonds with men to whom tax exemption is worth a large premium. In other words, the small man obtains a lower return from his investment than he would if there were no tax exemption.

Another bad feature of tax exemption, when combined with a progressive income tax, is that it encourages the wealthy to become government *rentiers*, and either restrains them from investing in industry altogether or forces them to insist on an unusually high rate of profit. John W. Hanes, a Wall Street man and former Under Secretary of the Treasury, has pointed out that a person with a private income of \$1,000,000 would need to obtain a yield of 12.5 per cent from private investments in order to make as much money, after paying taxes, as he would gain by buying 3 per cent tax-exempt securities. The wealthier a man is the more a tax-exempt bond is worth to him, and the greater is the inducement to him to divest himself of his full share of the national burden. To an individual with a surtax net income of \$4,000 to \$6,000 a tax-free 3 per cent bond is equivalent to a taxable bond yielding 3.26. When the income is between \$18,000 and \$20,000 the equivalent income is 4 per cent, and for an income between \$300,000 and \$400,000 it is no less than 10 per cent.

That, very briefly, is the case for the abolition of tax-exempts, but it must be recognized that there is also a case against it arising from the fact that such securities are issued not only by the federal government but by states, cities, and other public authorities. The right to issue tax-free bonds means that these authorities are able to borrow for public purposes at lower rates than would otherwise be possible. If this privilege is taken away from them they will have to provide more money in their budgets for interest, and real-estate and other local taxes may have to be increased. The federal government would also have to pay higher interest rates, but as existing issues of tax-exempts were refunded, it would be compensated by taxation of the income not only of its own securities but of those of the cities and states. New York and other states levying income taxes would receive likewise an offset inasmuch as they could collect on income derived from federal securities. But there are fourteen states without income tax, and this means of raising revenue is not open at all to cities and smaller subdivisions of government.

The Treasury, it is believed, will shortly ask Congress to place a ban on all new issues of tax-exempts, but in view of the intense opposition it is doubtful if the necessary legislation can be passed. In this event, the Treasury is likely to seek authority to make all its own obligations subject to all federal taxes and to bargain with the states for authority to tax interest on their securities on a reciprocal basis. It would seem, however, that in order to persuade the cities to come to terms some additional quid pro quo would have to be offered. One solution might be to give municipal authorities the power to levy real-estate taxes on federal property. Growing national intervention in economic affairs, in itself a necessary and inevitable development, involves an expansion in federal real-estate holdings. In the use of such property the government benefits from the various local amenities, but it does not contribute to their cost through taxation, and consequently when property passes from private to public

hands the burden on the remaining local taxpayers increases. In communities where government holdings form a substantial share of the whole, this may mean real hardship. Hence there seems to be a case for a deal by which the federal government surrenders its privileges as an untaxed landowner in return for the abandonment by the municipalities of their right to issue tax-exempt bonds.

In the Wind

RECENT WHITE HOUSE visitors say that the President's decision to send Harry Hopkins to London was an implicit reply to the Halifax appointment. The President couldn't do anything about London's choice but wanted to make it clear that he was in no appeasement mood; so he chose a pure New Dealer.

FBI METHODS are arousing growing resentment among isolationists without the faintest fifth-column sympathies. Dr. W. Marion Jeschke, pastor of St. Luke's Evangelical and Reformed Church in Buffalo and chairman of the local branch of the American Peace Mobilization, has protested that an FBI agent visited him to tell him he was tied in with a "Communist front."

ALTHOUGH THE Ford Motor Company is trying not to air the fact, Ford sales, as indicated by registration figures, are continuing to drop. While the drop isn't precipitous, the curve is steadily downward. C. I. O. leaders think that this may help them to win the organizing drive.

BIGWIGS of the "March of Time" are jittery over the new release on Labor and Defense. While it professes impartiality, it ends with a speech by Gene Cox denouncing strikes in defense industries, and labor groups are reported to be getting ready to blast it.

AS A RESULT of repeated exposure of his right-wing ties, Merwin K. Hart is facing a minor revolt among members of his neatly named New York State Economic Council. Although all of them go along with his "economy" drive, a strong group is getting restless about his views on foreign affairs.

LARGO CABALLERO is still being held in prison in France although a Mexican visa has been obtained for him. The State Department is said to have received a flat promise from Vichy that he will not be shipped back to Spain.

WHEN AUSTRALIAN troops were reported to be entering Bardia singing "We're going to see the Wizard of Oz," one cable editor queried: Is it an ASCAP tune?

JOSEPH KENNEDY will start his isolationist crusade with a speech at Harvard. Incidentally, pro-Communist theorists are now saying the reason Kennedy soured on England was that he saw it was "going Nazi."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

VERY properly the President, in his message to Congress, describing that future which, he said, America arms to make secure, put the emphasis on the essential human freedoms. Few honest persons anywhere will doubt the sincerity of his purpose, his intent in a world of tyranny to use the power of America for the preservation of liberty. But two days before he spoke the leading American news service had sent out this story on its wires:

Hattiesburg, Miss., January 5—(AP). Officers at Camp Shelby, nearby military training base, said today the body of Private Alton Beans, Battery C, 135th Field Artillery, Twenty-seventh (Ohio) Division, was found yesterday in an unoccupied tent. It was sent by train today to Ravenna, Ohio. Camp Shelby sources refused further information.

As important, I think, to freedom in America now as anything in that future which the President described is the statement which the Associated Press put at the end of its brief item about the death of a man who to most of us was an unknown soldier: "Camp Shelby sources refused further information."

Here is a dead man, even if a soldier. As related, his death sounds mysterious. Reporting it, the Associated Press, the chief source of news in this free land, felt compelled to indicate that it did not feel that it was adequately covering the news and to explain that free news about a death in one of the nation's camps was denied to it.

It has always been regarded as essential to public safety that any death under circumstances which are the least strange be investigated by public officials and the facts made available to the public by the agencies equipped to do it. In America that agency is the news-gathering service. This service provides the only information about what is happening to their boys which the people possess. Certainly if thousands—maybe millions—of young Americans are to be placed in remote camps under the control and discipline of officers, the report of the mysterious death of one of them should not be accompanied by a phrase which might be expected in an announcement from a concentration camp: "Camp Shelby sources refused further information."

Unless the Associated Press felt that it was denied information it had a right to ask for, the phrase would seem an almost gratuitous aid in the creation of fear about what goes on in the camps, in the development of

a sense that there is a blackout of information about democracy's army. If the Associated Press was justified in adding that phrase, then some military men are using their power to suppress news in a manner which suggests that some of them have learned more from Germany than methods of mechanized warfare.

Wherever the Associated Press feels that such a phrase is necessary, the truth probably is that officers are not following a national policy but displaying individual incapacity. If this country is arming for the preservation of freedoms in the future, the right of the public to information about what happens to men found dead in army camps needs to be preserved right now. It is improbable that any mystery dangerous to other men in the service surrounded the death of Private Allen Beans. Mystery writers and mystery mongers, however, could make much of the strange phrase "found in an unoccupied tent." Ordinary people might wonder why the death of a private was given a place on news wires in an item which suggested strangeness without answering the questions the strangeness stirred. The military men cannot complain of the curiosity aroused when they themselves are the authors of the mystery. Certainly when the Associated Press wires the country, in effect, that the army is suppressing facts about a soldier's death, the public sense of security about its boys in those camps is not going to be improved.

I wrote something about another case of this sort a couple of weeks ago. There are enough such cases to indicate that a good many military and naval men—by no means all—regard the free press of a democracy as undesirable. There are certainly enough such cases to justify the demand for a statement of national policy. Neither the people nor the newspapers want the army or the navy to give out military secrets. But the public which is America is entitled to the news about its own army and its own navy and about its boys in both.

If a general or a colonel or a second lieutenant can suppress the facts about a death, what can they not suppress? What may not happen in suppression? If we are arming to make freedom secure in the future, a democracy cannot afford to permit officers in the army and navy, generally more out of ignorance than evil intent, to disregard it now.

The President needs to speak to the army and navy about freedom even more than he needed to speak to the Congress and the people about it.

BOOKS and the ARTS

HENRI BERGSON

BY IRWIN EDMAN

HENRI BERGSON died in Paris on January 4 at the age of eighty-one. The general public, and that relatively private clique known as the philosophical public, had long ago fallen into the habit of thinking of Bergson as dead. Only on the publication of the dramatic news of Bergson's decision to renounce all posts and honors rather than to accept exemption from the anti-Semitic laws of the Vichy government was the world reminded that he was still alive. There had been an interval of more than twenty-five years between the publication of his phenomenally successful "Creative Evolution" in 1907 and the book rather blindly called "The Two Sources of Morality and Religion." A few people knew vaguely that Bergson was still living, an invalid in retirement, in Paris. A few, and not only philosophers, remembered when his name was something to conjure with, and his philosophy was hailed, by William James among others, as an almost medicinal magic. "Oh, my Bergson," James wrote to the author of "Creative Evolution" when that book first appeared, "you are a magician and your book is a marvel, a real wonder. . . . But, unlike the works of genius of the Transcendentalist movement (which are so obscurely and abominably and inaccessibly written), a pure classic in point of form . . . such a flavor of persistent euphony, as of a rich river that never foamed or ran thin, but steadily and firmly proceeded with its banks full to the brim. Then the aptness of your illustrations, that never scratch or stand out at right angles, but invariably simplify the thought and help to pour it along. Oh, indeed you are a magician! And if your next book proves to be as great an advance on this one as this is on its two predecessors, your name will surely go down as one of the great creative names in philosophy."

James's generous salute came at the very peak of Bergson's reputation. There was a whole epidemic of books about Bergson; his themes and his terms became clichés in philosophical discussion all over the world; and all over the world, too, "Creative Evolution," with its gleaming mellifluous stream of thought entranced many more than could understand it, and many readers, too, of many different worlds: the fashionable dowagers who found refuge from boredom in his *élan vital*, the religious liberals welcoming a philosopher who seemed to have found critical circumvention of mechanistic science and a new and poetic support for belief in God, in free will, and even, though in a somewhat Pickwickian sense, in immortality. Sorel could connect Bergson's theory of reality as an integral movement with a doctrine of revolution as contrasted with piecemeal parliamentary reform. Those wearied of the rationalism of the Transcendentalists and the fixities and the iron necessities of materialistic science, all found in him a hope, an inspiration, and a release. Here, moreover, was one romantic who seemed to have a clear head. Here, too,

was a philosopher who, while a consummate literary artist, could beat precise analysts at their own game, and analyze nuances of feeling, action, and thought which seemed to escape through the nets of logic and to be crushed by the tight schemas of matter in motion.

All that seems long ago now. Bergson, secure, or so it seemed in the years before the Vichy government was thought of, in his post at the Collège de France, had his claim to immortality staked out. But his popularity with the general literate public vanished almost as quickly as it appeared. As for the professional philosophers whose admiration had always been tintured with critical reserve, these now found more to criticize and, what was perhaps more decisive, began to think in other terms about other problems. When, in 1935, the English edition of "Les Deux Sources de la Religion et de la Morale" appeared, having been completed through long and painful years of paralyzing illness, all the masteries and subtleties of analysis were still there, extended now to morals and religion, and to art as well. The book was respectfully greeted, and has had some academic influence, but Bergson's day as a central figure in philosophy and, certainly, in general culture seemed to be over. Like other intellectual figures who became briefly fashionable, he had become dated before he died. All that remained in the public memory were a few tags: "*élan vital*," "creative evolution," "the stream of consciousness," "the flow of reality." Now other men were using other terms for other issues. The intellectual scene and the world setting in which Bergson wrote had almost nightmarishly changed.

What did Bergson contribute? What remains? Looking back now one sees that, for all his "French" clarity (Bergson is one of the most lucid writers ever to have been a professor of philosophy), Bergson is in a romantic, almost a German romantic, tradition. In his early youth he was a disciple of Herbert Spencer, but soon felt, as so many less articulate people in the late nineteenth century felt, something sterile and inadequate, something artificial about the "reality" revealed by "scientific laws." In his youth Bergson had studied psychology and biology, and was caught by the fascination of two ideas, nay, for him, two realities: life and time. One of the most characteristically contagious passages of his works is in his little "Introduction to Metaphysics," where he makes one feel and realize, almost as a poet might, the tension and the fluency of time, the urgency and poignancy of duration. Bergson was rebelling against the fixities and rigidities which both logicians and materialists had ascribed to reality. Bergson found reality in movement and change themselves, an aperçu not uncongenial to the dynamic changing society in which he lived. If change was real, novelty was real; if novelty was real, freedom was real. The immediate was flux, and the changing was ultimate. When in "Creative Evolution" Bergson

turned to biological considerations, he held that change means growth, growth means creation, creation means freedom. And if freedom was ultimately real, what a liberation that spelled for the soul of man, no longer bound by the fixities of space, of logic, and of habit! The real facts of evolution were to be found, not in a mechanical elimination of the unfit, but in the creative surge of life, in an *élan vital*. That propulsive life was best known in the living of it, "bathing in the full stream of experience." Knowledge was not in spatial formulas, post-mortems of the living flux. Knowledge lay in intuition, in the self-immolating and absorbed insights of the poet, the artist, the saint, of men at the acme of life, in the creative activity of genius, worship, or love.

It is not hard to see what the dreaming spirits of men, whose dreams had been clipped by physics and by society, found in this celebration of enraptured impulse and of creative movement. It is easy to see what people, wearied of fixed and conventional goals in what Bergson in "Morality and Religion" was to call a "closed society," found to cherish in his conception of spontaneous freedom in open societies. In the latter, Bergson suggested, the intuitions of seers and saints and poets opened new roads and suggested unattained but not impossible heights from which men might have angelic vistas. "The universe," he says at the close of "Morality and Religion," ". . . is a machine for the making of God."

Bergson's persuasiveness came not so much from the seductive vagueness of intuition and of the *élan vital* as from his shrewd and subtly destructive analyses of the pretensions of the intellect and of intellectualism to be revelations of reality. Intelligence—here he was at one with the pragmatists—was purely practical. It set up immobilities to guide us in the chartless flux. But for truth we must turn our backs on the "false secondary power by which we multiply distinctions," and feel intimately the pulsing movement of life itself. The pragmatists enjoyed and applauded Bergson's critique of intelligence and scientific method. The mystics and the romantics applauded and hugged to their hearts the passionate hugging of life which he counseled as the way of reality. The liberal theologians were delighted because they thought the *élan vital* might lead anywhere. Did not Bergson himself suggest that it might lead to immortality and to God? In an age given to statistics and formulas the artists welcomed intuition.

Everyone rebelling against convention in conduct, chafing against formalism in art, revolting against the fixed and stable in thought, found in him an enchanting voice. Only other philosophers found things to grumble at. They did not mind Bergson's celebrating life, but they did not approve the obscurantism of turning one's back on intelligent discrimination. They admired the subtlety of his analyses, but could not make out where the analysis led, or, for that matter, where the *élan vital* led. They questioned the casuistry by which Bergson proved there was a real future without a causal past. They distrusted, above all, the anti-intellectualism to which Bergson turned his own fine intellect. The *élan vital* means a renaissance to a poet; to a barbarian it means brute power. The reactionary forces now in control of France are also exhibitions of the *élan vital*. But it was the intelligence of integrity that caused Bergson, just a few weeks before his death, to refuse to be made an exception by the Vichy government to

their racial laws. Bergson's philosophy was once hailed as a new thing in the world. Its elements are very old; its mysticism is as old as Plotinus, to whom Bergson acknowledged himself much indebted. His *élan vital* goes back a long way too; ultimately to the Dionysiac mysteries and, in the modern world, to Schopenhauer. Its romanticism goes back to Schelling, Fichte, and Rousseau. Its dress was sophisticated and new; its substance was old and primitive, in both vitality and opaqueness.

There are subterranean vital forces now come to the surface of the world. The world is a machine making devils as well as gods. The abdication of mind is celebrated by barbarians. Instinct and intuition demand education, not wanton trust. Analysis may be abstract or irrelevant, as Bergson pointed out; it may also be the servant of that life which otherwise wanders into dark by-paths and fanatic blind alleys. "Evolution" is creative when men intelligently cooperate; otherwise it is, as events have proved, brutal, fatal, and blind.

Soviet Agent

OUT OF THE NIGHT. By Jan Valtin. Alliance Book Corporation. \$3.50.

THIS thick volume—756 large pages, some 320,000 words—is a historical document of the first rank, a biography, an adventure story, and in places, so it seems, a brisk novel. It is all these in one, and in addition the structure and writing are excellent. Before you start to read it you had better plan to take three days off. Its suspense is such that you will not be good for anything else until you have turned the last page. And then you will need time to think and to remember.

Jan Valtin is the pseudonym of a well-known former German Communist. He was born the son of a respectable Social Democrat attached to the nautical service of the North German Lloyd. Growing up in the ports of the seven seas, at fourteen he spoke a smattering of Swedish, English, and Italian, and knew fragments of Chinese and Malay. The end of the first World War finds him at school in Bremen. He takes part in the uprising of the sailors as a young Spartacist. Thus his political life begins in a fashion typical at the time for thousands of intelligent working-class youths.

After the revolution is crushed by the Noske guards—cadres of the storm troopers to come—the boy goes to sea. But soon he returns to join the Communist Party and to become an international agent for the Comintern. He works in the maritime section, is trained in Leningrad for special work, travels on missions all over the world, serves three years in St. Quentin for the attempted murder of an alleged traitor, returns to Germany, becomes a ringleader in the two-fronted fight of the Communists against the Nazis and the Socialists—the "Social-Fascists," according to the party line. After Hitler's seizure of power he goes underground to continue the fight and is finally caught by the Gestapo. He passes forty months of torture in the dungeons of the Third Reich, then consents to become one of Himmler's agents in order to get free and to be able to join his comrades and take part in the struggle again. But as it turns out, he is arrested by the GPU for being not quite the docile tool that he had been

for more than twenty years. After his escape from a GPU hideout in Denmark he finally breaks with Moscow, to be forever denounced as a German agent by the Communists.

This general outline gives no more than a faint hint of what the reader may expect. But it would be futile to attempt to indicate in a short review the many significant situations, theoretical discussions, and full-drawn characters of the work; some of these characters are well-known figures of the Comintern and the German Communist Party. Nor have I space to give a just estimate of the author as a writer. He has a natural gift for observation, characterization, and dialogue not easily surpassed by the renowned professionals. One remembers each of his protagonists. His description of the Gestapo hell is the most exhaustive and most convincing which has yet appeared in print. The author's account of his relationship to his wife, who died in a Nazi prison, is an unforgettable and truly modern love story.

Yet for all these virtues the greatest value of the book derives from the profound political lesson that it teaches. It makes absolutely clear the causes of the disintegration of a movement which, starting out to save the world, ended in crimes against its own ideals. The genuine surge for a better and freer world which attracted the best spirits after the last four-year slaughter lost its character and force as soon as it was misused and channeled in the interests of a single state, in a dictatorial, authoritarian fashion. The productive forces of the movement were driven into the wilderness; the yes men, the orderlies, and the paid adventurers took charge. Morality was replaced by vice, courage by intrigues, thinking by obedience. Jan Valtin is one of the many who hoped against hope that in the end everything would come out right. The doctrine of the infallibility of the great pope in the Kremlin and the little popes in the Comintern became a dogma to which they clung in secret despair. They were ruthless against themselves as against others. And only today are they learning the lesson that you cannot fight for a free and just world by giving up freedom and integrity.

"Out of the Night" will be misused in many quarters. The red-baiters will eat it up, but that will matter little as long as it is read widely. The fighters of the future will learn from this work many of the fallacies which they will have to avoid. Jan Valtin, after grave errors, has at last made his contribution to the cause of the oppressed, and with more than good measure.

FRANZ HOELLERING

Washington as General

WASHINGTON AND THE REVOLUTION: A REAPPRAISAL. By Bernhard Knollenberg. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

THE title of this book is somewhat misleading. Mr. Knollenberg does not cover all of George Washington's activities during the Revolution, but only a small part of them. The author is concerned chiefly with the so-called Conway Cabal of 1778, and his argument is that the Cabal was a figment of Washington's imagination. The reader may recall that General Gates won the Battle of Saratoga and so brought about the surrender of General Burgoyne's army to the American forces. This was in October, 1777. A resound-

ing victory it was, undoubtedly, with reverberations from Massachusetts to Georgia. Many American patriots, in Congress and out of it, looked upon Gates as the coming man, as a general who knew how to win. This wave of adulation led Congress, then driven out of Philadelphia and sitting forlornly in a little Pennsylvania town, to create a Board of War and put Gates at the head of it. The powers of the board were somewhat vague, but in a certain sense they were superior to those of the commander-in-chief.

Now upon the scene comes Thomas Conway, an Irishman by birth who had served as an officer in the French army and gained some distinction. From France he came to America as a volunteer general, and was given by Congress a rather high place in the American service, to the great disgust of many American officers. Washington wrote to Richard Henry Lee: "General Conway's merit, . . . and his importance to this army, exists more in his own imagination than in reality, for it is a maxim with him to leave no service of his own untold, nor to want anything which is to be obtained by importunity." According to the accepted version of the Conway Cabal—supported by most historians—this Irish-French footloose officer conspired with Gates, and possibly others, to deprive Washington of his command and put Gates in his place. Washington suspected this plot, and his suspicions were strengthened by certain letters from Conway to Gates, the contents of which were repeated to him.

Mr. Knollenberg declares that the Conway Cabal is "probably a myth"—a conclusion with which this reviewer cannot agree. The Cabal may not have had any tangible form; it is quite possible that it never went to the extent of written agreements, but I am firmly convinced that it was in the air, so to speak, when Washington discovered it.

The value of Mr. Knollenberg's book, as a convincing document, is greatly diminished by his obvious bias against Washington. He asserts that Washington was ill-tempered and lacking in candor, and gives a general impression—without saying so definitely—that he was a second-rate person. But he does not analyze the character, or the motives, of Gates and Conway. Conway was in fact an adventurer without any foothold in this country, a man without fortune or family and a "go-getter" by force of circumstances. Gates was not an American. He was English by birth and had been an officer in the British army. He was conceited, vain almost beyond belief. No great military talent was needed to achieve Burgoyne's surrender, for that former fashionable figure in London's night life had got himself and his army so thoroughly entangled in our forests that he had lost most of his artillery, his ammunition, and his supplies. Any mob of militia—if sufficiently numerous—would have forced his capitulation. Mr. Knollenberg does not say much about that.

George Washington was not a great general, as we all know, but he was a great man. He possessed the genius of understanding men and their motives, the genius of will and determination, the genius of what we may call—for want of a better term—a godlike loftiness. He could withstand disaster in torrents. I am confident that without Washington the Revolution would have disintegrated finally into local mobs, and would have eventually died. That is what the British expected it to do.

Before Mr. Knollenberg became the librarian of Yale Uni-

versity he was a lawyer, and his book has all the earmarks of a corporation lawyer's argument in court. A brilliant lawyer, as you know, can take half a dozen minor facts and a few plausible assertions, and produce from them a document, with references and cross-references, that will completely confuse both judge and jury.

The Conway Cabal was a dramatic episode in the War for American Independence. As Mr. Knollenberg deals with it, the Conway Cabal is far from dramatic. Like most scholarly historians he appears to be suspicious of drama, vividness, and color.

W. E. WOODWARD

The Conquest of Holland

JUGGERNAUT OVER HOLLAND. By E. N. van Kleffens. Columbia University Press. \$2.

THIS is the first authentic and comprehensive account of the Nazi invasion of Holland and of Dutch policy before, during, and after the invasion. It is authoritative because Mr. van Kleffens has been Dutch Foreign Minister since the summer of 1939 and was a high official of the Dutch Foreign Office for many years before that. But it does not read like an official account. Anybody who has met Mr. van Kleffens and experienced the extraordinary reserve of this Dutch statesman will be doubly surprised. He tells a vivid story.

The pattern is well known. But the clash between Nazidom and the "normal standards of civilized communities" carries a lesson which cannot be explained too often; it should be

repeated until the Nazi philosophy and its exponents have been relegated to the outer darkness where they belong.

In Holland as elsewhere the Nazis attacked first and furnished their excuses afterward. Bombing from the air started at about four in the morning on May 10. It was obvious at once, writes Mr. van Kleffens, that the royal palace at The Hague was one of the principal targets. The Nazis may therefore say that the Queen at least was advised immediately. But the Dutch Minister at Berlin was called out of bed only at 5:30 a.m. and received by Herr von Ribbentrop at 6:15 a.m., and the Dutch Foreign Minister himself had to wait till proper office hours in the forenoon before the Nazi Minister at The Hague called on him to announce warlike acts that had been going on for hours. The Queen had long since had to seek the bomb-proof shelter at the palace. The Dutch Cabinet had met hours before and become a war Cabinet.

The Nazis did not take much trouble with the documents which were intended to justify their action. The memorandum submitted to the Dutch Minister in Berlin was different from that handed over at The Hague. It was not even intended for The Hague. There were no means of transmitting it, inasmuch as the Dutch legation in Berlin was immediately cut off from the outside world. Everybody attached to the legation was herded into a small building. They depended for food and bedding on the kindness of the United States chargé d'affaires and the Swedish Minister. Only after four days of anxious waiting were they permitted to leave for neutral Switzerland.

Ever since the European war started, the Netherlands government had of course been prepared for Nazi aggression.

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THE CITY OF MAN

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But the evidence was conflicting. It had reason to assume a certain German interest in the continued independence of the Netherlands because it had been intrusted with the protection of Nazi interests, first in Poland and in South Africa, and then, as late as March 27, 1940, in the Cameroons. It knew of the importance attached by the Nazis to Dutch agricultural produce and to Holland as a country of transit in war time. Important Nazi officials repeatedly gave assurances which the Dutch were entitled to believe.

Nevertheless, the Dutch had mobilized and were actually on a war footing when aggression came. Mr. van Kleffens makes it clear beyond any doubt and in convincing detail that the Dutch fought valiantly. He also explains that the frontier defenses were weaker than expected because the reserves had already been engaged by the German parachute troops and by troops landed from "neutral" ships in Dutch harbors. Nevertheless, the reserves had done their job in overcoming this new weapon. The Dutch air arm brought down the record bag of one hundred enemy planes in one day. But it was all of no avail against the Juggernaut.

Mr. van Kleffens discusses with surprising freedom Dutch foreign policy in relation to the Allies. He gives the lie to the Nazi allegation that the Dutch had already surrendered their

independence to the Allies. In the Dutch legations in London and Paris were sealed instructions for communication to the Allies in case of German aggression. That was all. On the other hand, he maintains that previous arrangements with the Allies would merely have provoked Nazi aggression, and events proved that the Allies were not yet ready to give such assistance as would have made it worth while to risk giving the Nazis an early excuse. He even argues with considerable bluntness that the Allied blockade included measures beyond the limits of "common sense." In the matter of reprisals involving neutral trade the Allies made it clear, he says, that neither France nor Great Britain was to be deflected from its purpose. "Once more belligerent interest had silenced the voice of law." Nothing could prove more convincingly the truly democratic nature of the Allied struggle against totalitarianism, for Mr. van Kleffens wrote these words after his government became allied with Britain and while he himself was enjoying the hospitality of Britain. On the Allied side free speech has certainly not perished from the earth.

Mr. van Kleffens also draws numerous parallels with the Norwegian struggle, and does not hesitate to suggest that Norway might have prepared better and have withstood the Nazi onslaught for a longer time. It is curious to observe how a man in his position could become so engrossed in events of immediate concern to him as to lose sight of the fact that Norway was still fighting at the time of the invasion of Holland and went on fighting for another month.

Today both countries are fully in the fight, both at home and abroad: at home because their peoples have finally got what an eminent Norwegian historian now in this country calls the "Nazi lice on their bodies" and know the alternative; abroad because their monarchs and governments have been able to establish themselves outside the sphere of Nazi domination and are contributing great merchant marines, naval and air-force units, money, and men to the joint struggle. The voice of a free people can still be heard, and Mr. van Kleffens proves it.

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THE WEEKLY FOREIGN LETTER

205 East 42nd Street

New York, N. Y.

Man Against Bacteria

GERMS AND THE MAN. By Justina Hill. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.75.

THE pace set by DeKruif in the dramatization of scientific phenomena for the allurement of lay readers is difficult to maintain. The present author is an accomplished scientist in DeKruif's field, and she writes conscientiously, accurately, and systematically of pathogenic bacteria and our defenses against them. Her book makes interesting reading for anyone, and the bibliography is remarkably comprehensive. Its weakest aspect is the attempt to give it a dramatic accent by such chapter headings as Job's Curse, the Staphylococcus, and Some Less Polite Germs; Sword Swallowing, or Drugs Taken by Mouth; and the like.

There are some minor errors—the reference to ferrets as polecats, for example—and there is the usual fallacious acceptance of the principle of causality, to which bacteriologists almost universally subscribe. Nevertheless, this book is the best popular presentation of an important field of biological science that has appeared.

KARL MENNINGER

IN BRIEF

SONS OF THE OTHERS. By Philip Gibbs. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

This has as its chief virtue the distinction of being one of the first trickles in what will undoubtedly become a torrential flow of novels about the present war. Beginning with France's declaration of war and ending with the evacuation of Dunkirk, it inevitably gives the impression of a novelized newsreel rather than of a work of lasting art; but the battle scenes are vividly portrayed, and the events, which were headlines a few months ago, naturally carry a gruesome interest of their own.

TODAY AND FOREVER. By Pearl S. Buck. The John Day Company. \$2.50.

A collection of warm-hearted stories about the China of yesterday and the China of today; about villagers who had never seen an airplane or a Japanese until the two appeared in deadly conjunction in the morning sky; about rich merchants in Peking and Shanghai; about American missionaries driven to distraction by the patient stolidity of a people whom they do not understand but cannot help loving. The tales, though lacking the full-bodied flavor of the author's novels, make good reading.

THE SILENT DRUM. By Neil H. Swanson. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.75.

Following up some of the characters he introduced in "The Judas Tree," Mr. Swanson tells another appealing, adventure-packed story of pre-Revolutionary days in the country around Fort Pitt and the Conococheague valley, when the traders and the settlers were feuding and the Black Watch was trying to keep order. One year in the life of his hero, a young Dutch bound boy, furnishes not only its quota of thrills but a colorful cross-section of frontier life with all its brutality, rough humor, and urgent need for quick decisions and bold action.

AN ESSAY ON NATURE. By Frederick J. E. Woodbridge. Columbia University Press. \$3.

Professor Woodbridge here attempts by common-sense methods to resolve the dualism inherent in the scientific view of the universe. He defines Nature—which he always capitalizes—as the sum of everything which makes up the setting of human history. Whatever is, he would say, is natural—including a be-

lief in the supernatural. Sir Thomas Browne, Santayana, Plato, Goethe, the *Te Deum* contribute to a point of view which may be justly described as the fruit of wisdom.

DRAMA

One Kind of Unemployment

FEW who saw Miss Pauline Lord in "Anna Christie" or "They Knew What They Wanted" are likely to have forgotten her, though the most recent of those two plays is already sixteen years old. Few, for that matter, who know her only from a performance in one or another of the trivial plays in which she has since appeared from time to time are likely to forget *her*, however impossible it may be to remember even the name of the play in which she acted. Something, as editorial writers say, is wrong with a system where the waste of such talents is possible over a period of years.

One may grant that she is no universal actress, that there are many roles to which her talents are not suited. But the tendency of casting directors seems to have been to limit her opportunities more and more, to make her more and more a mere specialist. Her great roles were those dominated by pathos, hopeless courage, and intolerable anxiety, and there is no reason why anyone should have asked her—as nobody ever did—to be a romantic ingenue. But that does not mean, on the other hand, that she should be given only opportunities to do less and less until finally she seemed to be remembered only when someone had to tear a handkerchief or give a blood-curdling scream. It is true that she does both these things very well. There is no one who can look more desperately unhappy than she can. But she can also act a rounded role, she can relate the terror and anxiety to a character, she can make the outburst mean something. She is, in other words, criminally wasted in such elementary and clumsy melodrama as "Eight o'Clock Tuesday" (Henry Miller's Theater). Another good actor, McKay Morris, as well as several other competent performers, is also wasted. But the others are almost completely subdued to the stuff they work in. Only Miss Lord rises at moments above it, and I rather fancy that she will be responsible for a tiny residue in the memory left by a play which might otherwise leave not a wrack behind.

As for the play, it is a very routine whodunit. So far as I remember—two days later—the villain is discovered, when the curtain rises, dead of a paper knife and with his wife kneeling beside him. As usual it turns out that nearly everyone in the cast had not only an excellent reason for wanting to kill him but ample opportunity to have done so. A most unorthodox detective takes charge, and scorning such trivia as fingerprints and blood stains, makes each person reenact his last meeting with the deceased until someone, who has to save someone else, finally confesses. The wonder is that anyone cares. The corpse had been such a thoroughly undesirable person that his taking off was a public service no matter who was responsible, and early in the evening I should have been perfectly willing just to pass a vote of thanks for the person or persons unknown and to let it go at that. In connection with plays of this sort it is usually said that it would not be fair to reveal the solution. This time let's be honest and just say that it wouldn't be worth the trouble.

Musical comedies commonly stick around a while even though less than rapturously received, but "Night of Love" folded up after two or three performances, and warning against it is not necessary. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"PAL JOEY" (Ethel Barrymore Theater), a musical comedy based on the book by John O'Hara, presents, with music by Rodgers and Hart, one of those characters with which the "hard-boiled" school has won its fame. The word "nihilist" is too big to apply to Pal Joey. His lack of any attitude whatever is so complete that he cannot even be called amoral. He falls among those submarginal characters so thoroughly set forth, in another environment, in "Tobacco Road," and he has somewhat the same fascination. In the first act Gene Kelley brings Pal Joey to life so unobtrusively and yet so convincingly that he dominates the melodious background provided by Rodgers and Hart, which really belongs to another world. At that point, however, the piece turns into musical comedy. It is good musical comedy; the girls are pretty, and June Havoc lives up to her name. But much as I like Rodgers and Hart—"Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered"—is in their best vein—I was a little disappointed because by that time I was so hypnotized by the nonentity of Pal Joey that I wanted to see more of it.

MARGARET MARSHALL

ART

Mané-Katz

THERE is an oddly haunting show of oils mainly of cabinet size at the Marie Sterner Gallery. Expressionistic images of the itinerant musicians of East European cities form the content of a number of the delicate paintings; and as a whole the exhibition curiously infects one with a pathos like that which street musicians often involuntarily impart—say, the violinists or guitarists who fiddle and strum enthusiastically on sidewalks, in subway trains, or in ferry houses. Within the frames one feels a sweetness of will and eagerness to cheer and charm similar to that of the players on the streets and ferries: one also feels a sadness similar to that which, despite their effort, rises over their jigs and marches. Blent eagerness and sadness emerge as poignantly from the larger pictures—with the expressionistic images recalling richly gowned personages of the Chassidim, the eighteenth-century mystical sect of Eastern Jews—as from the series of the little Polish itinerants. They overflow the frequently lovely color patterns and very refined harmonies.

The instrumentalists down on the street we are nevertheless likely to forget: not, however, these miniature works of art. Their pathos recurs to mind in after hours, drawing us back to them.

The artist, M. Mané-Katz, was the subject of an exhibition much remarked at the Wildenstein Gallery two years ago. Last year, while serving in the French army as an interpreter with major's rank, he was taken prisoner at Royan. There he encountered Picasso, who made him the much-needed present of a blanket. He asked the Spaniard, "What is to become of us, what can we do now?" Swiftly came the answer, "Why not arrange an exhibition?" Mané-Katz was put in a concentration camp, where he became sick. Fears of an epidemic rising from the heat and from the filth in which the captives were obliged to live impelled the Germans to send him and thousands of others into unoccupied France. Possibly through Picasso's faith, certainly in the desire to continue his life as an artist, he cabled friends asking them to procure him an American visa.

What causes his new show to stay by us would seem primarily to be his unfeigned vein of sensibility, exquisitely manifest in his projection of the state of unearthly meditation in the seated

figure of the rabbi in Oriental robes. Even more prominently it would seem to be his frequent sense of pictorial style. Evidently it has been sharpened by Goya and especially by Rouault: one or two of his compositions, in connection with the fact that they are mildly visionary and macabre, make us feel Mané-Katz to be a kind of undemonic Rouault—without the heat of hellish mud. But he has a streak of rather delightful preciousness quite his own. Neglected in a few instances, in others his forms are well achieved. The sober "Trumpeter" is composed of a taut opposition of two rhythmic bell shapes, one black, the other gilt. The gay "Tuba Player" contains an exciting movement of expressive fiery golds. The serene "Drummer" has a satisfying breadth of line; and the spectral "Student"—probably the most deeply engaging work in the haunting little show—is elegantly composed of three simple shapes in dynamic interplay. PAUL ROSENFELD

RECORDS

STRAUSS'S "Don Quixote" is, for me, his finest work; but it is the tone-poem in which the correlation of programmatic meaning and music is most detailed and most subtly achieved, and one, therefore, in which some of the humorous points are only for the musically sophisticated listener with detailed knowledge of the score. Considered by itself the new Victor set (720, \$5.50) made by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra and Feuermann is excellent. But I am better satisfied by Beecham's treatment of the work in the set he made for Victor with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony; and since he made it only five years ago the recorded sound is still very good by present-day standards. It is a little less rich and brilliant than the sound of the new recording; but it makes up for this with better balance and greater clarity at times: in the old set one hears not only Don Quixote jogging along in Variation 1, but Sancho with him, and one can manage to hear the windmills turning when Don Quixote first perceives them.

There is the Mahler emotion—the sickness-at-heart, the world-weariness, the bitterness; there is the Mahler process—the individual musical thought using an individual musical vocabulary in an individual way; there are the gigantic Mahler forms into which the process translates the emotion. And for

a person who goes along with the ways of feeling, of thinking, of using the medium, Mahler's Ninth Symphony is a superbly contrived work of great emotional impact. Bruno Walter, who is such a person, makes his sympathy with the work effective in the concert performance with the Vienna Philharmonic that was recorded in Vienna in January, 1938, and is now offered by Victor (Set 726, \$10.50). There is a little sharpness in the sound of the violins; but this is a more agreeable-sounding recording job than the one of Walter's Vienna performance of "Das Lied von der Erde."

Some other Victor releases: Most of Beethoven's variations on the theme "Ich bin der Schneider Kakadu" are as inconsequential as the theme itself—only the introduction and the ninth and tenth variations revealing a relation to the other music of this late period. The work is played with good musical taste, but with somewhat wiry violin tone, by Erling Bloch and Torben Svendsen, violinist and 'cellist of the Danish Quartet, and Lund Christiansen, pianist (Set 729, \$2.50). Mozart's charming Sonata K. 448 for two pianos is played fluently but not very effectively by Luboschutz and Nemenoff (Set 724, \$3.50). The lovely Boccherini Sonata No. 6 that Casals recorded on the 'cello under the title of Adagio and Allegro has now been recorded on the viola by William Primrose (17513, \$1), who plays it with beautiful tone but in a way that sounds affected after Casals's wonderfully subtle phrasing. Respighi's Old Dances and Airs for the Lute, Suite No. 2, played by the New York Philharmonic-Symphony under Barbirolli (17558, \$1), is moderately enjoyable; so is Frescobaldi's Toccata, which is heavily weighed down by the orchestral transcription and performance it gets from Hans Kindler and his National Symphony (17632, \$1). And a new set of Falla's "Nights in the Gardens of Spain" for piano and orchestra (725, \$3.50) offers an excellent performance by Lucette Descaves and the Paris Conservatory Orchestra under Bigot of a work that is little more than Spanish style used with sophistication and fastidiousness for three movements.

Szigeti played Mozart's Violin Concerto K. 218 with his usual vitality of phrasing and distinction of style at the first of his notable series of nine broadcasts over the Mutual network Sunday evenings at seven. He is to play a complete concerto each time; and if you missed the first two don't miss the rest.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Protest from Ukrainian Nationalists

Dear Sirs: I've read many misleading articles in the Communist press, but your ambitious attempt, in *The Nation* of November 16, to expose our Organization for the Rebirth of the Ukraine scores 100 per cent in inaccuracy, to wit:

1. Ukrainian nationalists don't want Hitler's aid to restore the Ukraine any more than they want your friend Stalin's aid.

2. The O. D. W. U. is an American organization, founded by Americans and composed of Americans, and it has no international headquarters in Berlin or anywhere else.

3. Vladimir Dushnyck was never detained in Belgium "for suspected espionage activities" and has statements from the United States consulate in Belgium and the Belgian Department of State to prove it.

4. The Ukrainian Press Service, of which I was director at the time, never carried any such caption on its releases as "Hitler sympathizes with the Slovaks, Poles, Magyars, and Ukrainians." As a matter of fact, it consistently disseminated anti-Nazi news.

5. Monsignor Ivan Buchko is not a member of the O. D. W. U. nor was he arrested in Brazil. He was stopped from delivering a sermon in Ukrainian by local police and left the country in protest. The President of Brazil officially apologized for the incident and invited him back to the country, an invitation which Bishop Buchko accepted.

6. The O. D. W. U. and the Hetman Organization are not affiliated in any way.

7. Four Ukrainian organizations did meet in New York, but the only group to urge that the O. D. W. U. and the Hetman Organization be thrown out was the Socialist group, the editor of whose youth publication was thrown out of our organization.

And as for anyone calling Professor Granovsky a "Hitler stooge," when you say that, you lie.

PM apologized for a scurrilous attack on a mighty fine and democratic organization, with which I have been associated for six years and will continue to associate. It is up to you to do likewise.

ROMAN LAPICA,

Editor, the O. D. W. U. *Trident*
New York, November 19

[Mr. Lapica's letter is one of a number of protests we have received concerning the column Within the Gates in our issue of November 16. Most of them were more temperate than Mr. Lapica's, but practically all of them made the point that the O. D. W. U., far from being "under the Nazi thumb," as our article stated, is working for a British victory. We are glad to learn that this is the case, and we regret that our author failed to make clear the organization's present position on this highly important subject. In fairness to the author of the article, however, it should be pointed out that formation of the Ukrainian-American Committee to Aid the Allies, the first overt sign of a change of heart, took place several days after the article appeared. As for the O. D. W. U.'s past, Mr. Lapica's protest comes with less grace. His charges of inaccuracy may be answered briefly:

1. The three successive organs of the O. D. W. U.—the *Vistnyk*, the *Nationalist*, and the *Ukraine*—are replete with praise for German National Socialism and hopes for a National Socialist Ukraine. There is space here for only a few excerpts:

The only proper method to construct the political system of the Ukrainian nation is upon the principles of authoritarianism and führership, which rest upon the principles of creativeness, character, will, and responsibility of the individual.—Resolution adopted by the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists (of which the O. D. W. U. is a member-group), as reported in the *Nationalist*, September 14, 1938.

The League for the Rebirth of the Ukraine in America (O. D. W. U.) is closely related to German Nazi-ism and Italian fascism.—*The Nationalist*, August 17, 1938.

When Andrew Melnyk was made head of the Provid, the governing body of the Ukrainian Nationalist organizations, the *Nationalist* captioned his picture "The Führer of the Ukrainian Nationalists," and added, "Long Live the Hitler of the Ukraine, Colonel Melnyk."

2. It is true that the O. D. W. U. was founded by Americans, but at the first Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists a resolution was adopted asking that "the organizational bond of the Nationalist organizations on the American continent with the Provid of the O. U. N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) be intensified, and that this bond be effected through the governing bodies

of the corresponding Nationalist organizations." Representatives of the Provid were always warmly received, and at one meeting held in the New York Hippodrome the Provid's secretary was greeted with the Nazi salute and appointed to the nominating committee of the O. D. W. U.

3. In an article entitled Current Immigration in Belgium, published in *Svoboda*, Vladimir Dushnyck himself wrote that he had been detained in Belgium for suspected espionage activities. It is true, however, that he has credentials which show that he was cleared and released, and this should have been stated in our article.

4. Testimony before the Dies committee produced a Ukrainian Press Service release which said, "Hitler sympathizes with the Slovaks, Poles, Magyars, and Ukrainians." The attorney for the O. D. W. U. insists that there must have been two Ukrainian press services at the time. We can't say.

5. Mr. Lapica's statements concerning Monsignor Buchko are superficially true. He was held only briefly by the Brazilian police, he has papers to prove that he is now in good standing in Brazil, and he is not officially a member of the O. D. W. U. But he is, none the less, one of the organization's chief spokesmen and defenders and has referred to its members as "the flower of the nation." The question of his actual membership seems to us the sheerest technicality.

6. The column to which Mr. Lapica takes exception did not say that the O. D. W. U. and the Hetman groups were affiliated; it said that they were "brought together." They had been at loggerheads for years, and informed Ukrainian-Americans are agreed that they now cooperate closely.

7. We cannot be sure that the delegates who wanted to expel the O. D. W. U. and the Hetman Organization were "Socialist" on the strength of Mr. Lapica's designation. After all, Mr. Lapica thinks we are Communists.—
EDITORS THE NATION.]

Del Vayo's Emigré Council

Dear Sirs: The article of Alvarez del Vayo on The Duty of the Emigré (see *The Nation* of December 14) was magnificent; I think there is hardly any other statesman so well oriented in our

world as he. The proposal of a Central Council of the Emigration, however, seems to me debatable. A union among the émigrés from many lands would lead, somehow, to their separation from the unity of American thought and action. Somehow it would isolate them in these United States, of which they want to make a Uniting States.

A proposal like the one embodied in the recently published "City of Man" takes care, I think, of such difficulties, and its intention provides adequately for a community in thought and action made of Americans new and old, of born citizens and recent citizens, and of citizens to be. In such an intercourse the experience and inspiration of men like Alvarez del Vayo and those whom he has in mind for his council would prove immensely more fertile.

G. A. BORGESE

New York, January 9

Dear Sirs: Del Vayo's article was both interesting and important; the comments it aroused (printed in the issue of January 4) seem to me even more significant, for they illuminated not only the problem itself—the creation of a Central Council of the Emigrés—but also many faults committed by the anti-fascist front.

A grouping of the comments shows that some, like Sir Norman Angell, would like to see the council as a kind of general staff that would touch off the revolution and take over its leadership in the countries occupied by Hitler; while others, like Bjarne Braatoy and Paul Hagen, would grant such a council at best the functions of a research organization. Pierre Cot chooses a middle course; the principal task he has in mind for the council is to contribute to the enlightenment of American public opinion.

It is no accident that the severest criticism of Del Vayo's proposal came from the Germans—Paul Hagen, Franz Hoellering, and Konrad Heiden; while the most enthusiastic response was that of Max Ascoli, an Italian. This seems to be explained by the fact that in Italy the idea of democracy has a heroic, a revolutionary tradition. It is indissolubly linked with Italy's rise as a nation; Mazzini and Garibaldi still live in the hearts of the Italian people. For Italians—also for Spaniards and with certain reservations for Hungarians, Czechs, and Poles as well—the fight against fascism is identical with the fight for democracy. The Germans, however—and that fact emerged most clearly from Heiden's

comment—are keenly aware of the absence of a positive goal, of a program in the "fight against Hitler." The only democracy they know is that of the Weimar regime, and no anti-Nazi wants to see that reestablished in its old form.

These phenomena alone would justify the formation of a council such as Del Vayo proposed. It would have a right to exist even if it were only a forum for the forces that see in the fight against fascism a fight for a truly social, living, youthful democracy—for the democracy of Lincoln, Garibaldi, Masaryk, of the Spanish Loyalists and of the workers of Vienna.

Although I am skeptical regarding the possibilities of directing and promoting the revolution in the occupied regions from without, I believe that the council should not confine itself to research and theoretical work alone. The word "propaganda" has been greatly abused. But properly understood—as the active, passionate daily appeal to world opinion—propaganda is an important weapon. To sharpen, perfect, and coordinate propaganda would be a great task for the council. Perhaps the council will not succeed in organizing the revolution against Hitler, but at least it may succeed in organizing the crusade for democracy. That would be, I believe, a sufficiently explicit program for the moment.

The program for the future, which is to be realized after the fall of the dictatorships, can be discussed by the council only theoretically. Its practical application must be carried out by the oppressed peoples. It will be all the more comprehensive, and all the more far-reaching, the more strongly the idea of democracy is entrenched in the hearts of the people of Europe. LEO LANIA

New York, January 10

Legal Aid for Objectors

Dear Sirs: May we ask your help in raising a modest sum to finance legal aid to conscientious objectors who refused to register under the Selective Service Act. In a few of these cases the defense raises the question of the constitutionality of the act. It is hoped in New York to carry at least one case through the Circuit Court of Appeals. Counsel are serving without fee, but the cost of records, stenography, and research is considerable.

It may be regarded by some as a waste of money to test the constitutionality of an act which most lawyers feel the Supreme Court will uphold. But question-

ing of the act on constitutional grounds has a valuable educational effect on the public. Serious issues are raised which the courts cannot ignore and on which it is important to have a decision.

There are more than thirty non-registrants in the country. Each man deserves legal aid.

We have constituted themselves a committee to raise the sum of \$2,500 for this legal service and for the necessary accompanying publicity. All contributions will be expended on our order. Checks should be made payable to Evan W. Thomas, Treasurer, and mailed to 2929 Broadway, New York.

EVAN W. THOMAS, *Treasurer*, ROGER N. BALDWIN, CHARLES BOSS, JR., FAY BENNETT, ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS, RICHARD B. GREGG, JESSE H. HOLMES, JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, BROADUS MITCHELL, FRANK OLMSTEAD, A. J. MUSTE, NORMAN THOMAS

New York, January 10

CONTRIBUTORS

LEWIS COREY is the author of "The Decline of American Capitalism," "The House of Morgan," and "The Crisis of the Middle Class."

ROBERT G. SPIVACK, a free-lance writer, has been secretary of the International Student Service for the past three years.

IRWIN EDMAN, professor of philosophy at Columbia University, is the author of "Four Ways of Philosophy," "Arts and the Man," and other books.

FRANZ HOELLERING, for many years editor of the *Berliner Zeitung*, is the author of "The Defenders," a novel of post-war Vienna.

W. E. WOODWARD is the author of "George Washington," "A New American History," and other books.

BJARNE BRAATOY, Norwegian author and journalist, is a member of the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Commission in the United States.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The Shape of Things

THE CONFERENCE BETWEEN HITLER AND Mussolini has, as usual, ended with an official announcement that the two dictators reached "complete agreement" on all issues. We would not be surprised if this time the statement were true for the unhappy Duce is hardly in a position to disagree with his partner any longer. Since their last meeting his armies have been soundly thrashed in Albania and Libya, his fleet has been chased out of Taranto with heavy losses, and his East African Empire has begun to crumble. Moreover there is good reason to believe that the morale on his home-front, never very good, has seriously deteriorated. He must, therefore, have gone to Hitler as a suppliant begging for more aid, and if this has been promised to him we may be sure he was required to pay a steep price. German troops are occupying strategic points in Italy, German officials are everywhere, and German planes must be relied on to protect Italy's coasts and communications. Just what other forms Nazi assistance will take remains to be seen. A direct effort to rescue the Italian armies from their predicament in Albania and Libya seems unlikely, because of the physical difficulties of sending armies to these battlefields and because of German fears that they would be improperly supported by their ally. There are reports, however, of attempts to bully Greece into making peace by threats of invasion via Bulgaria in the spring. There are also renewed rumors to which London gives some credence of an offensive against Gibraltar. Meanwhile the dictators have to consider the problem of thwarting American aid to Britain. Their present line of propaganda is that they need not worry since it will come too late to affect the outcome of the war. We hope this argument spurs Congress.

✱

THE GERMAN HIGH COMMAND WAS ENTIRELY logical when it inaugurated its program of first-aid to its stricken partner by a sharp attack on a British convoy. For British naval ascendancy in the Mediterranean has been a prime factor both in the defeat of Graziani and in the success of the Greeks. For months the Italians have proved impotent to prevent the transport through "mare nostrum" of supplies and reinforce-

Editor and Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor
ROBERT BENDINER

Washington Editor
I. F. STONE

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ments for Egypt and Greece. Worse still, from their point of view, their own lines of communication with Libya have been rendered increasingly hazardous and Graziani has had to face the British onslaught while half-starved of essential material. The arrival of Nazi dive-bombers in Sicily ends for the time being the immunity enjoyed by the British navy in the narrow waters between that island and Africa. Its losses in last week's battle were not crippling but were sufficiently serious to warrant special efforts to forestall a repetition. The Southampton, a modern first-class cruiser, was so seriously damaged that it had to be abandoned and sunk while the aircraft-carrier *Illustrious* was hit several times and is now believed to be at Malta where it is exposed to renewed attacks. However, the important convoy escorted by these and other vessels arrived safely at its destination. At the same time these attacks have cost the Germans a good many Stukas and they have also suffered from heavy raids on their base at Catania. It remains to be seen whether this new menace will force the British to use the much longer Cape route for their convoys and restore to Italy its communications with Libya. It must be remembered that the range of the Stuka is limited and it should be possible for ships to transverse the danger zone under cover of night.

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THE INAUGURATION OF FRANKLIN DELANO

Roosevelt was a solemn rather than a gala occasion. Crowds stood in the clear icy air for hours to get a glimpse of the President who enters his third term in office at one of the most critical moments in our national history. Demonstrations of enthusiasm were frequent but the atmosphere of the ceremony itself was serious, even portentous. And the President's address conveyed the same tone, though both his voice and his words expressed vigorous confidence in the country's future. One of the first official acts to be made known after the inauguration was the appointment of John G. Winant as Ambassador to London. Mr. Winant has many qualifications for the most important diplomatic post. He is sincerely liberal; his interest for years past, particularly as head of the International Labor Organization, has centered in bettering living and working conditions for the masses in all countries. He is also wholly free from any taint of appeasement; his opposition to fascism in all forms is unqualified. He is an attractive person—simple, direct, democratic in manner and feeling. These are fine qualities for the American envoy, especially at a time when Labor is assuming more and more power in the direction of British affairs. But it is also unfortunately true that Mr. Winant is temperamentally both slow to make up his mind and slow to act. It is fortunate that he will be accompanied by a minister experienced in business who will handle negotiations dealing with shipments of war supplies from the United States.

THE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN PETAIN AND Laval is a sign that the "noose" around the French neck has been given another twist. Ever since Laval was ousted on December 13, negotiations between Vichy and Berlin have been virtually suspended. Hitler has ignored the personal letter sent him by Pétain; no progress has been made toward the release of the two million prisoners. The amazing official explanation of Laval's comeback makes no mention of these matters. It insists that the former vice-Premier's dismissal was for imperious reasons of domestic policy which could not be explained to the public: "as a result there was a certain amount of confusion in many minds, which the Paris newspapers did not hesitate to exploit and increase." Since the press in occupied France is entirely pro-Nazi and hand-in-glove with Laval, this is tantamount to an accusation of disloyalty against the latter. Yet, the official statement goes on to explain Pétain has reestablished relations with him in the interests of national unity. At the same time, Vichy reiterates its determination not to use the French fleet against the British and to guard the integrity of the French empire. We wonder how long these brave words will remain uneaten. If Laval again takes charge of negotiations with the Nazis, as seems probable, we can be sure he will do his best to afford Hitler that form of collaboration which he most needs—effective aid against the British Navy.

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AN EDITORIAL IN THE NATION LAST WEEK

told how the majority of three members of the Smith committee not only filed a report without consulting its two dissenting members, but filed it too late for the minority to prepare a dissent before the last session of the old Congress. We are glad to report that as one result of that editorial Chairman Howard W. Smith, chairman of the committee, promised on the floor of the House to ask unanimous consent for a suspension of the rules in order to permit the filing of a minority report. Another result was a bitter attack on *The Nation* by Chairman Smith and Congressman E. E. Cox of Georgia. After reading their speeches and the able reply made by Congressman Arthur D. Healey we see no reason to alter our comment on the conduct of the Smith committee majority. We still feel, in the words of the minority statement issued by Congressman Healey and Senator Abe Murdock, that the "circumstances surrounding the issuance of the final report . . . do not . . . reflect an impartial fact-finding investigation." The report, as issued, contains no indication that it is not a unanimous one, a procedure which we still believe merits the formal rebuke of the House. The plane on which *The Nation* was attacked may be judged from Congressman Cox's statement that this journal "is as nasty a sheet as soils the newsstands of this country. It is fit for one thing, and it is hardly fit for that."

IT WOULDN'T BE A BAD IDEA IF NAVY DEPARTMENT officials took the trouble to read the Walsh-Healey Act before they tell Congressional committees and the public that it is interfering with defense. Rear Admiral Towers, who has shown an anti-labor attitude in the past, told the House Naval Affairs Committee last week that the Walsh-Healey Act was slowing up defense because subcontractors were unwilling to subject themselves to its terms. It is interesting to note that airplane manufacturers did not make this complaint. It is amusing to record that the day after the Rear Admiral's testimony the Department of Labor issued a statement pointing out that subcontractors are exempt from the wage-and-hour provisions of the act and always have been. Subcontractors are subject only to provisions requiring certain minimum precautions as to sanitation and safety. The Rear Admiral, intentionally or unintentionally, may have aided the lobbies fighting the Walsh-Healey Act but he was hardly contributing to smooth operation of the defense program by his statement. Incidentally, the House Naval Affairs Committee heard a long list of spokesmen for the aircraft industry explain why plane production cannot be speeded up appreciably by new methods, but has yet to hear Walter P. Reuther testify on his plan for making 500 planes a day.

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DESPITE SOOTHING STATEMENTS TO THE contrary by E. R. Stettinius, now priorities chief of the Office for Production Management, there seems to be an actual shortage of aluminum. It had earlier been thought that Stettinius was merely being disingenuous when he said there was no shortage, for it has been known that there is a dearth of finishing capacity. Now an exclusive story by C. P. Trussell, Washington correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun*, reveals that the Reynolds Metal Company is unable to get assurance of enough raw aluminum from the Aluminum Company of America to take care of orders from airplane companies. Trussell cited letters and a memorandum which indicate that Stettinius knew that Reynolds Metal was having trouble procuring aluminum at the time he issued his reassuring statements. Were they designed to allay growing criticism of the fact that the nation's needs in so vital a raw material are at the mercy of one great monopoly? The TNEC believes that the Mellon monopoly has been restricting production to maintain prices. The committee's chairman, Senator O'Mahoney, has been making a private survey of his own and it was this which elicited the Reynolds correspondence. Reynolds, which has a government loan to build an ingot plant, will become the Aluminum Company's only competitor in this field. Perhaps this has something to do with its inability to obtain aluminum ingots for its two fabricating plants.

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF JIM CROWISM AT THE expense of national defense is cited in a letter written by Senator Wagner to Defense Director William S. Knudsen. A few weeks ago *The Nation* published an article revealing that Negroes are denied the right of serving as pilots in the Air Corps or as officers in the regular army, and are seriously discriminated against in all branches of the service. It now appears that this discrimination has been carried into the defense industries at the expense of vital production. Senator Wagner asserts that certain airplane plants have turned down qualified Negro applicants "solely because of their race or color," even though skilled men are badly needed. Such discriminatory practices are forbidden, but there is no evidence that the Defense Commission has brought pressure against the offending companies. Speaking before a recent session of the Catholic Interracial Council, Charles H. Houston, former dean of the law school at Howard University, brought out additional evidence of discrimination in the armed services. He declared that except for a few Negroes who had enlisted as whites, the Marine Corps contained no Negroes and that the Navy accepted them only as messmen. Such practices, Mr. Houston rightly points out, are grist to the Nazi propaganda mills in Central and South America.

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THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION SERVICE seems anxious to "overrule" the United States Supreme Court. It has rearrested Joseph G. Strecker and ordered him held for deportation proceedings. Strecker was arrested once before for deportation on the ground that he was a member of the Communist Party. He asserted that he attended a Communist meeting in 1932, that he donated 60 cents and was given a party card, that he didn't know what the card was for and never attended another meeting or paid dues again. The case was fought for six years. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans held that membership in the Communist Party was not sufficient proof that an alien was deportable as one who wished to overthrow the government by "force and violence." The Supreme Court upheld the Circuit Court, but on somewhat narrower grounds. It said that the fact that Strecker had *once* been a member of the Communist Party was not grounds for deportation. The Smith Alien and Sedition law passed by Congress last year contained a provision designed to "correct" the Supreme Court's decision. The word is quoted from a statement made by Congressman Smith to our Washington editor last week. The new provision was intended to make past membership in the Communist Party grounds for deportation. The Supreme Court will now have to decide squarely whether membership in the Communist Party is sufficient evidence of intention to overthrow the government by force to warrant deportation.

Let Congress Investigate

THE National Labor Relations Board has issued proposed findings and a proposed decision in the case concerning the Ford motor company plant at Kansas City. This will be the tenth Labor Board decision against Ford, and this one like its predecessors involves the use by Ford of methods which can only be described as totalitarian in their brutality and lawlessness. The facts, as the Labor Board proposes to find, are that between January, 1937, and September, 1937, the United Automobile Workers Union succeeded in enrolling more than 90 per cent of the workers at the Kansas City plant. It had achieved an oral understanding with the management as to shop stewards, lay-off procedure, and working conditions. On September 17 the plant closed for a change of model. When it reopened two months later, no members of the U. A. W. were taken back. All those hired had to show the blue card of the Independent Union of Ford Workers. The board proposes to order the reinstatement of 1,021 U. A. W. members, their reimbursement for pay lost, and the disestablishment of the Independent Union as a company-dominated labor union.

On March 27, 1937, the Kansas City *Star* carried an interview with Henry Ford in which he was quoted as advising his employees to stay out of unions. "Those who join," Ford was quoted as saying, "will be like the turkey—they'll get it in the neck eventually." *The Nation* would like to know, in Ford's words, whether Ford or the worker is to "get it in the neck." It would like to know whether he is to continue as the beneficiary of favoritism by the Defense Commission and the Quartermaster Corps of the United States Army despite his continued violations of the Wagner Act.

To give Ford a contract for so desperately needed a defense item as plane engines may be excusable, though the terms of the contract are very profitable and we find it hard to believe that Ford would not obey the Wagner Act if he had to. But whatever the pros and cons of the engine contract, there is no reason for the favoritism still being shown Ford on the \$1,400,000 contract for "midget cars," the details of which were first revealed by the Washington editor of *The Nation* in our issue of December 14. As our readers will recall, in this case the General Staff of the army was black-jacked by the Defense Commission into giving Ford a contract for a certain type of military car which a small manufacturer had developed and was fully able to supply. One contract went to this small manufacturer for 1,500 cars for extended field tests. The General Staff did not wish to place more orders until after these tests were completed. Ford had not shown that he could meet specifications on the car, the most important of which

was a maximum weight of 2,000 pounds. Army experts feel that a heavier car would lose its usefulness and had originally tried to obtain a 1,000-pound car. Since the appearance of *The Nation's* article, Ford has succeeded in getting the specifications raised to 2,160 pounds—the weight he can match. He has also obtained priority over the small manufacturer on the axles, the "bottleneck" in production of this midget car. *The Nation's* Washington dispatch had predicted that these would be Ford's next steps.

Both the President and Secretary of War Stimson were misinformed as to the true facts about this Ford contract; it was represented to them as a contract for an essential article that could not be obtained in sufficient quantity without Ford. We believe that if the President, as Commander-in-Chief, calls in his Chief of Staff General Marshall, he will find that the facts as *The Nation* has reported them are correct and that the award of this contract to Ford was scandalous favoritism and a gratuitous slap in the face of labor. *The Nation* believes this contract cries out for a Congressional investigation, that an inquiry will show that military efficiency is being impaired by this kind of favoritism to Ford and that he seems to have altogether too much influence in both the Defense Commission and the Quartermaster Corps.

The contract is far from being a fait accompli. So far as *The Nation* can learn it has yet to be actually drafted and signed. If the original specifications are restored, as army experts would like them to be, Ford will be unable to meet specifications and the award can be voided. If the contract contains a clause requiring Ford to obey the labor laws, he will probably—as Washington representatives have boasted—refuse to sign the contract. Here lies the War Department's way out.

Eire Plays with Fire

A NUMBER of recent events suggest that Ireland's day of reckoning is not far off. Rumors of German invasion are becoming more insistent. Domestic difficulties, including a serious shortage of food, have brought the war to Eire despite its attempt to remain neutral. And within the past week the British press has started a campaign urging the government to reclaim its former naval bases with or without Ireland's consent.

A majority of the Irish people undoubtedly support Prime Minister de Valera in his determination to keep Eire out of the war; the question is how long he can continue to walk a tight rope on the edge of the Battle of Britain. The very strength of British resistance is an invitation to the Nazis to attempt to close Britain's back door by seizing Ireland. Although the occupation of Ireland would bring the Germans no closer to Britain than they are now, the establishment of Nazi air and

naval bases on the island might make an invasion of England unnecessary.

Eire's defenses against a German attack are negligible. Periodic attempts have been made to build up its forces, but at most it has no more than 250,000 poorly equipped soldiers and no navy or air force worthy of the name. The British navy and the R. A. F., paradoxically enough, are the bulwark of Irish neutrality. Britain is also reputed to have an army of 250,000 first-class troops in Northern Ireland ready to resist a Nazi invasion. With the aid of the Irish, whose fighting abilities are well known, the British can make an invasion of Ireland difficult and costly, but without air and naval bases in Eire it is doubtful that they could prevent Hitler from seizing the island if he threw his full strength into the attempt. Although the Germans describe the series of bombings in the vicinity of Dublin during the first week of January as a "regrettable mistake," they were in all probability reconnaissance flights preparatory to more decisive measures later on.

Nazi charges that the British government intends to reoccupy the naval bases may for once have some foundation. There can be no question that the bases are of the utmost importance in protecting British sea lanes to the Western Hemisphere from attack by Nazi planes and submarines. As a matter of fact, the protection of these sea lanes is almost as vital to Ireland as it is to Britain, since Ireland, too, is suffering acutely from the German blockade. But although dependent on British sea power for the food and raw materials necessary to keep its people alive, Ireland has stubbornly refused to consider restoring the needed bases even temporarily. Churchill has done everything within his power to impress on De Valera the danger of his course. The possibility of unity between North Ireland and Eire has been brought forward as an inducement. But like the Dutch and Belgians a year ago, the Irish have clung to the illusion that no one would attack them if they maintained a scrupulous neutrality—and they have regarded a leasing of the bases as a departure from strict impartiality. Having exhausted all possibility of persuasion, the British government may be forced in self-defense to seize the bases without consent of the Irish government.

It is to be devoutly hoped that this extreme action can be avoided. For Britain can ill afford to resort to the tactics of the totalitarian aggressors even in self-defense. But it is clear that Eire cannot enjoy the advantages of British protection indefinitely without accepting some of the responsibility. This does not mean that Ireland necessarily need enter the war. The leasing of the bases to Britain will not precipitate a Nazi invasion unless Hitler has already decided to attack. And it might prevent it. For the existence of strongly fortified air and naval bases on the southern coast matching the powerful defenses in Ulster would make invasion extremely difficult.

The "Loyal Opposition"

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE PRESIDENT'S aid-to-Britain bill will go through. It will be modified, no doubt, as it should be, but in the end Mr. Roosevelt will get the powers necessary to meet an emergency that is great now and sure to grow worse in the months immediately ahead. The opposition to the bill is not to be gauged by its noise and truculence. It is a weak opposition representing, I am sure, minority opinion. Joseph P. Kennedy's speech was temperate in tone but essentially specious and contradictory. And in general the attack on the bill has been violent and self-defeating. Senator Wheeler's inexcusable taunt that according to the President's plan every fourth American boy would be "plowed under" disgusted even vigorous opponents of aid to England. The various interventions of Roy Howard are having a similar effect. Perhaps his recent heroic success in pushing William Allen White out on a rather shaky limb went to Mr. Howard's head, because he then tried to work the same trick on Wendell Willkie.

But Mr. Willkie is tough, apparently quite as tough as Mr. Howard himself. When Howard urged him to oppose the aid-to-Britain bill, he refused; when Howard urged him at least to come out for serious modifications, he refused again. Then, according to informed reports of the episode both published and unpublished, Howard threatened to "break" Willkie politically if he persisted in supporting the measure. Mr. Willkie persisted, and for his integrity and plain speech he deserves much credit. Perhaps, recalling November 5, he found consolation in reflecting that the enmity of Roy Howard may be less costly than his friendship. In any case that reflection will encourage supporters of the President's bill for by this time it has become almost an axiom that people and measures which are assailed by Howard and his general staff of columnists are not only apt to be good; they are also apt to be victorious. The same is true of the objects of the *Chicago Tribune's* venomous attacks. People discount them and begin to suspect that some motive of self-interest lies behind this unaccustomed passion for peace and pure democracy. And the more closely they look the better reasons they find for their suspicions.

The real root of the objection to sending all possible aid to Britain is beginning to emerge. It has been exposed by the innocent Mark Sullivan in the *New York Herald Tribune*. Mr. Sullivan professes to favor sending supplies to England but he asks plaintively every few days what in the name of Herbert Hoover are we planning to salvage over there. Will it be socialism? Some of the columnists—even including Mr. Sullivan's next-page neighbors—say it will be and so do the British Labor

people; if they are right, Mr. Sullivan believes we'd better think twice before we decide to help defeat Hitler. Mr. Howard, according to reports, is no less worried by the specter of socialism in England and by the large part Labor leaders are playing in the Churchill government. And even the carefully chosen words of Mr. Kennedy betray the same set of fears. He warns us that a protracted war may leave Europe a prey to Russian ambition and conjures up a picture of our sons and grandsons patrolling the Continent to put down revolutions.

And so, once more, as in Britain under Chamberlain, the reactionaries begin to ask whether the defeat of fascism is really as important as the maintenance of the status quo (again forgetting, in their panic, the fate of capital and "free enterprise" in the countries under Nazi control); only this time they cast fearful glances toward a "socialist" England just as their British counterparts worried over "socialist" Spain and "socialist" France in 1936 and 1937 and 1938. And when one sees this same mood arising, these same tactics emerging in the fight against an American policy of resistance to the dictators, one is tempted to despair. But only for a moment. If Roy Howard and Herbert Hoover and William R. Castle and Charles A. Lindbergh would rather risk fascism than the chance of social change, their preference is shared by very few people.

It is true that new social arrangements will inevitably emerge from the vast destruction of the war; it is true that, if fascism is defeated, popular uprisings are almost certain to occur throughout Europe, and in Britain the balance of power will shift toward the workers and their allies in the middle classes. It is not to be expected that Mr. Howard and his fellow appeasers enjoy that prospect. Nor can it be denied that for all of us the future holds threat as well as promise. The most one can hope for at a time of great decision like the present is an honest appraisal of the alternatives. If Britain is actually defeated, its democracy wiped out, its navy sunk or captured, its Empire taken over—what in cold fact will be in store for us and for the world? Secretaries Hull and Stimson and Knox have answered this question; in addition they have said as clearly as they dared that such a catastrophe is not only possible but almost certain unless help to Britain from America is enormously increased—and quickly. They have answered, but apparently the appeasement clique distrusts their facts or their judgment. Otherwise it would give up its suicidal opposition; the men I have named may be shy of social vision, but they are not traitors.

The facts, however, are all too clear. The testimony of the department heads has been backed by the figures of experts in the government and by private research. The most impressive recent argument for increased shipments is to be found in a small book "Fivefold Aid to Britain"

by Fritz Sternberg, who has contributed many articles on economic warfare to *The Nation* and other journals. Mr. Sternberg shows in graphic charts and compact sentences how far short of the necessities of the situation our efforts are falling. Even under the new defense budget our expenditures for military purposes will be less than Germany's at the start of the war and less than half the amount Germany is spending today after seven years of intensive rearmament. Experts believe that Germany's total airplane production in comparison with Britain's is $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1; Mr. Sternberg offers figures to show that it would be necessary to ship as many as 1,500 planes a month to England to overcome the Nazi lead. A similarly great increase in steel shipments is required. Today, out of our vast capacity of 83,000,000 tons, Britain is getting 8,600,000. This added to the steel production of the Empire provides a total of 25,000,000 tons, while Germany's resources, including the production of the occupied territory, amount to 42,000,000 tons. The United States must increase its steel shipments to 30,000,000 tons if Britain is to be given a safe margin for defense. Mr. Sternberg sums up the situation succinctly in terms of hours of work. Today while both Britain and Germany give four working hours daily to armament production, the United States gives thirty minutes to the same task. Under the fifty-fifty plan announced by the President—though not actually in effect—American industry devote fifteen minutes a day to producing Britain's war needs. If this could be increased to one hour, Britain would be saved. "One hour of American labor corresponds to production valued at \$12,000,000,000 per year. Such a volume would soon enable Britain to equalize her armament production with that of Germany." So Mr. Sternberg.

As I said above I don't believe the fear of social change which, consciously or otherwise, dominates most of the leaders in the fight against increased aid to Britain is shared by the people in general. Nobody wants to see Europe collapse into a succession of civil wars and revolutions. But neither does anyone want or believe in a return to the do-nothing policies that wrecked the hope of collective security and gave Hitler his chance. The rise to power in England of Labor men and leaders of progressive thought may have frightened Mr. Sullivan, but it has given millions of Americans reason to hope that this war will not necessarily end in another period of reaction and nationalist conflict. The growing belief that capitalism in its old forms can never be revived will create enthusiasm rather than fear in the heart of the ordinary American. He is no socialist but he is a man who read Mr. Howard's newspapers and then went out and voted for Roosevelt. Today he will back the President's demand for emergency powers and help to England; and he will do it for much the same reasons.

A Time for Candor

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 19

THIS is written at the close of the first week of hearings on the lease-lend bill before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. By the time this letter appears the fireworks will have begun. Kennedy, Norman Thomas, and Hanford MacNider will have been heard in opposition to the bill. Lindbergh and Hugh Johnson will be before the committee. Perhaps the sharpest impression left by the hearings so far is their undramatic character. The occasion itself is, in a word worn shabby on lesser events, historic. We may be on the eve of the greatest armed struggle of all time. The Navy Department is certainly thinking in terms of protecting Singapore; the War Department may well be thinking of a landing at Dakar. The State Department, in its own devious way, is dicker with Franco and Stalin, Chiang and Weygand. In Belgrade and in Ankara, the newspapers postpone their press time three hours so that they can present the full text of the American President's message to Congress. We are reaching out for imperial responsibilities and have become the focus of world-wide hopes and fears.

If 1776 stands as the symbol of our emergence from colonial status to independence, H. R. 1776 is the symbol of our determination a century and a half later to decide the destiny of the world. It seems foolish for isolationists to believe, after the extraordinary events of the past few years, that we can afford to make the same mistake about the British that the British made about the Czechs and the Spanish Republic. But it also seems unwise for interventionists to shut their eyes to the logic of the steps they propose and the commitments entailed. The lend-lease bill circumvents the Johnson Act and the Neutrality Act, perhaps also the national debt limitation.

It unquestionably places war-time powers in the hands of the President. The urgent necessities of the moment justify so sweeping a grant of authority, but they do not justify pretense in a situation that requires as much cool thinking as we can muster. The issues raised are momentous and deserve momentous presentation, but none of the Administration spokesmen during the first week of hearings was equal to the occasion.

First came Hull, as evasive as he always is with Congressional committees. He seems to find it hard ever to give a straight answer to a straight question. Morgenthau, flanked by five experts, whom he consulted on almost every question, was disarmingly meek, with the humility of a man who recognizes his own limitations.

Stimson was franker and commanded more respect than either, but like Hull seemed appallingly the elderly gentleman caught up in a world of lightning war. Knox showed a vigor that they conspicuously lack and Knudsen seemed consciously the bashful Great Dane exploiting his natural charm. All five put together added very little to our knowledge of the lease-lend bill, and the aggregate impression left by their testimony was not one of candor.

The House Foreign Relations Committee is no repository of genius, but after watching it for a few days one gets to like its members.

They are as American as apple pie. The absence of brilliance makes them seem all the more representative of the decent democratic average, and with few exceptions they seem sincerely trying to do their best. The questions they ask tend to fumble, but so do the questions that most people ask about the bill, and in most cases they deserved plainer answers than they got. The



Secretary of War Stimson

committee has its oddities, chief among them its chairman. Sol Bloom perches his black ribboned pince nez on his nose at the angle of George Arliss playing Disraeli, but there the resemblance ends. Johnson of Texas, the ranking majority member, seems to be the brains on the Democratic side. To the majority members the hearings so far have seemed a formality. They already have the votes needed for passage in both Senate and House.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee is split along straight party lines on this bill; the handsome gray-haired Eaton of New Jersey seems to be the only Republican for it. The Republican members on the whole give an impression of genuine concern and sincerity, and I think no greater mistake could be made than to call their honesty and patriotism into question. Mrs. Rogers and Vorys of Ohio, stand out in this respect. I must confess that I took a dislike to Mundt of South Dakota, and some of his pettifogging questions. Fish, the ranking minority member, could not suppress a smirk of satisfaction as the camera flashlights boomed at the opening of the hearings and Tinkham gave the appearance of a ham actor play-

ing prosecutor. Some of his questions deserved a better source and he made what was perhaps the most incisive remark of the first week of hearings. He asked Morgenthau whether the President could give away the Navy under the lend-lease bill and the Secretary replied that he thought that a violent assumption. "We are living in days," Tinkham retorted, "when the most violent assumption is apt to be the most correct assumption." No one recalled to him that he and his fellows regard it as a "violent assumption" that the United States will be in danger from the Third Reich if Great Britain is defeated.

A certain air of unreality has hung over the hearings so far, as of persons going through the motions before reaching a foregone conclusion. The Administration spokesmen said what was expected of them, and evaded most of the crucial questions. The Republicans for the most part fell back into the old rut of suspecting Roosevelt of intending to make himself a dictator; they have cried "wolf" so often that they can hardly take themselves too seriously. Much of the time the Republican members, as their party colleague Eaton complained, were chasing up "rabbit tracks" rather than keeping to

the main issues. The feeblest theorizing of the hearings was Hull's excuse that we were substituting the "law of self-preservation" for international law; the one novel idea put forward was Knox's proposal for a customs union of all the nations in the Western hemisphere. Both Stimson and Knox will no doubt blush in the near future over their assurances to the committee that there is no intention under the bill to convoy merchant ships to Great Britain. It is hard to see what else we can do to lend additional aid to Britain within the next few months. For behind the question of lending or leasing materials to Britain is the more basic question of manufacturing these materials in sufficient time and quantity to be of help.

To the solution of this question the bill makes no contribution. The hearings themselves do, but in an unintended form. One came away from them impressed by the need for younger and abler leadership if the giant bureaucracies of army, navy, and business are to be shaken out of their customary ways of doing things. Until they are, the inadequacy of our present production effort and its business-as-usual pace will continue to endanger not only our British outpost but our own security.

Brains for the Army

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

YESTERDAY'S American army is vanishing with the delivery of each new order for modern equipment and the induction into service of each new group of conscripts. Small in numbers and unable either to inflict or withstand a *Blitzkrieg*, it simply failed to measure up to the demands of total war. There can be only one real reason for regret at its disappearance, and that is the fact that too little close analysis of its deficiencies was made as the basis for planning the army of tomorrow. Between May and August, 1940, the War Department changed its mind half a dozen times regarding the size and make-up of the force which should constitute America's future army. Expert recruited armies of first 280,000, later 400,000, were discussed and then rejected as it became apparent that the Congressional demand for defense would support a mass force based on conscription.

Some of the weaknesses of the old American army stood out plainly. Anyone acquainted with military affairs knew that it was deficient in artillery and tanks, that most of its planes were too old, that the supply of ammunition was inadequate and in poor condition. Even worse was the condition of our coast defenses, particularly along the Atlantic seaboard. Guns were of short

range and were not camouflaged; the mine-planting service had been dismantled; garrisons at the forts amounted to little more than caretakers. Now in many respects the army can be said to be modernized: it has unlimited funds at its disposal, it can draw on the industrial capacity of the country, and it has obtained, through conscription, a sufficient supply of men. But more needs to be done if we are to have a strong military force. We need to be assured that 1941 weapons are not to be directed by 1918 brains.

The abundant current literature dealing with the fall of France has had one bad effect. Written chiefly by civilians, it has tended to underemphasize the purely military aspects of the French defeat. There can be no doubt that even if no fifth column had operated, France would still have been vanquished, though possibly the collapse would have been slower and less complete. When the Germans opened their attack they were estimated to have eighty divisions as against sixty-five Allied divisions—a difference in numbers too small to be decisive in any battle fought according to World War patterns. Germany won this battle not by weight of numbers but because its attack embodied a complete revolution in military science.

There is not space to review all the reasons for the German military success. To some extent they are already rather widely known. Bombing by planes took the place of artillery fire in preparing the way for the successive attacks of break-through tanks, assault tanks, motorized infantry, and, lastly, regular infantry. This method of attack, together with the use of parachute troops and plane bombing to disrupt enemy communications, constituted Hitler's revolution in the science of war. Lieutenant General Drum, one of our more alert soldiers, has analyzed the reasons for German success as follows: (1) air superiority coupled with close coordination between air and ground forces; (2) attacks by heavy and light tanks, preceded by aerial bombardment and closely supported by mechanized infantry; (3) the use of large mechanized forces; (4) speed, intense fire power, and continuity of pressure; (5) highly trained officers and men prepared for the performance of their exact roles; (6) simplified supply. To these might well be added the fact that the High Command was much younger and, above all, better supplied with and more hospitable to new ideas than that of any other army in the world. This condition really made possible many of the other factors in German success. Against young men and new methods the old generals and World War army of France never had a chance.

Even more than modern equipment, then, a strong military force needs a progressive, forward-thinking High Command. In our own army there are plenty of officers who have both practical intelligence and vision. Dive-bombing was first practiced in the United States army. The use of armored divisions was anticipated here as early as 1930; in the succeeding years our army had numerous champions of the increased use of tanks. Our designs for tanks and planes, as well as the few machines built on these designs, lead the world. No army aviators elsewhere can rival those of the United States in accurate bombing, though this fact is mainly due to the navy's invention of the world's best bomb sights.

Why, then, with this background of innovation, is our army now frantically aping the Germans? The reason is that in the American army the men with the best brains do not hold the highest jobs. Our army professionals in the higher ranks remain extraordinarily impervious to progress. Thus while American officers were the first to foresee *Panzer* divisions, their ideas were not utilized by the United States army but remained on paper—for the more alert Germans to copy and improve upon. After inventing dive-bombing as an aid to infantry attack, the Army Air Corps stupidly abandoned it. With the best types of planes and by far the best bombing in the world our army made a tardy attempt to coordinate aviation with infantry only in its latest maneuvers, and then with very indifferent success, according to observers.

For some of this backwardness Congressional niggard-

liness can be blamed. When the matter of appropriations came up, few persons in Congress insisted that the army, however small, should be thoroughly well equipped and up to date. But too much of the responsibility rests with the army itself. General Marshall, Chief of Staff, has been quoted as admitting that our army costs more than twenty times as much, in proportion to its size, as certain good foreign forces. A large part of this greater expense can be laid to higher pay and costlier equipment, but much of it is due to poor management and inefficiency. The United States has long maintained more than 170 army posts, scattered all over the country. The scheme affords many men an opportunity to command and provides political plums for certain districts, but it gives no good opportunity for maneuvers with modern weapons or large bodies of troops. These posts, moreover, most of them dating from the Indian wars, serve no conceivable defense purpose. And while this inefficient and expensive system has been eating up the funds, the army has on several occasions failed to spend the money appropriated for such a highly necessary but unpopular branch of the service as Chemical Warfare.

In the last maneuvers men went into action without specific instructions or more than a very general idea of the objective of their own operations. In some cases transportation of food broke down completely, and men were without food for more than a day. In the state of Washington officers and men were ordered to wear woolen uniforms in 100 degrees of heat and to employ candles and lamps instead of easily available electricity. The use of substitute weapons, the lack of essential supplies, and the greenness of the new men took away from the impressiveness of these mock battles.

Much of the mental heaviness in higher ranks is attributable to our method of promotion of officers. Few people connected with the navy regard its promotion practices as satisfactory, but the navy discarded forty years ago the method that is still used in the army—that of straight seniority. If he passes the routine examinations and has a record of reasonably good conduct, the army officer is assured of steady, if slow, advancement. There is no reward for new ideas or brilliant work. At times these may even be penalized, for new ideas sometimes create discomfort for a superior officer. Thus our scheme for advancement exalts mediocrity. While our officers are not, as a whole, as old as those of France, retirement at sixty-four being enforced, they are considerably older than men of the same rank in the modern Germany army, whose leaders from Hitler down have not permitted themselves to become enmeshed in the practices of the past.

With conscription the army is now getting a better class of privates. The recruiting campaigns of former years succeeded in attracting mainly the able-bodied misfits of civil life. In the old army the opportunity for

advancement was strictly limited. Pay, while nominally equal to that in the navy, was in reality only a little over half as large, since the army had fewer high ratings, and promotion to them was much more difficult. With the increased mechanization of the modern army opportunity both for education and promotion should be broadened.

From some standpoints Germany's successes have been the best thing that ever happened to the United States army. They have jarred a sizeable number of the higher officers out of their complacency and forced them to consider new problems. In the making of the new American army three points of view are represented. A small number of our younger officers, the most intelligent and progressive of their calling, wish to carry the German revolution in army organization to its logical conclusion and mechanize a very large proportion of our army. They argue, with a great deal of truth, that an armored division is cheaper, in proportion to its greatly enhanced power, than any other type of organization. A less progressive but much more numerous group favors a very close copying of the German technique of war. They have been impressed by the tactics and success but have not fully grasped the innovating spirit of the German war machine. Officers of this type defend the use of horses and mules for transport and wish to have both *Panzer* divisions and huge forces of the older non-mechanized infantry, since the Germans also had both. They tend to overlook the main point of German tactics—that armored and mechanized units were employed to the greatest extent that equipment permitted, and that large

forces of ordinary infantry were used, not because of any greater effectiveness, but because the introduction of machinery into war was less than complete. A third group, possibly the largest of the three, is still professionally asleep. It wishes to continue with the same organization and tactics as it used in the World War, or at best make only slight changes in procedure. The views of this group are represented in the practice of giving the new armored divisions only half the anti-aircraft equipment of the German *Panzer* units. Another example of this attitude is found in the report of a general who criticized the excessive movement of troops by truck rather than afoot in the last maneuvers.

In no branch of human endeavor is the lack of technical progress punished more severely than in the art of making war. Yet, paradoxically, no group seems in general more averse to progress than the oligarchy near the top of modern armies. Though the obsolescence of the entire military system of the past has been demonstrated by Hitler, our own army has been late in making a new start, late even in ordering what it needs. Much of its recent progress has been haphazard rather than the result of effort to reach a definite and well-considered goal. Mr. Knudsen does not believe we shall have the equipment for a force of two million men before July, 1944. Will new tactics, more effective organization, a more intelligent High Command, and an entirely new spirit of open-mindedness and progress be present even by July, 1944? The effectiveness of American defense depends upon the answer to this question.

Can Britain Be Stormed?

BY STEFAN TH. POSSONY

EVERYBODY expected Hitler to attempt the invasion of Great Britain last summer. The conditions seemed favorable. At the end of July England had almost no organized army; British fighting forces rescued from Dunkirk had left most of their equipment on the French shore; the R. A. F. was not in good form; the Home Guards, though already drafted, had not yet been organized; and the morale of the British people, who for the first time in centuries faced a serious threat to their own homes, was not of the best. Yet Hitler refrained from attacking. For this he must have had very strong reasons. What were they?

Since it is most unlikely that Hitler held back in the expectation of an early—and advantageous—negotiated peace, we may assume that the reasons were military. Evidently he lacked the military means necessary for the invasion of Great Britain—troops drilled for the specific

purpose and material specially adapted to conditions of war across the Channel. German soldiers had been trained for war in Holland, Belgium, and France. They had been trained on replicas of French and Belgian fortifications constructed in Poland and had learned to attack these efficiently and to conquer them by subtle ruses. They knew how to achieve and how to exploit a break-through and could execute a war of movement. Not only was the German infantry prepared in this specialized manner, but the *Luftwaffe*, the *Panzer* divisions, the parachutists, and the motorized artillery could be employed efficiently only in western Continental Europe. It is to this special training that Germany's lightning victories may be attributed rather than to a qualitative or quantitative superiority of material. In addition the German General Staff had thought out countless stratagems and ruses to make even the strongest positions of

the Allies worthless. Neither such training nor such artfulness can be improvised in a few weeks.

With the fall of France, Germany faced, across the Channel, an enemy of whose defense system it had no special knowledge. This system had to be thoroughly explored; then the tricks had to be thought out; and only after this preparatory work was done could drill be started. It takes many months for soldiers to learn entirely new tactics.

The first invasion plan was to use barges which could be piloted so near to the coast that the soldiers could jump ashore and make a traditional infantry assault. Apparently the Nazis have now abandoned this idea. It was unlikely that the British navy would let a large number of barges go through, and even more unlikely that disembarked infantry could crush the British defenses without the support of heavy arms. Hitler therefore felt constrained to postpone his invasion until he could improve his armaments and his soldiers' training. Otherwise he would have risked a new Gallipoli under dangerous conditions.

So far as weapons were concerned, most of those successfully used on the Continent would not be practicable to cover a landing. The most important weapons required for such a venture are amphibian tanks capable of crossing the Channel under their own power; swift armored barges provided with special runways and cranes for landing heavy material quickly under enemy fire—land tanks, guns, and airport supplies; an important number of speed boats (*E-Boote*) to prevent interference by the British navy; monitors to bring artillery to bear on landing operations; and, of course, airplanes, destroyers, and submarines to cover the flank of the invasion force. Of all these weapons Germany, in July, 1940, had only the *Luftwaffe* in sufficient strength. The production of everything else began only then.

Not much imagination is needed to foretell invasion strategy, once the necessary weapons are ready. The Nazis will attempt to paralyze and disorganize the British defense line by dive-bombing. They will make a feigned or even a real attack of secondary importance, against Ireland or Scotland, in order to start all British forces moving in the wrong direction. Using their entire naval force, including a new 35,000-ton battleship and possibly another ship of the same size, they will risk a sea battle, certainly not with the hope of destroying the British navy, but with the intention of crippling Britain's naval striking power, even if the price is the total sacrifice of the Nazi fleet. By mass use of speed boats they will attempt to neutralize superior British sea power. Such a hope is not quite so silly as it sounds, since rapidly zig-zagging speed boats can be hit by naval artillery only by chance, and can almost never be hit by air bombs; they can therefore easily get close enough to their targets to discharge their two or four torpedoes. Of all surface

warships speed boats probably offer the greatest danger to the British navy. Moreover, it is possible that Hitler has adopted the famous Japanese man-steered torpedo.

If Hitler succeeds in neutralizing the British navy and the R. A. F., then Great Britain must fall back on its coastal defense. This the Germans are confident they can crush with amphibian tanks, monitor gunnery, and dive-bombers. They rely especially on the insufficient caliber of British anti-tank artillery and on the speed and fire concentration of the monitors. Once a bridgehead is established—and it goes without saying that parachutists will play an important role in accomplishing this—once the British fleet is crippled and supply lines are organized, the *Blitzkrieg* can begin, and

it will not be against a strong Maginot Line but against light field works. Having gained a foothold on the British Isles, the Nazis will then have the long-awaited chance to use the overwhelming quantity of material that gave them victory on the Continent.

The situation might be considered very grave if Britain had neither improved nor increased its armaments since July, and if Germany had succeeded in producing all the material it lacked at that time. But these conditions fortunately do not exist. Instead of years of peace devoted exclusively to production of armaments, Germany has had only a brief time for the preparation of specialized material, and its efforts have been hampered by actual warfare. Even if, as is possible, the British blockade and air raids have not reduced the German war production very much, they certainly have not facilitated it. A decrease of the German armament output can therefore be assumed. Moreover, the new implements of war that Germany must now produce are much more complicated than those manufactured in the past. For instance, motors for speed boats, monitors, and amphibian tanks are of completely new design and must be higher-powered by far than even the best airplane motors. The present American experience is proof enough of the kind of bottleneck that may slow up the fabrication of even less complex motors. It is clear that Hitler's industrial situation has deteriorated at a time when his most difficult undertaking still lies ahead.

Disregarding the new planes which both sides may



Drawing by Kelen
A. V. Alexander, Laborite First
Lord of the Admiralty

spring as a surprise in the decisive hour, German numerical superiority in the air has declined. Moreover, the *Luftwaffe* can help invading troops only in daylight operations, and its daylight attacks have been generally turned into smashing and costly defeat by the R. A. F.; the famous Stukas cannot be expected to repeat their earlier exploits. Over British soil they will not only be met by important fighter forces—in France they seldom saw enemy fighters—but by superior planes. Moreover, the British are now accustomed to the noise of dive-bombing. This is very important; French soldiers were not demoralized by the effect of the bombs but by their sirens. The English are too accustomed to them to be stampeded. That means that the Germans probably cannot conquer British positions by the *Luftwaffe* alone, but will be obliged to rely heavily on artillery. This necessity greatly increases the difficulties of invasion, since with only a bridgehead achieved, it will not be easy to bring artillery across the Channel or to organize the transport of bulky artillery supplies.

While no figures are available on the exact quantity of British material on hand, it is known that more than the minimum required for defense is available, and that a large increase is to be expected as soon as American supplies start flowing in. Theoretically, Britain already has sufficient to prevent the Germans from gaining a bridgehead, and certainly sufficient to block a *Blitzkrieg* on land. To this favorable quantitative ratio one must add the fact that most of the British armaments are now much superior in quality to the German. There is danger, however, that Britain lacks the specialized weapons it needs to fight speed boats, armored transports, and amphibian tanks in the Channel. For such targets England needs speed boats similar to those the aggressor will use, though with different equipment. Instead of torpedoes, British boats should carry anti-tank guns of large caliber, heavy machine-guns, and perhaps flame-projectors, and they must be well armored. Such boats would be the only efficient weapon against German invasion tactics.

Against the German navy when it seeks battle, equivalent British units must be used, equipped with mines, depth bombs, and torpedoes. If some of these weapons are lacking, England has developed other useful devices against invasion, such as burning oil released from underwater containers placed along the shore. Should an insufficient number of speed boats compel it to rely on the regular fleet, it will obviously suffer great losses, though there can be no doubt of the navy's ability to deal efficiently with large sea-borne invasion weapons of any kind. Therefore, even if we admit the feasibility of a few German bridgeheads on British soil, these will be established only at very great cost. To achieve them Hitler will not hesitate to sacrifice millions of human lives, including possibly the élite of his army, but such losses will lessen the striking power of the troops ex-

pected to carry on the attack against the defenses of Britain.

Let us examine the situation that will develop if Hitler by one device or another, and against all expectations, succeeds in launching a powerful attack from his bridgeheads. Britain will then be confronted with the danger that its military leadership and tactics will not be a match for German military leadership and tactics. If Britain is strongly armed, this will not matter very much. Successful defense with inferior armaments is, however, not practicable unless intelligence can be substituted for material. Given Britain's lack of medium and heavy tanks, the outlook would be bad if the British General Staff were still clinging to outdated French tactics. But if the British have really learned something, if they can make up for their material inferiority by mental and moral superiority, if they will use the weapons they have more intelligently than they used them in France, the outlook for England is excellent. Fortunately, the British General Staff did learn something in France. To be sure, there is still room for improvement in the British war administration, but Britain's best military brains are now employed at responsible posts, and the Libyan and Albanian campaigns, like the reorganization of the defense of the British Isles, show that British military leaders have finally adapted their ideas and methods to modern conditions.

Resistance to *Panzer* divisions does not necessarily require an equal number of tanks on the defender's side. If the defender has equality, of course no attack will be practicable. If the defender's tank inferiority is very great, he must rely on modern guerrilla tactics. To these the swift but almost blind armored cars are extremely vulnerable, especially when they are going through towns or along highways. Guerrilla tactics make use of natural obstacles, camouflage, explosives, hand grenades, fire, artificial fog. The tanks are attacked from close quarters, not from a distance as in France. Such tactics proved effective in Spain, where the Loyalists were completely without anti-tank artillery. For guerrilla tactics troops must be very well trained and in good condition. The defense must be organized in deep échelons, and the troops must be dispersed all over the country, but always in contact with strong *points d'appui*. If the *Panzer* divisions are continuously attacked by invisible fighters and impeded by numerous traps they will be decimated. The deeper they invade the country the less striking power they retain. Moreover, communications between the *Panzers* and the slower-moving infantry can be cut. Since without the support of tanks, infantry cannot break through well-defended lines, and since tanks without infantry cannot occupy terrain, any cutting off of the *Panzer* divisions is tantamount to stopping the offensive. If the French General Staff had reacted more vigorously when the *poche* of Amiens was quite empty of German

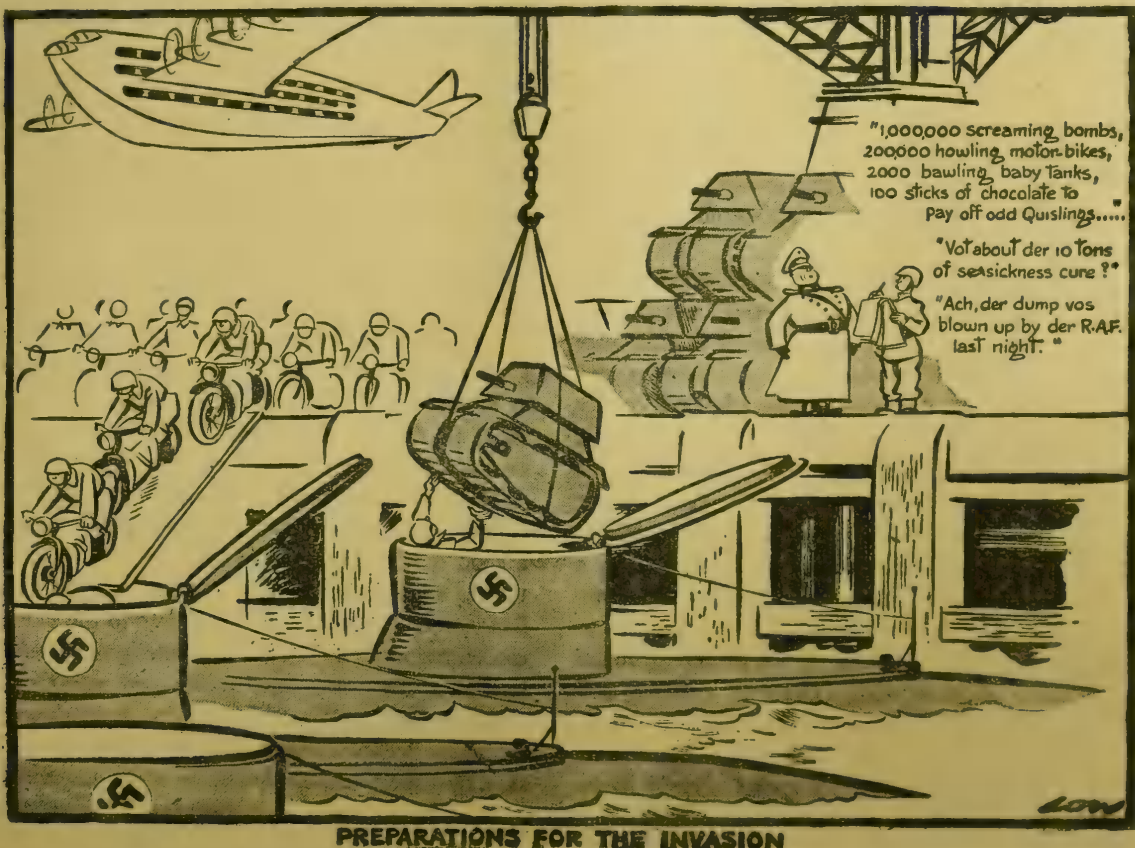
infantry, the Battle of France would have had a different end.

We may be sure that the worst tactical blunders of the French army will not be repeated by the British. The French, it will be remembered, blew up their bridges—often incompletely—but failed to defend the fords or to use the rivers in attempts to split the German forces. Another French mistake was to attack the superior German tanks with inferior French tanks. If the French had used their tanks in masses instead of in dribbles, and not against German tanks but against communications and infantry, they might have obtained results. The French were also handicapped by the immobility of their artillery, a hazard absent in Great Britain, for the British now have very effective mobile and armored guns.

There is a further reason why the military situation in Britain today can be considered much better than it was in France last June. Nearly everywhere French territory was abandoned without the slightest attempt to defend it. French troops retreated to avoid isolation by encirclement, and the French population was neither trained nor armed to defend the ground. By now the British troops have been prepared to continue to fight even in isolation, and the task of the Home Guard is to defend each single village to the last. Hence the Germans will have to storm each town, each village, each bridge, each crossing, and such continuous and stubborn defense will

rapidly weaken the Nazi onslaught. Nor should the effectiveness of the British aviation as a supporting force be left out of the calculation. Thus if the British carry out their defense in the expected manner, the German superiority in material will be overcome.

All this explains why the Nazis are at present in a quandary. On the one hand, their invasion supplies are not ready; on the other, England's power is growing steadily. Thus the longer Hitler waits, the worse his chances grow. If he does not risk invasion in the near future—even with incomplete armaments—he can never win the war. If he does risk invasion and fails, the bulk of his army will be destroyed, and his prestige severely damaged. Only two possibilities are open to him: he can maneuver to avoid the decisive battle—as Frederick the Great did throughout the last years of the Seven Years War—in the hope that a protracted war of attrition will finally lead to a negotiated peace. Or he can cross his Rubicon. He may be expected to choose the latter course, since it is the logical outcome of his temper and psychology. Hitler has customarily escaped from embarrassments by fleeing forward. And his opponents have generally been so surprised by his audacity that they could not react quickly enough to stop him. That is why Hitler firmly believes that what seems least possible is the easiest to achieve. This time, however, the opposition is of a different quality from anything he has met before.



PREPARATIONS FOR THE INVASION

Plaguing Mr. Quisling

BY THEODOR BROCH

SABOTAGE—the word had a sinister meaning in Norway. To us of the coast towns it signified vandalism under protection of the night. That was before April 9. Since then it has had a different definition.

From the moment the German General von Dietl, on that foggy spring morning in Narvik, gave his instructions to the civilian population of the city, it was as if an insulting banner, flaunted before our eyes, incited us to do our duty through sabotage. In the beginning it was comparatively harmless and innocent. The German soldiers of occupation rushed to our stores to buy food, clothing, and souvenirs. We carried most of the stock out the back doors. The German general ordered the Norwegian authorities to surrender all the skis in town. The next day a small pile of little children's skis was heaped behind the courthouse. Promptly the order was repeated. This time out came heavy, loaded mountain skis, the kind famous ski jumpers have flunkies carry for them up the scaffolding to the long ski slides. Once more complaints were issued. The German soldiers were unable to move from the spot; there must be something wrong with the skis. We asked if they had greased them thoroughly; greasing was an important part of proper ski technique. New orders: we were to grease the skis instantly. We requested a short delay so we could consult our experts. The experts chose the greasing least suitable to the damp spring travel. We heard no more.

I recollect a still more innocent case of sabotage, not particularly useful or heroic, but a small assertion of our self-respect. The first German commandant in Narvik was a hard-boiled Prussian Nazi, domineering and stupid. The younger German officers admitted openly that Herr Major Hausel was a bit of a bonehead. On a Sunday a week after the Germans had taken the city a patrol appeared at the courthouse: the Herr Major wished a pair of slippers. We recommended an excellent store which on Monday would be glad to sell him a beautiful pair. The major, however, must have them that day, and I as mayor was requested to send them to him at once. It took us some time, but finally we found some colossal slippers with extremely colorful embroidery. These were sent to the commandant's quarters by a little blond girl who almost dragged them behind her. A moment later the patrol arrived again. The slippers did not fit the major; they were too large. It occurred to me that there was an unmilitary gleam in

the adjutant's eyes. We expressed our sincere regrets and informed him that in this or that street quite a fine supply of shoes and slippers could be found. Perhaps the adjutant himself would try.

I was once condemned to die for sabotage—it concerned some manipulation at the telegraph station—but I was pardoned. For a racial cousin excuses are found. When I was arrested a second time—for both sabotage and espionage—I did not give myself time to investigate the case thoroughly. I disappeared in haste. The Germans did not then have such substantial prisons as they arranged later.

At the first chance to catch my breath after climbing the mountains leading to the Swedish border I reviewed what we had done in Narvik and all over Norway since the invasion. It is possible that such attempts at sabotage have no definite results, but they are useful, nevertheless. Everything we owned they have taken from us—our homes, our country, and our liberty. Only our self-respect remains. We save a little of it that way.

When the German army of occupation, after two months of bitter fighting, had pacified the whole of Norway it introduced a new order of conduct, as it was called. New agents of the Gestapo were brought in—the first contingent had gone down with the Blücher outside the Oscarsborg fort in Oslo fjord. From now on the country's entire producing power must serve the German war machine under the formal direction of the dummies War Commissioner Terboven has succeeded in digging up, eagerly assisted by that irresponsible paranoiac, Vidkun Quisling. The people's will to resist can be expressed now only through sabotage, which I am sure is being carried on not only in Norway but in all the occupied countries. Napoleon himself recognized its force when he said, "Bayonets are effective weapons, but they are not so good to sit on."

The news that filters out from Norway gives evidence that there still is power of resistance in the people. And a good deal of news comes out, for with a coastline of 12,500 miles, the country cannot easily be muzzled. Every week Norwegian men are sent to the newly built concentration camps—students, intellectuals, and labor leaders in the cities, farm youths and workmen in the outlying districts. The university has been closed; demonstrative school children are denied schooling. Occasionally collective punishment is tried: the entire male population in some cities has been subjected to house arrest for demonstrations against the new regime.

There is sabotage in industry. The Germans bought our stock of canned goods with money they had printed in Norway. Not a few of the shipments proved to be spoiled on arrival in Germany because of tiny, almost invisible holes in the cans. Military stores show an increasing tendency to spontaneous combustion, and the cables to telegraph stations and coast fortifications, strangely enough, are continually grounded by storms.

Railroads and bridges suffer from landslides. The railroad to Bergen and other lines used for military transportation to German war harbors and air fields have been most often damaged. Even under normal conditions it is often difficult to keep the Bergen line open during the winter, and whimsical and violent nature seems this year to be especially unfriendly. The Germans have posted permanent military patrols along the railway and have arrested a number of ski runners in the mountains. It will not help. The railway is long; the mountains are high and pathless.

Unpopular teachers have always found Norwegian school children difficult to deal with, and definitely the children do not like the new school books or the new prophets of the Third Reich. The situation is not improved by the fact that Quisling is obliged to employ poorly equipped prophets. The Viennese children who were given shelter in Norway in the twenties remember a good deal from their sojourn, but they are not yet capable of being teachers in Norwegian schools.

If Vidkun Quisling is still alive it is because he carefully keeps himself at more than arm's length from every honest Norwegian fist. Also, the Germans take good care of him, and it is not so simple to lay hands on a dictator as a person on the other side of the world might imagine.

At the moment it is believed that between 300,000 and 350,000 German soldiers are in Norway. Our population is approximately 2,900,000. It should not be necessary to have an army of such strength just to keep the people in subjection. Surely, there are other reasons. Uncertainty about Russia and the need to keep Sweden coerced into passiveness are probably among them, but unquestionably the chief reason is the war against Great Britain. Our country has very useful bases for an invasion, and even if the plan for invasion be abandoned, our long coast will still play an important part in the aerial and submarine blockade. In southern Norway are valuable air fields, and Trondheim and Narvik are equipped to serve as submarine bases.

Because the population is so widely scattered and so easily kept under observation, more systematic sabotage is fraught with the greatest difficulties. In Norway as elsewhere the Germans seek to employ the ancient device—divide and rule. The population is already divided by physical barriers. It is difficult to get from one place to another. All means of communication are under Ger-

man control; private individuals cannot buy benzine, farmers are not permitted to travel to cities without special permission. But also the German are trying to divide the people psychologically and set them against one another. Norwegian deserters are pushed into the foreground. The Norwegian Nazi organization is the only lawful party. The workers' technical organizations have been the object of considerable flirtation, but have been offered, of course, a conqueror's own brand of love—if you do not yield

I take you by force.

They are still permitted to exist, but all initiative in the labor movement is forbidden to them. The anti-capitalist and pacifist spirit in the labor movement is utilized to the utmost, and the material lowering of the standard of living consequent on the occupation is presented as a result of the struggle between capital and labor. The



Vidkun Quisling

Germans pretend to play the part of neutral justice and penalize certain firms which reduce wages or cut down their working staff. If they find a firm of this kind with a Jewish proprietor they think themselves fortunate. Aryans are set up against Jews, but this action will have little effect in Norway if for no other reason than that the Jewish minority constitutes only .06 per cent of the population.

An attempt has been made to set the Norwegian people against the king and the lawful Norwegian government in London. Through their Norwegian loud speakers the Germans shout that the government destroyed the country by refusing the protection of racial allies, that Norway was not properly defended, that the government stole the gold supply and the mercantile marine and then fled. In the face of a biased and hostile press an exiled government will not find it easy to hold its own. All reports from Norway, however, say that the loyalty of the common people toward the government is not crushed and that the king is more popular than ever before. The Gestapo, for instance, notified the Norwegian police that persons wearing coins fastened to their clothing with a pin or suspended from a cord around the neck must be arrested, since this form of propaganda cannot be tolerated. The coins referred to bear a picture of the king with his motto, "All for Norway." During blackouts placards urging unity and perseverance are pasted on walls. Handbills are passed

around, seditious and revolutionary poems and songs go from hand to hand, new arrests are constantly being made.

Sabotage in the occupied countries cannot win the war, but in the long run it can become dangerous. Even

if mechanized weapons decide the first phase of the struggle, psychological conditions may turn the scales in the next. The Norwegian people, by daring to defy its conquerors, has shown and will continue to show that it still has the will to fight.

Puerto Rico's New Deal

BY LOUISE S. BLANCO

Santurce, Puerto Rico, January 10
WHEN the leaders of the Puerto Rican Liberal Party forced Luis Muñoz Marín out of the party in May, 1937, they did not foresee that in 1940 he and his followers would win the elections and the control of the island for the next four years. Nor was this outcome foreseen by Washington officials, who for at least a year before the elections were encouraging the formation of a new party to contest the power of the graft-ridden, strictly party-minded Coalition—made up of so-called Socialists and Republicans—which had been running Puerto Rico. The party fostered by Washington, an alliance of the Liberals with dissident Republicans and Socialists known as the Unification Party, was destined at election time to come in a very bad third.

In 1937 it seemed that Luis Muñoz Marín, whose father, Luis Muñoz Rivera, was the island's most famous politician, had been eliminated from island politics. During the early years of the New Deal he had played a brief but spectacular role in the opposition, with considerable backing from Washington. That backing had, for mysterious reasons, been withdrawn. After this, his fellow-leaders in the Liberal Party, disagreeing with him on matters of policy and jealous of his ascendancy in the party, engineered his withdrawal. In 1937 he was without a party, party machinery, or money.

The swift rise to power of the Popular Democratic Party which he founded at that time would have been extraordinary anywhere; it was the more so in Puerto Rico, where the growth of parties has been slow and has followed a conventional pattern. The first problem which he and a small group of able associates faced was that of achieving official status for the new party. If a party wishes to present candidates on the Puerto Rican ballot it must obtain in each of the island's municipalities signatures equal in number to 10 per cent of the voters in that municipality in the preceding elections. The Popular Democrats did not approach the task through the village bosses and with promises of jobs, but instead appealed directly to the masses and sought to convince them that their vote was not a trifling privilege to be sold to the highest bidder but their only weapon against the ex-

ploitation from which they suffered. "Bread, land, and liberty" was the motto of the new party; its working slogan was "Don't sell your vote."

Years ago Santiago Iglesias had founded the Socialist Party in Puerto Rico as a workingman's party, although it was never genuinely socialist in ideology, and had built it up through unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. Even in its heyday the Socialist Party depended for its strength upon the city workers and party machinery. It had long since become thoroughly bureaucratic and thoroughly conservative. The Popular Democrats sought the support of the "forgotten man" of Puerto Rico, the *jibaro*, or agricultural laborer (once a small landowner, now for the most part landless), isolated by poor roads and the direst kind of poverty in the island's mountainous interior.

An important factor in their campaign was their paper, *Batey*, which they published and distributed free in the most remote districts. They were able to finance it by its advertising, which corresponded to its large circulation; 800,000 copies of the last edition before the elections were distributed. In a country in which the leading newspaper has a circulation of less than 40,000, it is clear that many people, when they received this paper from a party worker, had a newspaper in their hands for the first time. Party workers drove through the country, rode horseback for miles where cars could not go, and finally continued the task of distribution on foot. In their speaking campaign Muñoz Marín and his associates showed the same thoroughness. They spoke not only in cities and towns but in the mountains, where they addressed small groups of *jibaros* summoned from their hundreds of scattered huts.

Reports reaching the capital from the various districts of the island indicated the effectiveness of the Popular Party's campaign, and in the last months before the November elections the Coalition, in spite of confident declarations, showed signs of nervousness. Nevertheless, the consensus of opinion in San Juan was that in the end the *jibaro* would sell his vote to the candidate who had money to pay for it; it was believed that the temptation of a few dollars, or of some articles of clothing, would

be too great for people of such utter poverty. Only Muñoz Marín and his Popular Democrats were firm in the conviction that the Puerto Rican masses this time would not sell their votes. They did not. Many picturesque stories went around, some of them undoubtedly true, about the way in which large sums of Unification and Coalition money went begging.

The last weeks of the campaign were marked by the usual colorful effervescence of a Puerto Rican election period, but the elections were perfectly orderly. They gave the Popular Democrats control of the Senate by a scant majority—ten "Populares" out of nineteen seats—and, accordingly, the presidency of the Senate. The Coalition, however, still has numerical superiority in the House, having won nineteen seats as against seventeen for the Popular Democrats. Here the three Unification members hold the balance of power, and while they may eventually go over to the Populares because of their longstanding hostility to the Coalition, present indications are that two of them will vote with the Coalition for the time being, thus giving it control of the House. The Resident Commissionership in Washington remains firmly in the hands of the Coalition, having been won by its present incumbent, Bolívar Pagán.

The program of the new party stresses social justice and includes many economic and social reforms. The issue of the island's status was subordinated to the necessity for Western Hemisphere defense. The platform expressed a preference, however, for independence. Among its planks are enforcement of the five-hundred-acre law, establishment of agricultural cooperatives, a readjustment of taxes in favor of small property owners, legislation against absenteeism and the coastwise shipping laws, and thorough educational reform.

The Popular Democrats face many difficulties: they lack absolute control; the popular composition of the party causes a scarcity of persons prepared to hold office; their projected reforms are certain to encounter intense opposition from entrenched interests. Somewhat dangerous, also, is the large number of new adherents which their unexpected victory created over night, adherents who do not really sympathize with their purposes. A great obligation is owed to the long-suffering Puerto Rican masses, who responded so admirably to the first respectful and intelligent appeal made to them. Only an exemplary administration can repay the faith and sacrifices of the *jibaros*. A poor record in office would turn the party's chief weapon, the newly awakened sense of civic duty, against itself.

In order to carry out their program, Marín and his associates will need whole-hearted support from Washington, an indispensable factor in the success of any Puerto Rican party. Since their social and political aims are similar to those of the New Deal, it is not too unlikely that they will get it.

In the Wind

A STUDENT recently visited the New York office of Verne Marshall's "No Foreign War" Committee and asked a member of the office staff "what form of democracy" the committee wanted to preserve. The reply was that he might read Lawrence Dennis to get the answer. The same person said the committee didn't consider England a democracy because Ernest Bevin, a Laborite, was "running" the country.

A FEW WEEKS ago the New York *Times* published a list of campaign contributions to the Democratic and Republican parties. A gift of \$2,000 to the Republicans from "Thomas J. Watson, New York City," was listed. A \$2,500 gift to the Democrats from "Thomas J. Watson, New York City," was also listed.

MOST PRO-BRITISH MANIFESTOS now current are signed by Ellery Sedgwick, retired editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Mr. Sedgwick still has not indicated whether he has changed his mind about General Franco, for whom he did such valuable tub-thumping during the Spanish war.

DAN GILLMOR, publisher of the magazine *Friday*, is branching out. He has just bought *Popular Psychology Guide* and *Silver Streak Comics*, two pulps with an aggregate circulation of about 200,000.

SOCIAL JUSTICE, bidding for labor support, now plays up Philip Murray as a "Catholic gentleman" and presses the theme that Sidney Hillman is a "pro-Soviet Russian Jew." Thus Hillman is now the pet target of both the *Daily Worker* and the *Coughlinites*. Incidentally, Brooklyn Christian Fronters are planning a big celebration over the dropping of the conspiracy charges against several of their members.

WHEN A PRESSMAN upset eight cases of type, the *Japanese Weekly Times*, published in California, suspended publication for a week. The publisher decided it would take that much time to "unpie" a couple of hundred thousand ideographs.

BULLETINS ON Chaplin's "The Dictator": Mexico has let it be shown, Argentina has firmly banned it, Chile will permit a censored version. For Argentines special excursions are being run across the River Plate to Colonia, Uruguay, where the film is playing—despite Italian protests.

A WASHINGTON STORY in the New York *Times* on efforts to get aid for Spanish anti-fascists has aroused some vigorous protests. The story was headlined, "Ask Aid for Spanish Reds," although the personnel of the committee seeking the aid is not even faintly red.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Rookie Unionists

"**I**T'S a racket," the boy said on the train. He had been home for a day from the rush of work in constructing the army camp. "You have to pay a couple of dollars a day till you get your dues paid. Some fellows don't mind paying it because even after they pay it they're making more than they ever did before. But they don't care anything about belonging to the union. Most of them are going back to the farm after this thing is over. We don't want to be in any union. We could use those bucks. But we got to pay 'em if we want to keep our jobs."

As far as he knew, there wasn't any real racket. Some folks said that fellows were kicked out after they got their dues paid so others could be taken in. He didn't know what happened to the money. But he thought there must be a lot of it.

"We just pay," he said; "we don't give a damn about she union."

Naturally where so huge a volume of men is crowding into little towns beside which big camps, or big plants, are growing, there is a lot of loose talk about union rackets. The whole business moves so fast that not even old union men can always be sure what is happening. Old conservatives who never did like the unions speak about increasing crookedness with new confidence, but few of them present evidence. Unions in the building trades in some boom towns have grown as rapidly as the defense projects. In one town the normal membership of the carpenters' union was 50; it passed 1,000 within three months. Others may have grown more rapidly still. In unions experiencing such a growth, under all sorts of local leaders, in all parts of the country, almost anything can happen. A man traveling gets the impression that almost everything has happened.

Beyond question in some of the quickly grown defense centers union leaders have gone to great pains and distances to secure for the project skilled men of the types needed. Certainly, also some local unions, in enrolling men, have seemed to take a good deal more interest in their dues than in their skills. There has been more confusion, as would be expected, in little towns where the whole system of collective bargaining was weak and insignificant before the boom hit them than in cities where long-existing organization had created experienced lead-

ers able to handle the terrific expansion that has occurred in the unions in defense industries as well as in the plants and yards.

The situation undoubtedly creates a widespread possibility of rackets in unions. That such rackets do exist no sensible friend of labor would deny. The charge has even come from old labor men in some cases. But more ominous to me than the questionable practices of the unions is the threat to unionism in the future involved in their present swift expansion, particularly in the areas around the government's own rising camps. There under the government's protection the workers from the country feel little need for organization's aid and figure the cost of union dues in terms of the additional pigs they might have been able to buy with the money when they went back home.

And not all of them are going to stay back on the farm. However skilled or unskilled they were when they went to the camps, they will be skilled craftsmen, so certified, when they finish the jobs there. Necessarily apprentice standards have had to crack under the demand for workers. Later the farms will be full of craftsmen ready, when crops are poor, to move on the jobs in the towns and cities. They will have been union certified, but many of them will not be willing to continue to pay union dues.

In this new body of trade unionists the men are not unionists by conviction or training. The unions into which they go are too big and unwieldy to spend much time on their union education. Many of the men also go so far by automobile from their jobs to the places where they sleep that they have neither time nor inclination to hear union talk or to participate in union affairs. In a real sense many of the new members of the building-trades unions are people who have little knowledge and no interest in the organizations with which they have quickly become connected.

It is hard to see what the unions can do to prevent such swift growth as expands their membership rolls but progressively destroys the cohesion of conviction within them. The growth can be less toward strength than toward meaninglessness. There will undoubtedly be demands for investigations. Even more greatly needed by the country and the unions is prompt and sufficient action to direct organization so that there shall be a growth in intelligence and not merely in bulk.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Red Dragon of Wales

OWEN GLENDOWER. By John Cowper Powys. Simon and Schuster. Two Volumes. \$5.

IF THE neatly boxed two volumes of "Owen Glendower" do not quite live up to their promise, it is certainly not because of any lack of romantic glamour in the subject: that fifteenth-century rebel-hero who hoisted the banner of the red dragon for Welsh independence and, allying himself with the mighty Percys of Northumberland, shook the English throne under its usurping occupant, Henry Bolingbroke.

Largely through the eyes of young Rhisiart (in English, Richard), Glendower's cousin and for a time his secretary, we perceive the great-souled Welsh chieftain, moved by a prophecy of Iolo Goch the Bard, gathering his forces and defying the King; marrying his daughter to Sir Edmund Mortimer, whom he had taken prisoner in the Battle of Bryn Glas; striving to weld the nation together in the face of a dismal curse which long before had foretold that as long as he waged war and destruction against his enemies he would succeed, but that as soon as he tried to build a permanent, peaceful edifice out of his conquests disaster would engulf him. Instead of the pompous old charlatan who in Shakespeare's "King Henry IV" boasts that he can "call spirits from the vasty deep" and that at his birth "the frame and huge foundation of the earth shook like a coward," he is here presented as a magnetic personality with a fatal strain of mysticism in his make-up, a dabbler in magic arts, to be sure, but one whose real sorcery consists not so much in necromancy as in his ability to "exteriorize" his soul while his body remains in a state of cataleptic trance (readers of Mr. Powys's "Wolf Solent" will recall that young man's "mythology"). One feels from the very first that Glendower is a man fated to perform mighty deeds with a tragic end, like the ancient Celts of whom it was said, "They went forth to battle, and they always fell."

Considering, however, that I had anticipated a genuine literary thrill in the treatment of this dazzling figure by so distinguished a stylist, psychologist, and antiquary as Mr. Powys, the book disappointed me. Despite a plethora of murders, feuds, burning loves, alarms and excursions, it seemed to me unconscionably long-winded; and on top of a style which is unaccountably labored, especially in the first volume (where the central romantic figure is constantly referred to as "our hero" or "our young friend"!), it is overlaid with a dank miasma of Celtic mysticism which seems to emanate more from the mind of the author than from the circumstances of the story, even though the drama is played out by Welshmen against a backdrop of the very hills and forests of Arthurian legend, of Bran and Myfanwy and the chimerical heroes and heroines of the "Mabinogion." Part of this crepuscular haze arises from the fact that Mr. Powys, himself steeped in Welsh history and folklore, strews his narrative prodigally with dark allusions to bygone Cambrian celebrities without a vowel to their names, the symbolical significance

of which cannot but mystify the overwhelming majority of modern readers.

On the credit side, he has effected an astounding reconstruction of the spirit and trappings of a turbulent epoch. The Peasants' Revolt was only a few years buried in the scrap heap of time; Richard II had recently been deposed and, probably, murdered; the buds were already ripening which were to bloom as the blood-spattered roses of Lancaster and York; two popes, one at Rome and one at Avignon, angled for the allegiance of the Catholic world, while Wycliffe's Lollards proclaimed, even in the midst of flames, the hypocrisy of the clergy, and the strident voice of the Renaissance drowned out the death-rattle of the Middle Ages—already that lethal middle-class weapon, the long bow, was leveling the ancient proud chivalry of the sword. Where Shakespeare, in his two "Henry IV" plays, merely stages a spectacle of martial pageantry as a background for the clowning of Jack Falstaff (who appears in "Owen Glendower" under his true name of Sir John Oldcastle), Mr. Powys has woven the myriad and many-colored threads of history into a shimmering tapestry which, for all its faults, has a tragic beauty and grandeur that few historical novels of today can match.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Economics in a Vacuum

MONETARY PROPOSALS FOR SOCIAL REFORM. By Margaret G. Myers. Columbia University Press. \$2.25.

SOMEONE has said that bourgeois economists are at their best when they are criticizing each other. This is not quite accurate; they are at their best when they are criticizing petty-bourgeois economists. In "Monetary Proposals for Social Reform" Miss Myers has provided a neat illustration of the truth of this proposition.

The attitude of the petty bourgeois toward capitalism is fundamentally ambivalent. In private property and "individual initiative" capitalism has a good side; in poverty and economic insecurity it has a bad side. The problem always is how to retain the good and eliminate the bad. Since it never occurs to him that the two go together, like the two sides of a coin, he sets out to find out what feature of capitalism is responsible for the bad aspects. And the chances are ten to one that he ends up as a land reformer or a monetary reformer or some combination of the two.

At this point the orthodox economist appears on the scene. The orthodox economist is sure that there would be nothing wrong with capitalism if people only wouldn't abuse it all the time. Capitalism is like an individual who gets sick only when he flies in the face of sound rules of health. Hence the orthodox economist proceeds, with great gusto and devastating logic, to expose all the inconsistencies in the petty-bourgeois position and to conclude triumphantly that the proposed remedy would only serve to make matters worse than they already are.

This is the role which Miss Myers has assumed in the present work. She selects for examination three of the best known among twentieth-century monetary reformers: Silvio Gesell, Frederick Soddy, and Major Douglas. (Gesell was also a land reformer, but Miss Myers neglects this aspect of his teachings.) She then proceeds in a cold-blooded and workmanlike fashion to dissect the three gentlemen, to demonstrate that each looked only at what he wanted to see and, in addition, was full of contradictions and inconsistencies. The job is done with deftness and dispatch; at the end none of the three reformers has an intellectual leg to stand on.

But if Miss Myers shows the strong side of orthodox economics in her polemic against the monetary reformers, she just as definitely reveals the weak side in her own closing chapter. Here we are treated to a lecture on sound commercial banking, the necessity of interest based on the phenomenon of time preference, the evil consequences of deficit financing and government paper money, and so on. In her theorizing, full employment is blandly assumed—otherwise we should have to ask Miss Myers whether a time preference exists for present goods that aren't produced over future goods that aren't produced! And finally the conclusion is reached that "no manipulation of money and banking can right all the wrongs created by wars and tariffs and exchange controls." This is always the last word of the orthodox economist. The trouble with economics is—politics!

As against this position the petty-bourgeois reformer at least has the merit of recognizing that there is something wrong with the economic system itself. So long as this is true he will continue to attract followers from among the masses of the people, who are more impressed with their own experience than with the logic of economic orthodoxy. It follows that the *effective* answer to the petty-bourgeois reformer must be sought in an entirely different direction.

PAUL M. SWEZEY

A Realistic Utopia

THE CITY OF MAN: A DECLARATION ON WORLD DEMOCRACY. By Herbert Agar, Frank Aydelotte, G. A. Borgese, Hermann Broch, Van Wyck Brooks, Ada L. Comstock, William Y. Elliott, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Christian Gauss, Oscar Jaszi, Alvin Johnson, Hans Kohn, Thomas Mann, Lewis Mumford, William Allen Neilson, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Gaetano Salvemini. The Viking Press. \$1.

READERS of Anatole France probably remember how Gretau, the tall Nordic, knocked down his short, dark-skinned fellow-creature to take his land, and how the monk Bulloch, replying to the repining prayer of Saint Maël, gently observed: "Be careful, Father, what you call murder and theft are essentially war and conquest, the sacred foundation of empires, the source of all virtue and human grandeur. No right but the conqueror's is to be respected, for it alone demands respect." France wrote satirically, but Hitler is in earnest when he proclaims his respect for the successful highwaymen of history.

In this declaration a galaxy of brilliant scholars and think-

ers, Americans like Alvin Johnson and William Neilson, refugees like Salvemini and Borgese, all of them gallant fighters for freedom, accept the cave man's challenge. Some critics might say: Why waste mental chivalry on an enemy who takes intelligence to be a defection from man's divine mission? In striving to continue Plato's endeavors did it not occur to them that Oxenstierna's familiar remark about the little wisdom which rules the world has proved more realistic than the recurrent desire to have it ruled by philosopher-guardians?

I do not think any of the signatories hoped to convince the rowdies of Europe. This new gospel of democracy redefines its fundamental idea as "humanism in theocracy and rational theocracy in universal humanism." No one has put it more clearly than the President of the United States when he said, "Most of us, regardless of what church we belong to, believe in the spirit of the New Testament." Certainly democracy is a faith, and "this common prayer of democracy militant . . . was anticipated by sages and saints of all ages."

On an ascending line of scholarly thoughts clad in poetic expression the Declaration arrives at a new doctrine of democracy in which the Bill of Rights is supplemented by a Bill of Duties and "morals will have the primacy over economics." Its idealism is far from being utopian. Without idealism democracy could not have been born in the Greek cities, or reborn in Cromwell's camp. Rousseau and not the Revolution ushered in French democracy, and the Gettysburg Address could not have been delivered without idealism. However, idealism like patriotism is not enough. If all who nowadays write or talk of democratic ideology had converted their energy into action for the defense or the establishment of democracy, literary and rhetorical accomplishments would be dispensable.

This is why the indorsers of the Declaration suggest the study of four issues as a preliminary to successful action. The first is that of freedom "under a constitutional order so that the citizen may be protected not only against the threat of the external tyrant but against the treason of his fellow-citizen as well." The aim of education is another. In economics, where ethics is also the leading principle, the "calamitous circle of capital-communism as enemy brothers or as mutual accomplices must be broken—economic freedom and economic justice must be reconciled." The last issue calls for a supra-national order the laws of which "cannot be enforced with judges but no sheriffs."

A reviewer less sympathetic with these conclusions might ask: Where are the masons in the various countries strong enough to build the cities of men from which the City of Man is going to emerge? But I am convinced of the truth of President Garfield's words, "Ideas are the great warriors of the world"; and a great warrior is likely to find the armies he needs. If ideas are right, events are bound to follow them. In spite of the occasionally enraptured overtones of its style the Declaration is not the wishful thought of a Dreamland. As a beacon of faith in the blackout of violence it illuminates the way of reason which leads beyond the rationale of materialism. Facts may dim the vision of men; they may prove temporarily incongruous with this City of the Future. But as a French wit said, "*Tant pis pour les faits.*"

RUSTEM VAMBERY

English Compromise

TRADITION AND ROMANTICISM: STUDIES IN ENGLISH POETRY FROM CHAUCER TO YEATS.

By B. Ifor Evans. Longmans, Green and Company. \$2.

"ROMANTICISM is disease; classicism is health." So Goethe; and too many after him. T. S. Eliot's definition is not much better: "The difference between classicism and romanticism is the difference between the complete and the fragmentary, the adult and the immature, the orderly and the chaotic." With Eliot and the neo-humanists, indeed, the antithesis becomes a convenient method of rejecting large sections of literature. Eliot ostensibly investigates the English "tradition"; actually he equates classicism with tradition and rejects as romantic what does not conform. From the opposite point of view the romantic critics do exactly the same thing: Poe throws out most poetry written before the nineteenth century, while Rimbaud, who in criticism as in poetry carried his theories to their logical conclusion, succeeds in rejecting the whole of French literature. This will not do. A tradition, if it is anything at all, is the whole of a literature, better, in this case, the whole of European literature; you cannot select a number of works to suit your personal tastes and label it "the tradition."

If the terms classical and romantic are to be retained in literary criticism—and they do seem to express an important and recognizable distinction—they must be clearly defined, and in such a way that both can be included in the tradition. In this connection the present book of Professor Evans performs two essential services: investigating afresh the English tradition as a whole, it shows that the two attitudes are inextricably mixed in the work of most poets—in this respect English poetry is much less "pure" than French and has succeeded in effecting a kind of "compromise"; and it provides a basis from which it would seem possible to formulate a workable definition.

Coleridge, as so often, seems to have put his finger on the root of the distinction, without using the terms, when he spoke of the "objective poetry of the ancients and the subjective mood of the moderns." Classical poetry is objective in that it tends to deal with "typical human action," "normal experience"; it is "complete" and "orderly"—in Eliot's phrase—and ruled by "reason" and "judgment" in the eighteenth-century sense because its implicit reference is to a definite system of social relationships; it is "public" and intelligible without reference to its creator. Romantic poetry on the other hand is subjective in that it tends to deal with the individual, idiosyncratic, "abnormal" experience of the poet himself or with a character or action with which he can identify himself; it is sometimes "fragmentary" and "chaotic" because it lacks the support and check of a definite system of social relationships; frequently it is "private" and unintelligible without reference to its creator.

This definition, which seems to emerge from Professor Evans's discussion, avoids reference both to the beliefs of the poet and to any religious, moral, or social system. This is as it should be, for the beliefs of a poet are irrelevant to a judgment of his poetry: much modern criticism condemns the Romantics because of the inadequacy or childishness of their theories. But their poetry is not the equivalent of their

theories: poetry is not something else—religion or morals or science, though many critics who assert this in words seem to deny it in practice.

Perhaps the chief advantage of this definition, however, is that it does not make the two attitudes mutually exclusive—as any definition in terms of belief necessarily does. The compromise, the almost inextricable mingling of classical and romantic elements in the English tradition from Chaucer through Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden to Wordsworth and Keats, Eliot, and Yeats, is the theme of Professor Evans's book, and he shows how the practice of the poets has frequently contradicted their theory, how the attempt of literary historians to erect rigid schools and movements breaks down the moment it is pressed, and, most interestingly, how the poets of the early nineteenth century who carried the romantic attitude farther than any other poets in English were constantly engaged in an effort to restore their balance.

Professor Evans, who of course does not possess the brilliance or fruitfulness of major critics like Eliot, provides an excellent corrective for their aberrations, and he has done a real service in elucidating aspects of the English tradition which are so frequently overlooked or misinterpreted, and in supplying a less tendentious definition of two easily abused but useful terms.

HILARY SUMNER-BOYD

Good Enough to Be True

HE LOOKED FOR A CITY. By A. S. M. Hutchinson. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$2.50.

IN THE period that is best known to us—the period between two great wars—goodness in literature has rather gone out of fashion. Our historians and biographers have debunked: This fellow, you know, was really pretty much of a stuffed shirt. Our novelists have Told All: If human beings break all of the Ten Commandments, and we can be sure they do, let us say so; man is a nasty, crawling, stealing, lying, intemperate, fornicating little beast, and it is the duty of a novelist to admit it, even to insist on it.

Mr. Hutchinson has started with a different premise. His story of a simple—almost simple-minded—undistinguished English vicar during the first thirty years or so of the twentieth century is a chronicle of a good man. He believes, first of all, in the teachings of Jesus Christ: God is Love and Men are Brothers. After some years of hard work in a slum parish, he attains his heart's desire, an upper-middle-class flock in the genteel country, a commodious house with a garden, grass for his four young ones to play about on, work, to be sure, but work among people he knows and likes. It is the vicar's first and inevitable impulse to thank God for his new situation. Such a man, one might think, should have his rewards. But Mr. Hutchinson has tried him sorely. The new parishioners are worldly, snobbish, suspicious, perfectly willing for their vicar to labor in their vineyard as hard and as long as he likes provided he doesn't bother them too much or complain about his pay. The four children are by no means always a solace to their father. Out of principle the older son becomes a conscientious objector to war and dies in prison for it; out of want of principle the younger daughter is killed in an automobile accident. A waif whom the vicar and his wife

have taken into their family and who grows to be friend and sister to them experiences all the horrors of war-time prejudice—she is a German. And the vicar's sufferings at this intolerance are only a little less than her own. A hard life, in short, in which the bad days outnumber the good. But oddly enough, for the vicar, virtue does provide its compensation. His children hurt him but do not fail to return his love for them. His parishioners are irritated at his refusal to be up to date—and cannot fail to pay him an affectionate if grudging respect, and even admiration. Since he is not clever, he merely does his duty, and the fact that he has done it is reward enough.

As a novelist Mr. Hutchinson has many faults. His style is stiff and formal. He is sentimental. He overdraws his characters. One of the vicar's daughters is addleheaded and lightminded beyond credence; the other is an equally incredible dominating prig and bore. But they are individuals, even though their individuality is overdone. And the vicar's patience, his forbearance, his charity, even his likable stupidity are not overdone. It is the power of goodness for its own sake that makes an often unskilful novel alive and interesting.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN

Personal History

I MUST HAVE LIBERTY. By Isabel de Palencia. Longmans, Green and Company. \$3.

ONE day, during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, the *chulos* of Madrid were given a perfectly stupendous opportunity for the exercise of their indelicate wit. A procession of pregnant women, mostly of the classes that later supported fascism, solemnly paraded before the royal palace, as a pledge to the Bourbon in the name of the unborn. More than any other story in Isabel de Palencia's absorbing book, that incident defines the temper of conservative Spain toward what was called the feminine question. True, the old tradition was already crumbling when such women as Isabel Oyarzabal, later Señora Palencia, and Constanca de la Mora made their protests. Yet something of what an intelligent woman had to face if she desired to live freely is described in "I Must Have Liberty."

Half ■ Scot, Isabel Oyarzabal was born into a semi-aristocratic family of Málaga. The usual convent education was given her, and this she describes without irony or scorn. She refused to enter a religious order when urged to do so and determined to earn her own living. In Madrid she founded a woman's magazine, entered upon a short-lived theatrical career, and eventually became internationally known as a lecturer on Spanish culture.

Throughout this middle period the circumstances of her life gave the author increasingly close acquaintance with the mocking injustices suffered by the poorer classes. Nevertheless, as she says, she still looked upon the social problem from the old standpoint of charity. It was not theoretical speculation that changed her outlook, or study, but contact with the true center of progress, the Casa del Pueblo, the very heart of the real Madrid. There, in the trade-union and Socialist headquarters, she met men and women whose knowledge of home and foreign affairs far exceeded hers. It was

natural that under the republic she should be sent to Geneva as a delegate to the International Labor Office. Finally, when the Spanish Republic was fighting for its life, she was appointed ambassador to Sweden and soon after *chargé d'affaires* in Finland. Perhaps the most moving part of the book is its conclusion, in which Isabel de Palencia expresses her profound gratitude for safe harbor in Mexico.

"I Must Have Liberty" often throws new light upon Spanish and international problems by means of sound appreciations of people and concentrated versions of things one had thought one understood. More striking and perhaps more important is the way in which the author admirably recreates the prevailing atmosphere of the Spanish political scene, especially in the chapters covering the dictatorship of Primo. It is a book of deep passion and characteristic dignity, quite unmarred by grandiloquence.

RALPH BATES

Technology and Power

THE ECONOMICS OF FORCE. By Frank Munk. George W. Stewart. \$2.

TO CALL the present struggle a phase of world revolution without carefully defining revolution is to play into the hands of the dictators, who would like nothing better than to convince the democracies that totalitarianism is the inevitable pattern of the future. If the people of the democracies can be persuaded that this is true, and start quarreling among themselves about the relative merits of fascism, Nazism, and communism, the dictators will conquer the democracies and argue later about division of the spoils.

There is undoubtedly throughout the world a movement of revolutionary social and economic change which has been brought about chiefly by the rapid development of technology. Mr. Munk points out with disturbing clarity the ways in which this general revolutionary situation has facilitated the seizure of power by clever, ruthless men with ability to exploit popular dissatisfaction. And he piles up an overwhelming body of evidence to prove that once a group of unscrupulous men has obtained power, modern technology gives them opportunities unprecedented in history for extending it, until they can be dislodged only by a superior external force. Moreover, the logic of the dictators' position compels them to go on extending their power, in the domestic economy of their own countries and in foreign conquest, until they are completely victorious or completely defeated. As the author puts it, "Totalitarianism is more than a system of government: it is a permanent, world-wide, organized conspiracy. As long as it continues, other countries are sleeping on dynamite."

The nature of this conspiracy has been clearly outlined by Hitler as a series of steps which first destroy the victim's will to resist and then overwhelm him by force. The danger of the democracies is exemplified in a phrase which has been heard often during the last year: "Before we decide to fight, we must know what we are fighting for." Certainly, before the United States decides to fight, or even to give substantial aid to one side against the other, we must be convinced that our own liberty is involved in the struggle. But if each indi-

vidual citizen is to base his decision on his attitude toward the domestic policies of the party in power, if we are to join in defense only on our own private terms, then the division which is part of the technique of the dictators has already been accomplished.

Munk covers too much ground in his short book to prove every point in detail, but he is restrained in statements of fact, and the documentation is convincing without being oppressive. His own personal experience as a Czech who did not escape from his country until after the German occupation of Prague adds conviction to his terrifying picture of German methods of preparing an invasion and then completely exploiting a conquered nation. Totalitarianism, as he presents it, is not a system which brings a new economic order, but the Nazis are thoroughly efficient in using the chaos they create for their own advantage.

The style is clear and straightforward; the author needs no literary apology either for writing in a foreign language or for being an economist. Some of the material will be familiar to most readers, but the cumulative effect is unique. The fundamental point, convincingly demonstrated, is that we no longer live in a world where nations struggle for economic power. Instead, economic power has become a weapon in the struggle for naked power within nations and throughout the world.

CHARLES E. NOYES

From Austria to Vermont

SECOND WIND. By Carl Zuckmayer. Introduction by Dorothy Thompson. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

CARL ZUCKMAYER has one marked advantage over the many German intellectuals and writers now in foreign lands who seem like mechanics without their tools. Apart from being a playwright with an impressive record of success, he has his deepest roots in the soil, whether it be Austria or the rolling country of his newly found home in Vermont.

Zuckmayer comes from the Rhine, and the play that made him famous overnight, starting an epidemic of laughter all over Germany, "The Jolly Vineyard," expresses to perfection the peculiar and inimitable brand of Rhineland humor, lusty and hilarious, far removed from slapstick. But he has usurped, so to speak, the Nazis' sacred "blood and soil" motif; his was a sense of humor that they so utterly lacked—and that made them virtually froth at the mouth whenever his name was mentioned.

Despite the Nordic-Germanic, Celtic, and Latin strains within him, Zuckmayer has always regarded himself in character, language, manner, education, and inclination as a German, despite contemporary racial concepts. That he, a Catholic, had a drop of Jewish blood in his veins played no part in his consciousness. But he was only too forcefully reminded of it by ensuing developments.

"Second Wind" does not proceed in chronological sequence. It flashes back and forth, from the author's arrival in this country to his grueling World-War experiences; from his beloved Henndorf in Austria and the rise of the new barbarian order to the hectic days of the inflation and post-

inflation period of the twenties, which stand out in high relief as the best part of the book. He experienced privation at close range, at times selling cocaine on street corners and acting as a tout for night clubs to keep alive. But these were nevertheless the most exciting and creative years of his life. He participated in experimental theater projects and magazines in Kiel and Munich, helped discover new talent and developed his own. It was inevitable that he should be drawn to Berlin, then a cultural and theatrical center of highest standards, with Max Reinhardt and Leopold Jessner at the peak of their careers.

Zuckmayer has remained essentially a playwright, though he has many books and poems to his credit. According to his own testimony, he did not fully recognize the powers at work, as indeed most people failed to grasp their momentum. His is primarily an analytical, not a revolutionary mind. It was only at the grave of Oedoen von Horváth, the promising young writer who was killed by a freak accident on the Champs Elysées, that Zuckmayer began to sense the need for a new creative force. Of the funeral procession he writes:

All the writers and artists in exile in Paris went along. There were many fine, significant, outstanding heads and minds. . . . Yet there was behind them no power, no really unifying idea, no tangible concrete will, nay, not even a common faith. What bound us together was only our common fate, our common knowledge of threatened and even lost values.

It was here that Zuckmayer resolved that bemoaning a lost fate is not enough if something new is to be created, that those who wish to transform the world have to transform themselves first. It is this realization and the affirmation of life and its positive reserves that give the book its value.

RUTH NORDEN

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IN BRIEF

THE DONKEY INSIDE. By Ludwig Bemelmans. Illustrated by the author. The Viking Press. \$3.

The incomparable (literally) Bemelmans fuses the notebooks of trips to several South American countries into a composite picture and labels it Ecuador, the epitome of the Latin American continent. Or at any rate of such features of that continent as are calculated to amuse and edify the readers of the *New Yorker*, *Town & Country*, and other not too profound contemporaries. Indeed, it will amuse anyone with a philosophical view of human nature. Like the illustrations, the text does not belong to the school of photographic realism, but of logical, superbly humorous, and enchantingly colored impressionism, which is somehow right as far as it goes—not quite as far as to be a contribution to the Good Neighbor policy.

COUSIN HONORE. By Storm Jameson. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

Honoré Burckheim, sturdy peasant-blooded owner of a large Alsatian ironworks, is the central figure of this novel, which pursues a thread of family intrigue through the web of Franco-German relations between 1871 and 1939. Somewhat sketchily, because of the jumping of broad time-gaps in the story, the author draws a composite picture of the qualities that led to France's recent downfall and of those that give promise of an eventual reawakening.

ZERO HOUR: A SUMMONS TO THE FREE. By Stephen Vincent Benét, Erika Mann, McGeorge Bundy, William L. White, Garrett Underhill, Walter Millis. Farrar and Rinehart. \$1.

This book, replete with the urgency of the crisis which confronts us, is all the more impressive for the divergent backgrounds of its six authors. All the contributions are essential reading, and all the writers—with the exception of Miss Mann, who is a shade over-elaborate—make their points swiftly and economically. Ironically enough, none of them appears to know that a book of exactly the same title, "Zero Hour," was written by the Anglo-Austrian journalist Richard Freund in 1937 and published in both England and this country. Its warning of the imminent outbreak of war was received with polite academic interest.

MY BOYHOOD IN SIAM. By Kumut Chandruang. The John Day Company. \$2.

This is apparently the first book about Siam (Thailand) to be written in English by a Siamese without the aid of a professional ghost. It is a naive story, clumsy in the use of our alien language, but none the less it portrays, at times divertingly, the pleasure and pathos of life in an upper-class Siamese home. Priests and princes flick across its pages, delightful criminals, wise and contented peasants, but the characters most memorable are those of the author's immediate family, his father's two wives and his two Old Gran's single husband, the redoubtable Pin. The fairs, weddings, funerals, sports of Siam are superficially described, and young Chandruang's impressions of America seem chosen more because they are quaint than acutely perceptive. Disappointingly, his book says little to illumine the Thailand of today's bad news.

TRAIL OF AN ARTIST NATURALIST. The Autobiography of Ernest Thompson Seton. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.75.

It is perhaps his training as a naturalist which causes the famous author, artist, and lecturer to go into such minute detail about himself, everybody he knew well or was related to, everything which happened to them (especially *him*), and the scenes amid which it happened. A great deal of it is quite enthralling, especially the description of the Canadian wilds in which Seton grew up. The photographs and illustrations of and by the author, are lavish. The book is a mine of interest; and yet, although one expects an autobiography to deal with its subject, one is left with the feeling that this one talks too much about Ernest Thompson Seton.

GREENLAND LIES NORTH. By William S. Carlson. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

This book parallels in several ways Peter Freuchen's generally superior "Arctic Adventure." William Carlson with one companion went to Upernivik, Greenland, to establish a new station for the study of winter air currents. Their adventures acquire interest because of their importance to the author during the Arctic night, when the death of a dog, the lust of a native woman, or a birthday gift from his companion became significant beyond their normal proportions in the civilized world. Monotony was their greatest peril, the at-

trition of morale due to such isolation as can be known only in a land which is 90 per cent under ice and sunless for half the year. Despite the exclamation points, the style of it is as labored as if written with mittens—the drawings look as if they had been also—but it bears considerable informative matter for those of an encyclopedic mind.

DRAMA

Homicide as Fun

FUTURE students of the Spirit of the Age during the first half of the twentieth century will probably find no literary phenomenon more puzzling than the farce-melodrama. I can foresee them earnestly pointing out that while the comic relief of Elizabethan tragedy comes immediately to mind as a possible parallel, it is not really the same thing. Thus though Shakespeare and his contemporaries shocked classical taste they at least did not usually confuse the comic and the tragic, since the comic characters and the tragic ones were kept separate and we were supposed to stop laughing when the porter went off and Macbeth came on. During the early twentieth century, on the other hand, and at least as early as "Officer 666" and some of George M. Cohan's later works, it appears that the audience was expected to laugh when the corpse fell out of the closet and to regard the more extreme forms of violence as comic *per se*. Whether this astonishing fact is to be explained in terms of moral degradation and as the result of cardiac callosities induced by the public violence with which everyone had become familiar during the course of the then current collapse of civilization, or whether it had best be understood as a purely literary phenomenon and the natural final result of a refusal to keep the literary genres distinct, is a question still under dispute.

In any event, our historian will continue, all previous assaults upon mixed emotions were surpassed by a gruesome extravaganza called "Arsenic and Old Lace" which was written by one Joseph Kesserling, produced early in 1941 at the Fulton Theater, and reviewed in terms which indicated unmistakably that the majority of contemporary critics regarded it as perhaps the supreme masterpiece of the generation. The text makes strange reading. It is concerned primarily with two apparently harmless old ladies living in Brooklyn—a notoriously bourgeois section of New York

City—who, because of a hereditary taint of insanity, have fallen into the habit of poisoning homeless old men who come seeking a lodging. They are assisted in disposing of the bodies by a nephew who believes that he is Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, and the action of the play begins when an adopted nephew discovers what has been going on just at the moment when the household is further recruited by the appearance of a third nephew—a homicidal sadist escaped from an asylum in the company of a mad surgeon who carries a set of instruments with which he tortures victims for the entertainment of his companion.

The action can be imagined, or rather it probably cannot. In a moment of extraordinary insight one of the characters describes the events in progress as "what you would expect if Strindberg had written 'Hellzapoppin'"—the latter being a currently popular piece of clownage notorious for its irrational violence. But perhaps students of more familiar literary fields are more likely to find such scenes as that in which the mad doctor prepares to operate upon the helpless hero reminiscent of some of the outrageous scenes in the decadent tragedies of John Webster or of Cyril Tourneur; and, in fact, the final scene, which is reserved for a curtain call and which consists of a parade of the twelve corpses supposed to have been buried in the cellar before the play begins, is strikingly reminiscent of the dance of cadavers in "The Duchess of Malfi"—except of course that our later Webster expected his audience to be amused. Yet the critic of the staidest of the metropolitan newspapers, the *New York Times*, described the performance as "so funny none of us will ever forget it," while the *Herald Tribune* called it "the most riotously hilarious comedy of the season," and the *Sun's* critic protested, "you wouldn't believe homicidal mania could be so funny." To the *Mirror* it was "the season's No. 1 delight," while *PM* proclaimed roundly that "the theater, which is several thousand years old, has never produced anything quite like 'Arsenic and Old Lace.'" In fact, there seems to have been no dissent unless one wishes to count as such the remarks of the reviewer for *The Nation*, a somewhat old-fashioned weekly, who admitted that he had been considerably amused but suspected that the importance of the play had been overestimated. Since the tone of his paper was rather stuffily literary, and even well-

worn allusions were considered to be ornaments, he added that whereas the possibility of considering murder as a fine art was as old as De Quincey, his own age was the first to regard it as frankly hilarious.

By a curious coincidence, continues the historian, the same week that first witnessed "Arsenic and Old Lace" also saw the first performance of "Mr. and Mrs. North" (Belasco Theater), another comic murder play, in this instance dramatized by Owen Davis, Jr., from a series of short stories written by Mr. and Mrs. Richard Lockridge, the former of the coauthors being one of the critics quoted above. Though "Mr. and Mrs. North" is a comedy during the course of which two persons have their heads bashed in with a heavy blunt instrument, it is actually far less difficult to adjust oneself to, since the interest is centered chiefly, not upon death itself, but upon the complications which arise when a pleasant and harmless young couple find that their apartment has been selected, during their absence, as the scene of the murder. In fact, though melodramatic excitement is by no means absent, the play is first of all a charming light comedy about an attractive couple, and its originality lies in the shrewd and kindly domestic humor. Incidentally, it is very delightfully acted, especially by Peggy Conklin as the agreeably scatter-brained wife. Doubtless "Mr. and Mrs. North" is not unlike anything ever seen in the theater before. But I am not at all sure I do not prefer it to "Arsenic and Old Lace." Maybe there never was anything like the latter before because there was really no reason why there should have been.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

DANCE

Repertory

AN EVENT of first importance to the dance was the inauguration this month of a season of dance repertory by the Humphrey-Weidman Company at their new studio-theater at 108 West Sixteenth Street, New York. On the stage of this theater, which is as large as the seating space and has full lighting and production facilities, they will present a program of new and old dances every Saturday and Sunday evening till June. On one Sunday evening each month straight theater dancing will be featured. This is the first such venture since that of the Dance Repertory The-

ater in 1930-31. The usual season for dancers contains little that contributes to their development—one or two performances at an uptown theater (a long, new work is always expected), a few recitals at the Y. M. C. A. or schools and colleges, six weeks, perhaps, on the road; the rest is studio, classes, rehearsals.

This repertory scheme was adopted after a ten-year trial of every possible channel for bringing dance to the public—not only by Charles Weidman and Doris Humphrey but also by most of the other leading modern dancers. Dances have been arranged for Broadway shows—"Lysistrata," "The School for Wives," Cornell's "Romeo and Juliet." Weidman and José Limon have danced and choreographed extensively in musical reviews like "Americana" and "As Thousands Cheer." This year Katherine Dunham's group is adapting its native Negro dancing to the score of "Cabin in the Sky." Until this winter Paul Draper has purveyed the beautiful stylizations of his J. S. (Yankee Doodle) Bach tap-dancing only through the medium of floor shows. The motion pictures, in their increasing use of dance, have absorbed a few performers, notably Agnes de Mille.

But none of these methods has proved really satisfactory. Not only are such opportunities quite uncertain, but also they finally demand too great dilution and compromise in the dancer's serious work. Though modern dance can work with plays and musicals, it cannot be made a mere entertaining adjunct to them. It has still to be generally understood that the best dancers—Graham, Humphrey, Weidman, Holm, Sokoloff, Tamiris—are not just a new, more gymnastic variety of dancing-master. Their technical preparation has been an arduous exploration; they have dredged riches from the deepest sources. Like a Picasso, a Stanislavsky, a Pound, or any other real artist, they need to be a part of a live creator-audience circuit. Only with an audience which takes them at their own definitions can they accomplish the testing, the remaking, the perfecting of their work-in-progress.

The dances offered by Humphrey and Weidman on their first programs suggest two particular advances that should be made through this repertory practice. Miss Humphrey is doing a new piece, "Song of the West." Like her most distinctive work, it follows that line of modern dance that is abstract, lyric, thematic, dance as a solo art, musical rather than dramatic. This phase has

always been the most difficult for audiences. Poems, music, plays can be approached and studied in some secondary form. But a dance can be experienced only in performance. An opportunity to see many times over this new dance, as well as "Passacaglia," "New Dance," and others to be revived in the spring, should accomplish much to overcome the "difficulties" of communication of modern dancing. Anyone who has ever watched a dance over a long period knows it is a continual unfolding; the eyes see the patterns made in space, and from these a "meaning" communicates itself in its own kinesthetic terms. These dances are elaborately conceived and produced, and with each year of performance mature in every way. Seldom are they able to be done or seen as adequately as they merit.

The second benefit should emerge from dances like "The Shakers," and particularly from Weidman's "non-representational pantomimes" such as "On My Mother's Side." Here the indication of characterization and the use of spoken poetry represent the other chief direction of the modern dance: its movement toward a new theater form comparable to the experimentation of theater poets. Martha Graham's "Letter to the World," with a libretto made from Emily Dickinson's poems, is the most exciting effort made by a dancer so far; it was seen for the first time—probably the only time—in New York on January 20. With Yeats dead, with the Federal Theater throttled by the ire of Dies, with Eliot and Cocteau blacked out and Auden an émigré to radio drama, the "poetic theater" has lost its best torch-bearers. The dance now must carry the brunt of theater experimentation, which perhaps has certain advantages. From the frequent repertory production of such dances as those mentioned there may result that necessary accumulation of experience and fecundation of the imagination of poets, dancers, designers, and musicians from which in time the new theater synthesis will come.

At any rate, in one phase or another, the dance cannot but profit greatly by this venture. If it is successful, next season may bring similar setups for other companies, or possibly some merger. The Humphrey-Weidman Repertory, along with the Bennington Summer School of the Arts, now stands as one of the most hopeful efforts being made in this country to forward the real development of the dance and of the theater arts. SHERMAN CONRAD

RECORDS

IT IS a pleasure merely to watch the young New Friends of Music Orchestra, unlike the old New York Philharmonic-Symphony, play with interest in the occasion and willingness to contribute everything it has to give; and most of the time this year the orchestra has been a pleasure to hear. At the opening concert it glowed in Schönberg's marvelously scored Kammer-symphonie No. 2 and was finesse itself in Stiedry's enchanting performance of Schubert's "Rosamunde" music; but apparently when Stiedry conducts Haydn, for whom he obviously has affection and understanding, something happens inside him that causes him to drive the orchestra with nervous intensity that produces harsh, wiry sonorities.

Stiedry has been more successful in creating the orchestra and getting it to play well than in finding music for it to play. The eighteenth century offers any number of works by Haydn and Mozart, Bach and Handel, for an orchestra of that size; the difficulty has been with the nineteenth century, which wrote for a large orchestra, and with the twentieth, which has produced bad music for orchestras of all sizes. And this difficulty has given us Schönberg's technically expert but valueless Kammer-symphonie No. 2 and Schubert's immature Symphony No. 5 at the first concert; and a later program consisting of Ravel's "Ma mère l'Oye," Hindemith's Kammermusik for piano and orchestra, and Brahms's Serenade in A. But future programs look better, with Bach's Passion According to St. John and Art of Fugue and lots of Mozart.

Bach's Prelude and Fugue in E minor for organ (Peters Edition Vol. 3, No. 10), well played by Commette on a Columbia single disc (17243-D, \$.75), I find to be an uninspired and unimpressive product of Bach's craftsmanship. But a Victor single (13498, \$1) offers a good performance by Gustave Bret of the strange and moving Chorale Prelude "Das alte Jahr vergangen ist," together with the brief "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier," and on the reverse side the beautiful vocal polyphony of the Benedictus from Lassus's Mass "Douce Mémoire," excellently sung by the Dijon Cathedral Choir under J. Samson. And Victor's Black Label volume of Madrigals, Motets, and Chansons (G-26, \$2.50) offers further lovely examples of such polyphony in Weelkes's "We Shepherds Sing," "To Shorten Winter's Sad-

ness," "Welcome Sweet Pleasure," Pilkington's "Diaphenia Like the Daff-down-dilly," Vautor's "Sweet Suffolk Owl," Byrd's Lullaby, Palestrina's "Pater Noster," Lassus's "Sweet Maiden," de Wert's "Un jour je me'en allai," and more deeply affecting examples in Morales's "O vos omnes," de Sermisy's "O joli bois," Gibbons's "Silver Swan," Weelkes's "O Care Thou Wilt Despatch Me" and "Hence Care Thou Art Too Cruel." These are well sung by the Lee Jones Madrigal Singers except for the occasional tremolo and other inadequacies of one of the two sopranos.

Other Victor records offer Bjorling's superb singing of "Di quella pira" and "Ah, si, ban mio coll' essere" from "Il Trovatore" (2136, \$.75); Ulrica's aria "Re del abisso" from "Un Ballo in Maschera," sung in German by Margarethe Klose with beauty of voice and without the Teutonic style of Roswaenge's singing of the Barcarolle from the same opera (17560, \$1); the Slumber Song from Rimsky-Korsakov's "May Night," well sung by Irene Jessner, and coupled with "It Is Near to Midnight" from Tschaikovsky's "Queen of Spades," in which there is more of the familiar Jessner tremolo and stridency (17559, \$1). The Bayou Ballads of the Louisiana Plantations (Set 728, \$2.75) may be more significant and exciting to others than they are to me. Most of the arrangements—the ones by Kurt Schindler—are in good taste; and they are well sung by Marguerite Castellanos Taggart. As for the symphony that Bizet wrote at seventeen (Set 721, \$4.50), it is a neat job of symphonic construction with some manifestations of the charm and humor that I prefer to experience in the works of his artistic maturity.

The National Committee for Music Appreciation devotes two of its opera sets, twelve sides in all, to a number of what Tovey would call "bleeding chunks" of Wagner's "Tristan und Isolde," which give some of the best music in the opera. The orchestra plays well, but is blanketed by the singing, which is poor. The final set of the series offers as many of the arias and duets of Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro" as can be jammed on the records two on a side by speeding up the music. In addition this finely wrought music suffers from the complete lack of finesse in the singing, the thrown-together performances and the hastily made recording. And there are errors in labeling and confusion in the correlation of recorded music with printed text.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Addenda to "Who Owns the Future?"

Dear Sirs: Anent the letters of Lawrence Dennis, Max Lerner, and myself published in your issue of January 11, I feel that Lerner did not quite get the point of my letter to Dennis and was somewhat less than fair to him. It's no use dismissing Dennis as a "fascist." He admits it. His argument must be met on its merits, not by a label. And it's no use saying that Spengler was "sick" and that our culture is "well" and "strong." Spengler was right. Our culture is desperately ill. It will either be cured of its illness or die. But I didn't say that "socialism" and "fascism" are the same remedies. I said that "Caesarism" is the state form of the future.

By "Caesarism" I mean a world order in a world imperium in which government will cease to govern nation-states and local land plots and begin to govern the world as an economic and social unity. By "Caesarism" I also mean, not despotism, which is but one of its guises and one hateful to us both, but the supremacy of politics over business, leadership that leads, government that governs, mass values that people believe in, and militant social-mindedness—"totalitarian" in scope and efficacy if not in purpose. All these forms of power and tools of action are common to fascism and to any effective socialism. They are common to the modern tyrannies and to the "strong democratic state" we both would like to see. These are the prerequisites of survival in the twentieth century. They can be used, and are being used successfully, by the fascist tyrants to serve the ends of despotism and barbarism. If the ends of democracy are to be served, democrats must learn at once to do what must be done. Dennis is right when he says that most democrats are still unwilling to face the issue. They have therefore lost almost every battle for the last ten years.

There is no quarrel between Max Lerner and myself. But if there were, it would be precisely on the point of ends and means. He implores me to look to my means. I implore him to look to his. Dennis has already looked to his. No organization of political and military power in our world will prove viable and effective unless it rests upon a new

economy ruled by a self-conscious, respected, and purposeful political élite wielding authority in areas far wider than the nations or even the "great powers" of today. This is so because our world has been made by a past which none of us can change. We can only change the future. I want to change the future and am therefore *not* an "intellectual defeatist" ■ *The Nation's* editors would have it.

"Socialism" and "internationalism" (or call them "totalitarianism" and "imperialism," "collectivism," and "federalism," or whatever you like) are the only workable weapons for changing the future. If the defenders of democracy know this and act upon it, they can still prevail. But not otherwise, and not by anything short of this. Popular heroism and sacrifice are not enough. Denouncing traitors and appeasers is not enough. "Capitalism," meaning the control of government by private business, and "nationalism," meaning the division of the world into rival sovereignties, must give way to a broader and better organization of men and women to serve democratic ends if democracy is to survive.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

Williamstown, Mass., January 13

Dear Sirs: Professor Lerner chides his colleague Schuman for exchanging with me views on the current disintegration instead of getting out on the propaganda firing line. In so doing, Professor Lerner, unlike Professor Schuman, ignores my case. Briefly, it is that there is no use fighting for something that won't work. We fought for democracy twenty years ago. Since then we have failed to make it work satisfactorily, even to Professor Lerner. Now he attacks not this failure, nor even its causes, but only its consequences, such as the new 'isms, particularly Nazism.

He misjudges me when he infers that I aspire only to the role of an ivory-tower Cassandra. I desist from appeal to the masses merely because I realize the impossibility of competing in propaganda with those who advocate going to war. The next war is always easy to sell. Steps to avert it are not. The Lerner and the Roosevelts are preaching a holy war. It is a crusade against sin and for righteousness, "everywhere." The sinners are the nations—Germany, Rus-

sia, Italy, and Japan—engaged in creative social experiments and expansionist enterprises. The righteous are the British and ourselves, who, since our last victory for our system, have failed to make it work. Obviously, one cannot make good propaganda against "righteousness" or for peace with "sin." One must wait until experience has changed the mass mind as to what is good and what is evil.

Professor Lerner disregards my forecast that the Roosevelt holy war will be a failure. My reasons are that the poor and the wicked we shall have with us always and that Utopia is a place which does not exist. My case is based on experience; that of Professor Lerner on faith, hope, and wishful thinking. When the failure of the Lerner-Roosevelt holy war has taught its lesson, I shall be able to make propaganda—not against that war, which will then be past history, but against its instigators in our midst.

It is interesting to know that Professor Lerner agrees with me that the barbarians are bound to win. He writes, "Let us leave him [Dennis] with his dreams, sitting for the moment in his ivory tower writing for his limited public, until the barbarians do with him what in Europe they have done with the Strassers and Rauschnings and other men of brains and good impulses who have cleared the way for them." It is good to have Professor Lerner thus admit that his is a lost cause. I am not now concerned about what the barbarians will do to either of us. I only want to be sure that they will win. Lerner comforts himself with the hope that the barbarians will liquidate me because I am an intellectual and a rationalist. It seems to me that rationality is with the survivors, and especially with what survives. Stalin's policy seems calculated to aggrandize Russia and to spread communism; hence, for Stalin's purposes it is rational. With these purposes I have no sympathy.

The purposes of Roosevelt and Lerner cannot be served by a war which cannot enrich America or preserve the system to which they are attached. Hence, I find such a war irrational. Germany and Japan have a chance of creating by the sword vast empires in their respective areas. I do not say they will. I have no sympathy with their

attempt to do so. I only say that such empires have been so created and maintained over long periods in the past. I assume this will happen again in the future. I also say, very emphatically, that the Lerner-Roosevelt empire "everywhere" of "righteousness"—freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and freedom from want—has never been created either by the sword or the gospel, or by the two operating hand in hand. I assume that this cannot happen in the future.

Lerner's idealization of democracy in the past is as unreal as his ideal of democracy for the future. He admits, with me, that American democracy has been capitalism, yet he finds capitalism not worth fighting for. The democracy he cherishes was but one phase. That phase is now gone forever. The new phase of democracy is totalitarianism. We are entering this world-wise phase by declaring war on totalitarianism and going totalitarian in order to wage the war. I am doing nothing to bring on the new phase. Rather I would retard it by keeping America out of war. Professor Lerner is denouncing the new phase. At the same time he is hastening it by crusading for American intervention in the war.

LAWRENCE DENNIS

Short of War— What Does It Mean?

Dear Sirs: Your editorial on financing Britain, in the issue of December 14, begins an analysis of American policy without carrying it through. "Either the interests of this country are vitally affected by the outcome of Britain's struggle or they are not." The implications of this sentence are larger than the editorial indicates, or than many of us have realized. The realization would upset our slogan of all aid to Britain short of war, a comfortable phrase which has won almost universal agreement. I submit that this agreement is now profoundly dangerous, because the slogan will not bear analysis.

What do we mean by short of war? Do we mean that we are not going to get into war in any circumstances? Obviously not, since we are spending billions on armament. Do we mean that we shall not fight until this hemisphere is attacked? Assume that we do, and can answer the awkward question of where the hemisphere has its military frontiers. Then why aid to Britain, when such aid makes us an increasingly active participant in the war, and thereby increases our danger in the event of a

German victory? To this there seems only one answer: that we have a subsidiary national interest in British survival, at least until our hemispheric defenses are prepared—an interest for which we are unwilling to fight but willing to increase our risk in the immediate future. Britain, in short, is our first line of defense, and worth defending only to the last Briton.

This is a tenable position. But many Americans do not consider that it is peace with honor; many feel that it jeopardizes, for the sake of the present, our national interests in the future, much as England and France did theirs from 1933 to 1939. Hence this interpretation of the slogan, whatever its merits or demerits, is not one on which we are agreed.

Another interpretation is possible: that our national interest in British survival is vital enough to be worth not only aid short of war, but war itself if necessary. Then what do we mean by "if necessary"? Presumably that we shall intervene if and when the alternative is British defeat, and not before. This is a logical position. But it is not a practical one, because such intervention is prohibitively difficult. In the first place, a military crisis is almost certain to develop too fast for effective action by us. In the second, no one can say whether we shall have clear-cut alternatives, or be able to recognize them if we have: do we fight to keep the shipping lanes open? or the Germans out of Turkey? or Gibraltar? or England? The only practical course is to obviate the chance of British defeat by the most effective means in our power, short of nothing. Those who grant that British survival is worth war, if necessary, are thereby forced to an unconditional slogan: all aid to Britain. This is a position which many Americans take, and many refuse to take; it is thus one on which we are far from agreed.

Our apparent unity of thought is in fact the evasion of thought. We have accepted a slogan as a substitute for reasoning. There was another slogan, years ago, about making the world safe for democracy; we accepted it, fought for it, and forgot it, all without knowing what it really meant. Our current slogan is less challenging, but again we do not know what it means. These are days when we are making decisions which will affect our destiny for generations; it is therefore the duty of a citizen to think out his position for himself. Our slogan is not a position, but only an excuse for not finding one. If

thinking produces disagreement, it also produces in time an intelligible policy. The unthinking acceptance of a phrase produces nothing but danger.

W. B. WILLCOX

Williamstown, Mass., January 8

CONTRIBUTORS

DONALD W. MITCHELL, a close student of naval and military policy in the United States, has written articles on the subject for numerous periodicals.

STEFAN TH. POSSONY, an Austrian writer now living in this country, is the author of several books on economic and military problems of modern warfare.

THEODOR BROCH, who is now in this country, was mayor of Narvik at the time of the Nazi invasion.

LOUISE BLANCO, a native of the Middle West, has lived in Puerto Rico for several years.

LOUIS B. SALOMON, a member of the English Department of Brooklyn College, reviews fiction regularly for *The Nation*.

PAUL M. SWEEZY is instructor in economics at Harvard University.

RUSTEM VAMBERY, Hungarian criminologist and sociologist, has written extensively on European problems. He is a lecturer at the New School for Social Research.

HILARY SUMNER-BOYD, an American educated at Oxford, has contributed to the London *New Statesman and Nation* and to *Time and Tide*.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN, formerly associate editor of *The Nation*, is the author of "Those First Affections" and other novels.

'CHARLES E. NOYES is a staff writer for Editorial Research Reports, a Washington newspaper service.

RUTH NORDEN, together with Heinz Norden, has edited and translated many volumes from the German.

SHERMAN CONRAD is an Associate of the School of Letters at Iowa University.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

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The Shape of Things

THE CONSCRIPTION OF LABOR IN BRITAIN, recently announced by Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor, seems on the face of it a retreat from the relatively enlightened social policy followed by the British government in recent months. Yet there are compelling reasons why some such step should be taken. According to Churchill's statement Britain has today some 4,000,000 men under arms. Most of these men have been taken out of trade or industry. But Britain's need for supplies and war materials has never been greater. And maximum production cannot be obtained unless every man is not only employed but employed in the kind of work most needed by the country. The shift of manpower from the export and other non-essential industries to the war industries has not been proceeding as smoothly as it should. Some compulsion seems, therefore, defensible as an emergency measure. But if such an extreme step is to be taken, labor has the right to ask that capital make an equivalent sacrifice. The counterpart of conscription of labor is a capital levy. Although there has been some increase in taxation, British capital has so far gotten off fairly lightly. Only about a third of Britain's war expenditures are being defrayed out of taxes. In contrast, Germany is said to be meeting half of its expenditures by taxation. Thus under present conditions British labor is carrying not only the increased burden of production but, through the effect of inflation and declining living standards, is carrying a large part of the financial burden of the war as well.

★

THE SURVIVAL OF THE *DAILY WORKER* IN wartime Britain has been something of a miracle and it is not altogether surprising that the British government has now ordered the suppression of this paper as well as of *The Week*, a news-letter which followed the party line. We can understand the government's impatience with the "defeatism" which the British Communist organ has been dishing out since Moscow looped the loop at the beginning of the war, but we are sorry it has been goaded into such an assertion of its emergency powers. Several independent Labor members of Parliament have put down a motion expressing their "detestation" of the *Daily Worker's* propaganda while regretting that

Editor and Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

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KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART

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JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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MARY HOWARD ELLISON

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action against it was taken under the defense regulations instead of by court proceedings which would have afforded it a chance to state its case. This seems to us fair criticism. In defending his action Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, said that their publishers had been warned last July. Nevertheless they had continuously "by every device of distortion and misrepresentation sought to make out that our people have nothing to gain from victory." We have no doubt that the allegation is well founded but we still wonder if these Communist sheets were sufficiently influential to justify their suppression. Most British workers have long ceased to be befuddled by Communist propaganda. In fact, the occasional usefulness of the *Daily Worker* as a gadfly to bureaucracy—in the matter of air-raid shelters for instance—has been largely destroyed by just suspicions of its ulterior motives. *

ONE OF BRITAIN'S COLONEL BLIMPS HAS flourished his old school tie once too often and neatly choked himself. Recently Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Charles Bingham wrote to the London *Times* to the effect that the middle and working-classes had fallen down on the job of providing officer material. Boys from these classes, pontificated the Colonel, fail in the art of "management"—unlike "the old aristocratic feudal classes" they never had "their people" to consider. "Never was the old school tie and the best it stands for more justified than today." In *blitzkrieged* Britain, overemphasis on class distinctions is definitely déclassé and this voice from the past raised a storm in press and Parliament. Now the War Office has descended heavily on Colonel Bingham, reprimanding him for communicating with the press on military subjects in breach of army regulations and relieving him of his command of the training unit. This should prove a salutary lesson to other brass-hats still fighting Waterloo on the playing-fields of Eton. *

TO THE CATHOLICS IN THIS COUNTRY WHO think General Franco's regime heralds the rebirth of a Christian Europe, we recommend an article which appeared recently in *Arriba*, organ of the Spanish Phalanx and its chief, Serrano Suñer. According to a dispatch in the New York *Times*, this article asserted that Franco reserves the right to intercept at sea any ships which may leave France carrying Spanish refugees to Mexico and other American countries. The "Christian" Franco is outdoing the "pagan" Hitler in his hounding of political opponents. "The Spanish government," writes *Arriba*, "reserves full right to maintain watch on these embarkments at Marseilles and the justice of Spain will not permit assassins of three years of red storms to flee under the paternal care of France." What this "paternal care" amounts to is shown by the protest which the Mexican government has been forced to present to Vichy regard-

ing the detention in unoccupied France of Francisco Largo Caballero and other former officials of the Republican government. This protest gives full confirmation of the arrest of Caballero which was solemnly denied in Vichy and elsewhere. *

DETAILS REGARDING THE CLASH IN CHINA between the new Fourth Route Army and regular Kuomintang troops indicate that a grave situation has arisen. According to a dispatch from Edgar Snow in the New York *Herald Tribune*, the rear guard of the Fourth Army, consisting of 8,000 men, was attacked early in January by twenty-seven divisions of Central government troops as it was preparing to cross the Yangtse to take up positions assigned by the Chungking War Office. A nine-day battle ensued in which the Fourth Route Army lost 4,000 men, including its commander, Yeh Ting, who was captured, and the second in command, Hang Yung, who was wounded, captured, and subsequently murdered. Other American observers who have just arrived in this country fully confirm Snow's analysis of the background of the conflict. As early as last summer the Fourth Route Army received orders from Ho Ying-chin, right-wing War Minister, to evacuate the rich Yangtse valley and move northward. The leaders of the Fourth Army agreed to make the move but asked that arrangements be made for the protection of the partisan troops left behind, for the care of the wounded, and peaceful transit through the territory occupied by Kuomintang troops. None of these arrangements was ever made. Instead, the Kuomintang troops fell upon the retreating Fourth Route Army and all but destroyed it. Similar though less severe clashes have occurred in the past between the Eighth Route Army and the troops of local warlords. In each case, the conflict has been patched up without seriously affecting Chinese unity. But the recent clash is admittedly more fundamental. Should it spread to include the Eighth Route Army, many observers fear that the centralized authority of Chiang Kai-shek would be jeopardized and that general civil war would result. Needless to say, such a conflict would nullify, if it did not bring to an end, the assistance now given China by the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States. *

THE TRUCE BETWEEN THAILAND AND INDO-CHINA appears to be a victory of the first order for Japan. Early reports from Vichy assert that Japan has demanded the right to occupy certain ports in Cambodia as a price for mediation of the conflict. Ostensibly the Japanese fleet is to occupy the ports in order to enforce the terms of the settlement. But it is evident that the possession of naval bases in south Indo-China and Thailand would be of tremendous assistance to Japan in the event of an attack on Singapore, Burma, or the Dutch East Indies.

According to the latest information available, the Vichy government has not yet acceded to the Japanese demands. But there seems little chance that the French will be able to offer effective opposition unless support is forthcoming from Great Britain or the United States.

★

WE CAN FIND NO KIND THINGS TO SAY OF Justice McReynolds on the occasion of his retirement. More than any other member of the old court he typified that narrow philosophy which so long made the Constitution seem a part of a Magna Carta for Wall Street's barons. To Mr. Roosevelt, about to appoint a successor, McReynolds may well stand as a monument to the dangers involved in the use of the Supreme Court as a place to which officials otherwise unsatisfactory can be "kicked upstairs." For Wilson named McReynolds to the court when he wanted to get rid of him as attorney general. The President has said that he has already made his choice. Attorney General Robert H. Jackson and Senator James F. Byrnes are said to be leading contenders for the job. The President owes a debt to Byrnes for his services in the Senate and during the campaign. But in spite of support for many New Deal measures, he remains essentially a Southern conservative. Mr. Jackson's presence on the court would, on the other hand, strengthen the liberal majority; and fortunately a most admirable successor to the attorney general would be available in his own department—the present Solicitor General, Francis Biddle.

★

THE PRESIDENT MADE A MOVE IN THE RIGHT direction when he nominated Dean G. Acheson as Assistant Secretary of State. Mr. Acheson is a person of broad interests and liberal outlook. It is officially suggested that his particular function will be to act as a link between the department and both the British Embassy and the Treasury in the matter of British purchases. But it may be assumed that the President hopes Mr. Acheson's presence in the State Department will also serve as a general leaven. No one man, however, is likely to create enough ferment to affect so unyielding and solid a lump. If the department is ever to be brought in line with the aims and policies of the Administration as a whole, resignations as well as new appointments will be necessary. Mr. Acheson is needed in the State Department, but he will be lonely there.

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THE COMMITTEE NAMED BY THE NATIONAL Association of Manufacturers to investigate textbooks will no doubt be prepared to walk a mile to evade any notice of the testimony taken last week by the Securities Exchange Commission in the Electric Bond and Share case. Testimony revealed that Herbert Dorau, professor of economics at New York University, and John T. Madden, dean of its school of commerce, had received ap-

proximately \$150,000 between 1936 and 1938 from the Edison Electric Institute. The revelation came after Dorau had been put on the witness stand as an "expert" by Electric Bond and Share. Dorau, who is also chairman of the department of public utilities and transport in the university's school of commerce, gave a long list of articles and monographs he had written. He is author of the chapter on public utilities in a textbook on economics used at the university. His financial relations with the Edison Electric Institute came out under cross-examination. He had worked for Electric Bond and Share and for Associated Gas and Electric. He said that both he and Madden, who operated a joint banking account, were given jobs at \$1,200 a month each by Simpson, Thacher, and Bartlett as utility experts for Edison Electric Institute. Dorau said his work for the Institute was "a matter of analysis and conviction." It is nice when one's analysis and convictions coincide with \$1,200 a month.

A Lindbergh Peace

PASSED through its baptism of fire, the President's bill to aid the British has scarcely been singed. One would have expected that so doughty a quintet as Lindbergh, Kennedy, Castle, MacNider, and Hugh Johnson, given a national rostrum, would leap to the charge, fists flying. Instead, with one exception, they hedged about and moved cautiously. Although opposed to the lease-lend bill, Castle and Johnson favored a large measure of aid, under strict Congressional controls; MacNider told the committee, "It would be a very unhappy day for America if Great Britain were defeated"; and Kennedy's equivocal testimony at one point came so close to an endorsement of the bill that he was roundly applauded by Administration supporters in the audience. The leaders of those who a few short months ago scoffed at "aid short of war" as hypocritical or illusory now urged aid short of the lend-lease bill. Gone completely—or almost completely—was the insistence that aid once undertaken must move on inevitably to full aid and war. The isolationists are fighting a rear-guard action.

The glaring exception among the witnesses heard so far is Colonel Lindbergh, who hopes for an immediate "negotiated peace"; who argues that the United States is largely to blame for the war because it enticed France and Britain into battle by promises of help; who believes that Britain's position is becoming "more and more desperate" and that further aid from this country can only prolong the conflict; who finds between England and Germany "not as much difference in philosophy as we have been led to believe"; and who would "prefer to see neither side win."

Another flying colonel, Clarence Chamberlin, who likewise flew across the Atlantic and should therefore be

privileged to testify, thinks that "either Lindbergh doesn't know what he is talking about or he's been bitten by the Nazi bug." There is probably a good deal of truth in both alternatives, but the analysis seems somewhat on the crude side. From his testimony we should say that Lindbergh is less the ignoramus, less the Nazi, than he is the forerunner of that American hemispheric imperialism which will blossom forth should England go down to defeat.

The pattern has long been forming. The Lindberghs of this country—and the Eagle is not as lone as we could wish—want to see an immediate "negotiated peace," which at this point in the war means a peace dictated by Hitler. (What other peace could there be between a Germany that rules a continent and an England growing "more and more desperate"?) The military effects which such a catastrophe would have on our own situation are dismissed by the Colonel with utter irresponsibility. Aviation, he tells us, has made our defense much easier; hence we need not worry about a German victory. On the other hand aviation has made our power to attack much harder; hence we must abandon all thought of carrying the fight to Europe. Ergo, there can be no real war between the United States and Europe, the British navy means nothing to us, and England can sink out of sight for all it matters to our safety.

It is a pity that the House Committee which listened to Lindbergh didn't take the trouble to analyze an argument which is as dangerous as it is specious. No one in his senses thinks primarily of the German threat in terms of bombs over St. Louis, or even over Sandy Hook. The danger is that a victorious Germany would be a power stretching from Russia to the Irish coast, a power whose industries, resources, naval strength, and vast supplies of slave labor could compel this country to go fascist without the firing of a shot. We would have to arm to the teeth in defense; we would go rampantly imperialist if for no other reason than to assure the Western Hemisphere for American autarchy; we would mercilessly beat down the American standard of living not only to pay for our arms but even to exist economically in a German-dominated world. And in the end we would have to fight, without the British Navy and without England as a vantage point from which to conduct an offensive.

This prospect is not of our fabricating. It is a prospect that is already germinating in the minds of the Lindberghs. Even now the Colonel talks glibly of setting up "aviation bases in Newfoundland, Canada, the West Indies, parts of South America, and Central America," and some months ago he stated flatly that we ought to step in and control Canada's foreign policy. Colonel Lindbergh and we see eye to eye on the consequences of a Hitler victory; but the Colonel thinks of the vision as American Empire and finds it good, while we find in it only fascism and the promise of wars to come.

Rumanian Frenzy

FOR the second time since the German army occupied Rumania that unhappy country has suffered an appalling spasm of violence. Only a confused account of the outbreak has yet percolated through the censorship, and its immediate causes, in particular, remain extremely obscure. But it would not be inaccurate to diagnose the revolt of the Iron Guard as a case of severe schizophrenia—the uncontrollable physical reaction of souls torn between admiration for Hitler and realization that he has betrayed them.

The Iron Guard did not originate as a foreign offshoot of national socialism. It was an indigenous, intensely nationalistic movement on parallel lines, which shared the Nazis' anti-Semitism and diseased mysticism. Like its counterpart in Germany it had an economic basis in the land hunger of the peasants and the job-hunger of the urban middle classes. As Hitler's star rose it looked upon him with increasing admiration and hope and gladly became his subsidized fifth column in Rumania. The first great shock of the Iron Guard was the settlement imposed by Germany last fall which gave most of Transylvania to Hungary—a bitter blow to nationalist pride already wounded by the surrender of Bessarabia and the Dobrudja. However the opportunity to drive King Carol out of the country, to indulge in pogroms against the Jews, and to wreak revenge on internal enemies offered a temporary safety valve. Moreover the Guard was declared the sole legal party in the country and its leaders were given high office.

Meanwhile the Germans had marched in ostensibly to instruct the Rumanian army in modern warfare. But more and more divisions arrived and with them came economic experts and purchasing agents whose requisitions increased the scarcity of goods and sharpened the economic crisis. If the Iron Guard looked to the Nazis for help in achieving the break-up of the great estates or for action against the industrial monopolists, they were disappointed. It was soon clear that German methods of exploitation precluded such reforms; for they needed to squeeze Rumania to the utmost and it is well known that the first result of giving land to half-starved peasants is to increase home consumption and decrease the marketable surplus. Nor did it suit the Nazi book to destroy the industrial magnates: they preferred to use them as they had used their own Thyssens and Krupps.

General Antonescu proved himself the obedient servant of Hitler and, with German soldiers available to back him, his need of the Iron Guard lessened. The report that he was negotiating with the Bratianus, the fabulously wealthy clan which controls a huge slice of Rumania's economy, probably showed the Iron Guard that its position was being undermined and drove it to revolt. The

actual signal for the outbreak was the murder of a German officer—an indication that it was aimed not only at Antonescu but at his Nazi backers.

This Rumanian tragedy illustrates once again the mad folly of fascists outside Germany who offer their services to Hitler and expect in return the opportunity to fulfil their own social and national ambitions. He is always prepared to use them to disrupt the countries he hopes to conquer but, this achieved, he is equally ready to liquidate them should their demands conflict with his own plans. Even complete acceptance of the Nazi philosophy will not appease Hitler; he requires also unswerving obedience and acknowledgment of the paramountcy of German interests. There is a lesson in Rumania for appeasers at Vichy—and for some nearer home.

C. I. O. Solution for Defense Housing

THE DIVISION in the labor movement, otherwise deplorable, has at least one good by-product. The C. I. O., with no real foothold in the building trades, does not share the A. F. of L.'s vested interests in established methods of housing construction. The result is that the C. I. O., through its recently organized housing committee, has now issued a fairly detailed proposal for the use of prefabricated materials to solve the growing problem of defense housing. One small example given by a speaker at the tenth annual meeting of the National Public Housing Conference in New York will serve to illustrate the way in which a housing shortage may interfere with defense production. Peter Flynn, vice-president of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, C. I. O., said that many key workers in New Jersey plants were forced to refuse overtime work because of the long distances they had to travel between their homes and places of work.

We hope the C. I. O.'s plea for the use of prefabricated housing will not meet the same indifference that greeted its previous proposal along the same lines last October 14. Since that proposal was made to the Defense Commission, the problem has grown more serious and the C. I. O. housing committee has gone further into the possibilities of prefabrication. The subject holds special attractions for the C. I. O. because of its strong position in the steel industry, which would be stimulated by prefabricated housing. The C. I. O. believes that use of prefabricated parts has four advantages. Such houses can be put up far faster than ordinary ones. There is no dislocation of industry and labor, since it is not necessary to move large numbers of construction workers to the sites where houses are needed. Instead the parts are manufactured in industrial centers and shipped to the point

needed for assembly. Prefabricated housing is also cheaper and it has a high salvage value. Homes may be dismantled and moved when the emergency is over.

Lumber, brick, cement, and contracting interests, and no doubt the A. F. of L. building trades as well, will fight the plan. For emergency or war-time expansion of prefabricated housing might endanger their position in the future by bringing about a sharp reduction in the cost of housing and rendering older methods obsolete. The C. I. O.'s detailed analysis of the difficulties to be encountered in the use of conventional methods indicates the need for overriding these objections, and the possibility that this may open the way to wider use of prefabricated housing later should be an extra inducement, not an obstacle. Unfortunately vested interests in both capital and labor will find strong support from the new defense housing setup at the capital, where C. F. Palmer, real estate dealer from Atlanta, Georgia, has been made coordinator of defense housing.

The objections to Mr. Palmer rest not merely on his record, which shows him to be unfriendly to public housing and hostile to new and cheaper methods; they have to do also with the curious manner in which Mr. Palmer has been made independent of the Defense Commission and thereby subject to no check either from labor's representative, Sidney Hillman, or from the consumer representative, Harriet Elliott. Mr. Palmer, as housing adviser to the Defense Commission, had already demonstrated his unwillingness to cooperate with either. The same group to whom our Washington editor two weeks ago attributed the palace cabal which sought to strip Hillman of authority in the new Office of Production Management reappears in the story of Palmer's mysterious elevation. In this case, too, Harold Smith, Director of the Budget, and William H. McReynolds, one of the President's administrative assistants, seem to have played leading parts. An order was framed making Palmer coordinator over all other housing authorities and subordinate only to the President, and Mr. Roosevelt's signature was obtained before the Defense Commission knew what was happening. We cannot believe that the purpose of that order was fully explained to the President.

Since his mysterious elevation, Mr. Palmer, by appointing Harold E. Pomeroy, formerly executive secretary of the Associated Farmers of California, as one of his chief aids, has added to the bad impression he has already made. Mr. Pomeroy claims that he was misled into working for the Associated Farmers and left his job with them after a year's time. Mr. Pomeroy is not a vigilante or a thug or a fascist. But he has been associated during most of his career with reactionary business and political interests in California. The C. I. O.'s housing report had to be made to the new coordinator of defense housing. So novel and disturbing an idea is unlikely to get a warm welcome from either Palmer or Pomeroy.

Ambassador Dodd Speaks

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

IF WILLIAM E. DODD were alive his contribution to the great debate in Washington would be more important than that of all the other witnesses together. For Mr. Dodd served as American Ambassador at Berlin during almost five of the eight years of Hitler's rule. He watched the consolidation of Nazi power and the expanding menace of Hitler's ambition. Beside his testimony the theories of Lindbergh and Kennedy would have shriveled into their natural proportions.

Some suggestion of the story Mr. Dodd would have told may be found in the paragraphs which follow. They are taken from his Berlin diary,* an amazing account, frank and bold and realistic, of Europe's descent into war. Naturally it does not offer direct testimony as to Hitler's ultimate intentions toward the United States and the world. Rather it documents the record of broken promises, of mounting fear in the smaller nations, of suicidal hesitations and concessions on the part of the great powers. It shows the direction if not the goal of Hitler's ambition. It records the countless warnings which were duly transmitted to—and filed in—Washington. The scattered fragments printed below are only a hint of what will be available when the "Diary" is published. I offer them as a poor but useful substitute for the testimony of a man who died too soon.

October 17, 1933, Tuesday. I went today at 12 o'clock to see Chancellor Hitler . . . The Chancellor was clearly excited. I asked him why he had withdrawn from the League. He ranted about the Treaty of Versailles, the failure of the powers to keep their promises about disarmament and the indignity of keeping Germany in a defenseless status. I replied: There is evident injustice in the French attitude; but defeat in war is always followed by injustice. . . .

After an exchange of niceties, I asked the Chancellor whether an incident on the Polish, Austrian, or French border which drew an enemy into the Reich would be allowed to be a *casus belli*. Of course he said, "No, no." I then said in case such a thing were to occur in the Ruhr valley would you hold off and call a conference of the European powers? He said: "That would be my purpose, but we might not be able to restrain the German people." . . . My final impression was of his belligerence and self-confidence.

June 18, 1934, Monday. As I was about to go [after a call on Von Bülow, Under-Secretary of State], I asked about the Venice conference. He said promptly: "We declined the Far East pact with Russia and Poland which Litvinov urged because we are not armed and could not

participate on equal and safe terms. It involved Germans in a guarantee of the Baltic states' safety, and also Czechoslovakia's, against aggression of any kind." It was plain that Hitler is not willing to allow these states with German minorities to maintain their independence. . . .

November 1, Thursday. At 6 o'clock, I returned the formal call of the Soviet Ambassador, Suritz. He talked rather freely about Russian economic life and gave me an inkling of negotiations with Hitler in spite of the Nazi hatred of everything Russian. I believe Hitler is trying to negotiate a pact with the Soviets like that with the Poles, mainly to scare the French. . . .

November 17, Saturday. The Polish Ambassador, Lipski, called . . . and remained nearly an hour. He was frank in the discussion of Polish-German relations: "The pact of last winter is only a temporary affair. Germany intends to re-annex part of our country, the maps posted all over Germany show this clearly. . . . The Russians and the Germans are negotiating a commercial treaty which I think has a political and military pact attached, but it is secret, and these negotiations are going on largely to isolate France." . . .

Germany, he went on, intends to re-annex Alsace-Lorraine and large parts of Poland as well as Austria and Czechoslovakia. Then she will control the Balkan region zone and all the Baltic Sea. Europe will be a German realm if she succeeds.

December 10, Monday. . . . At 11 this morning the Dutch Minister told me the same thing that the Belgian told me last week. "Germany will annex Holland if she wins a European war." He was very positive in this, and also perturbed about the Japanese denunciation of the Treaty of Washington. "It means war if the United States and England do not unite in their Far Eastern policy. England will lose her Hongkong and other Chinese concessions, the United States will find the Philippines annexed to Japan, and we, the Dutch people, will lose our three-hundred-year-old Far Eastern holdings." . . .

April 4, 1935, Thursday. . . . I learned of a confidential interview with Benes, about the end of March, in which the Czech Premier said his country would fight . . . if [its] allies helped; otherwise, there was nothing to do but capitulate to Germany's terms . . . I wonder if Benes doubts the validity of French and English promises.

March 7, 1936, Saturday. . . . Already the news had come that Hitler was to address the Reichstag assembly today at 12 o'clock! When Mayer returned at 11 o'clock, he brought a summary of Hitler's propositions: he was sending some 30,000 troops into the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland; he proposed an agreement with France and Belgium to demilitarize both sides of the Rhine, also the Dutch border on the German side; he would denounce the Locarno pact between Germany, France, Italy,

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and England because France was signing a pact with Russia; he would return to the League of Nations and be ready to limit aircraft with Western powers, and would demand the restoration of German colonies. . . .

March 18, Wednesday. I went to see Von Neurath at 11:30 to get his reactions to events since March 7. He was suave and smiling as if everything he had discussed with me February 29 had worked out according to his advice. He even denied what he told me on the former occasion, namely, that he was urging a diplomatic solution of the Rhine demilitarization matter. I suppose it is impossible to trust even the more conservative members of the government. . . .

April 4, Saturday. . . . We learn today that some Austrian and Czechoslovak Germans are new members of the Reichstag. The fact that Hitler decreed them members is symbolic of his so-called peace policy. The claim of the right to annex parts or all of these countries is thus subtly announced. . . .

April 7, Tuesday. . . . I went to see the British Ambassador on the same street. Sir Eric Phipps . . . knows contemporary Europe as few others do. In January he was ready to help his government to the limit against German aggression and willing to support the French-Soviet pact, wrangled over in Europe for a year. He had said then that France and England were offering a solid front and Italy was expected to join them.

Today he was uncertain about what his country should do in any direction. All Europe is in a critical situation. Italy may seize all Ethiopia and even Egypt, which would mean immediate war in the Mediterranean. France might break across the German western frontier which England would not support. Germany is preparing to the limit for eastern aggression and England won't do anything. I said: That means a new Europe, with France declining, England losing her empire and Germany becoming the master of all.

September 26, Saturday. . . . Today the Minister from the Netherlands said to me: "We are all sure that Germany intends to annex our country in due time, also Switzerland and other countries where people of the medieval German race lived or left descendants." . . .

He was both anxious and pessimistic as he went away, saying: "Unless your country and England and France and Russia work together for world peace there is no way to avoid a world war."

November 15, Sunday. . . . The Argentine Minister said . . . that Paul Scheffer of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, who had been visiting Latin American representatives here, spent an hour with him. Scheffer had represented the Foreign Office, he thought, and perhaps the Propaganda Ministry. He criticized the whole American program in Latin America, said it was a renewal of the Monroe Doctrine in its former aggressive shape and that

Roosevelt had no right to influence South American policy. . . .

The real fear here and in Rome is that the President may organize all American peoples against Fascist Europe and even boycott any power that starts another war.

June 2, 1937, Wednesday. . . . The new English Ambassador here is reported to be in full sympathy with the German-Italian aggression in Spain. His name is Henderson, and he was in Argentina several years before coming here. He had already revealed his complete pro-Franco attitude, seemingly unaware of the dangers to England. He is also reported to have informed the German Government that England would make no objections if Hitler seized Austria and Czechoslovakia. . . .

June 17, Thursday. Hitler has made a speech to young Italians just at the time when the papers are boasting of the peace talk with England which Von Neurath is going to London to negotiate. Hitler talked of his readiness for war. People in the United States seem determined to stay neutral even facing a Europe under the control of a single dictatorship. . . .

June 20, Sunday. . . . The Latvian Military Attaché spoke freely of the dangerous probable consequences of Russia's weakening position. The Czech Minister was more concerned about the threats to his little country. . . . He reported that he had made a formal protest to the German Foreign Office about falsehoods as to his government's encouraging maltreatment of Germans in Czechoslovakia. His wife said to my wife: "If Germany attacks our country, Russia will come at once to our defense." I doubt this, unless France attacks Germany in the Rhine zone.

June 23, Wednesday. Concerned about the British attitude, I went to see Ambassador Henderson. . . . He said: "My government has been unwise in its relations with Germany. I told Von Neurath that, and also told him Hitler's decision to keep Von Neurath at home was equally unwise."

He turned to a general discussion of things: "Germany under Hitler is renewing the Bismarck policy of annexing all European peoples of German descent, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and other countries." Although I had suspected Henderson was inclined to favor German annexations, I did not think he would go so far in his statements. He then added: "Germany must dominate the Danube-Balkan zone, which means that she is to dominate Europe. England and her Empire is to dominate the seas along with the United States. England and Germany must come into close relations, economic and political, and control the world." He said: "France is a back number and unworthy of support. Franco is to control Spain." . . . I wonder if Ambassador Henderson really represents his government? What would happen to Britain if Germany annexed all the peoples all the way to the Black Sea?

One-Sided Horse Trade

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 25

THE BAR and the press become exercised over the problems of administrative law only when some important administrative agency is in danger of performing its task effectively. The Interstate Commerce Commission was established in 1887, but few worried about its procedure as long as it was rendered innocuous by judicial decision. Then Congress in 1906 gave the Commission explicit power to make railroad rates.

"Once the inevitability of clothing the Commission with rate-making power was recognized," I. L. Sharfman writes in his monumental study of the Commission, "a bitter legislative conflict was waged on the issue of judicial review." The railroad lawyers seemed to be concerned with lofty problems of jurisprudence. Their purpose was so to multiply the possibilities of appeal to the courts as to render it difficult for the I.C.C. to make use of its powers.

The Walter-Logan bill sprang from a similar desire to render New Deal regulatory agencies ineffective by interminable litigation, after it became clear that the laws establishing them could neither be repealed in Congress nor overturned in the courts. The chief target of the forces behind the bill was the National Labor Relations Board, but the campaign for its enactment was represented as a kind of crusade for the reform of administrative law. Mr. Roosevelt's strategy was to appoint a committee to make a study of administrative agencies. The committee was not encouraged to be hasty, and until last month the President's lieutenants in Congress were able to stall a vote on the Walter-Logan bill on the plea that the experts had not yet reported. Unfortunately the Committee has now made its report, and its publication, after the President's veto of the Walter-Logan bill, will only serve to revive a campaign the report was intended to moderate. For the Committee has accompanied it with a bill, and the bill represents an attempt to appease.

There is good reason to suspect that the bill was the result of a one-sided horse-trade. The majority, including Chairman Dean Acheson, had its heart set on a unanimous report. In order to obtain that unanimous report the majority seems to have agreed to certain proposals it might not have accepted otherwise. The minority then resorted to a maneuver. Arthur T. Vanderbilt, former president of the American Bar Association; Dean E. Blythe Stason of the University of Michigan Law

School, and former Assistant Attorney General Carl McFarland, filed what is in effect a vigorous minority report, embodying proposals worse if anything than the Walter-Logan bill. But instead of calling it a dissent, they call it "Additional Views and Recommendations."

Chief Justice D. Lawrence Groner of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, who seems to have been a fellow traveler of the American Liberty League, filed a separate dissent, disagreeing with both the majority and the minority. He did not think the minority went far enough. Yet even his dissent is entitled "Additional Views." It is true that both Groner and the minority are willing to accept the majority bill if they can get nothing better, but this is an odd kind of unanimity. It is as though a committee to investigate prohibition had "unanimously" reported that wise public policy called only for legalization of 3½ per cent beer, while three members appended an "additional view" proposing the sale of light wine, gin, and whiskey, and another member put in a word for corn likker.

"No single fact," the Committee found, "is more striking in a review of existing Federal administrative agencies than the variety of duties entrusted to them. This central fact makes generalization in description difficult. It makes even more difficult generalization in prescription." The Committee has nevertheless attempted a prescription for the thirty-two agencies covered by its 1,000-page report. These involve bodies as dissimilar as the I.C.C. and the Bureau of Entomology, legislation as diverse as the Federal Reserve Act and the Importation of Adulterated Seeds Act, activities as far apart as the licensing of live-poultry dealers and the fixing of rates for soft coal. Yet the Committee seeks to establish some uniformity among them beyond the uniformity of fair hearing and due process imposed by the courts. All would be authorized to issue declaratory rulings, in advance of an actual case. All would be required to establish independent hearing commissioners for the taking of testimony, and to accept limitations on their own power to review that testimony. Lawyers outside any of these administrative bodies could propose rules and regulations of their own devising, a pastime which would be limited only by the amount of their retainers. The administrative agencies would have to let Congress know why it had rejected proposed rules submitted to it. Finally the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, would appoint a Director of Federal Administra-

tive Procedure with full power to make life miserable for any administrative officer by conducting investigations, hearing complaints and making uniform rules.

These changes would weaken the independence of the administrative agency, and increase the area of litigation and legalistic arguments. This is not the way to preserve the "poor man's law" which the President's great veto message on the Walter-Logan bill championed.

It is a pity that the majority of the Committee were led to espouse these measures, for the report itself is a splendid document, clearly and vividly written, without legal gibberish, and with an undertone of dead-pan humor. Professor Walter Gellhorn of Columbia, as head of the technical staff which prepared it, deserves to be congratulated on the accomplishment of the huge task assigned to him. The humor may be unconscious, but it is implicit in the Committee's solemn acceptance of the pretense that the forces behind the Walter-Logan bill were primarily interested, not in cutting the gizzards out of the Labor Board and the Federal Power Commis-

sion and the S.E.C., but in administrative law as a whole.

While the Labor Board is found to have already applied most of the general recommendations made by the Committee, and the S.E.C. is criticized only for leaning over backwards in its anxiety to be fair, older agencies come in for more serious reproof. The Post Office Department, which has many administrative duties, has yet to formulate rules of practice. The Alcohol Tax Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue is unreasonably unwilling to issue declaratory rulings. In cases where the widow of a veteran "is accused of open, notorious, adulterous cohabitation," the Board of Veterans' Appeals need not disclose the identity of her accuser. The War Department is a model of bad behavior. It fixes rates for toll bridges without "formal findings of fact or conclusions of law" so that persons affected are "unaware of the methods of computation or standards applicable." Most of these agencies, notably the War Department, were thoughtfully exempted from the Walter-Logan bill.

India and the War

BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[The following article is a newly written epilogue to the autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru, published in England five years ago and soon to be brought out here by the John Day Company in a revised edition. Shortly after its completion Nehru was imprisoned by the British authorities for "publicly advocating passive resistance to the British war effort."—EDITORS THE NATION.]

FIVE and a half years ago, sitting in my prison barrack in the Almora District Jail, I wrote the last line of my autobiography. Eight months later I added a postscript from Badenweiler in Germany. That autobiography, published in England, had a kindly reception from all manner of people in various countries, and I was glad that what I had written had brought India nearer to many friends abroad, and had made them appreciate, to some extent, the inner significance of our struggle for freedom. Unfortunately this book did not reach the American public, and various happenings conspired to delay an American edition. I am happy that at last it is going to appear in a new garb in America.

My publisher asked me to add to it in order to bring it up to date. His demand was reasonable, and I could not deny it. And yet I find it no easy matter to comply with it. We live in strange times, when life's normal course has been completely upset, and it is difficult for me even to communicate with my publisher. America

seems to be very far away from India now, and sometimes it takes many months for letters to cross the oceans.

I was affected more than others by the development of events in Europe and the Far East. Munich was a shock hard to bear, and the tragedy of Spain became a personal sorrow to me. As these years of horror succeeded one another, the sense of impending catastrophe overwhelmed me, and my faith in a bright future for the world became dim.

And now the catastrophe has come. The volcanoes in Europe spit fire and destruction, and here in India I sit on the edge of another volcano, not knowing when it may burst. It is difficult to tear myself away from the problem of the moment, to develop the mood of retrospection and survey these five years that have gone by, and write calmly about them. I shall endeavor, therefore, as best I may, to refer briefly only to certain events and developments in which I have played a part or which have affected me.

Again and again, during the past few years, I considered resigning from my position as head of the Congress executive. I found it difficult to work smoothly with my own colleagues, and it became clear to me that they viewed my activities with apprehension. It was not so much that they objected to any specific act, but they disliked the general trend and direction. They had just-

fication for this, as my outlook was different. I was completely loyal to Congress decisions, but I emphasized certain aspects of them, while my colleagues emphasized other aspects. I decided finally to resign, and I informed Gandhi of my decision.

Soon afterward a far-away occurrence, unconnected with India, affected me greatly and made me change my decision. This was the news of General Franco's revolt in Spain. I saw this rising, with its background of German and Italian assistance, developing into a European

or even a world conflict. India was bound to be drawn into this, and I could not afford to weaken our organization and create an internal crisis by resigning just when it was essential for us to pull together. I was not wholly wrong in my analysis of the situation, though I was premature and my mind rushed to conclusions which took some years to materialize.

The reaction of the Spanish War on me indicates



Jawaharlal Nehru

how, in my mind, the problem of India was tied up with other world problems. More and more I came to think that these separate problems, political or economic, in China, Abyssinia, Spain, Central Europe, India, or elsewhere, were facets of one and the same world problem. There could be no final solution of any one of them till this basic problem was solved. And in all probability there would be upheaval and disaster before the final solution was reached. As peace was said to be indivisible in the present-day world, so also freedom was indivisible, and the world could not continue for long part free, part unfree. The challenge of fascism and Nazism was in essence the challenge of imperialism. They were twin brothers, with this variation, that imperialism functioned abroad in colonies and dependencies while fascism and Nazism functioned in the same way in the home country also. If freedom was to be established in the world, not only fascism and Nazism had to go, but imperialism had to be completely liquidated.

This reaction to foreign events was not confined to me. Many others in India began, to some extent, to feel that way, and even the public was interested. This public interest was kept up by thousands of meetings and demonstrations that the Congress organized all over the country in sympathy with the people of China, Abyssinia, Palestine, and Spain. Some attempts were also made by us to send aid, in the shape of medical supplies and food, to China and Spain. This wider interest in inter-

national affairs helped to raise our own national struggle to a higher level and to lessen somewhat the narrowness which is always a feature of nationalism.

Soon after my return from Europe at the end of 1938, two other activities claimed my attention. I presided over the All-India States' Peoples' Conference at Ludhiana and thus became even more intimately connected with the progressive movements in the semi-feudal Indian states. In large numbers of these states there had been a growing ferment, occasionally leading to clashes between the peoples' organizations and the authorities, which were often helped by British troops. It is difficult to write in restrained language about those states or about the part that the British government has played in maintaining these relics of the Middle Ages. A recent writer has rightly called them Britain's Fifth Column in India.

In the summer of 1939 I paid a brief visit to Ceylon, as friction had grown there between the Indian residents and the government. I was happy to be back again in that beautiful island, and my visit, I think, laid the foundations for closer relations between India and Ceylon. I had the most cordial welcome from everybody, including the Ceylonese members of the government. I have no doubt that in any future order Ceylon and India must hang together. My own picture of the future is a federation which includes China and India, Burma and Ceylon, Afghanistan, and possibly other countries. If a world federation comes, that will be welcome.

War and India. What were we to do? For years past we had thought about this and proclaimed our policy. Yet in spite of all this the British government declared India to be a belligerent country without any reference to our people, to the Central Assembly, or to the provincial governments. That was a slight that was hard to take, for it signified that imperialism functioned as before. The Congress Working Committee issued a long statement in the middle of September, 1939, in which our past and present policy was defined and the British government was invited to explain its war aims, more particularly in regard to British imperialism. We had frequently condemned fascism and Nazism, but we were more intimately concerned with the imperialism that dominated over us. Was this imperialism to go? Did they recognize the independence of India and her right to frame her own constitution through a Constituent Assembly? What immediate steps would be taken to introduce popular control of the central government? Later, in order to meet every possible objection of any minority group, the idea behind the Constituent Assembly was further amplified. It was stated that minority claims would be settled in this Assembly with the consent of the minority concerned, and not by a majority vote. If such agreement was not possible in regard to any issue, then this was to be referred to an impartial tribunal for

final decision. This was an unsafe proposal from a democratic point of view, but the Congress was prepared to go to almost any length in order to allay the suspicions of minorities.

The British government's answer was clear. It left no doubt that they were not prepared to clarify their war aims or to hand over control of the government to the people's representatives. The old order continued and was to continue, and British interests in India could not be left unprotected. The Congress ministries in the provinces thereupon resigned, as they were not prepared to cooperate on these terms in the prosecution of the war. The constitution was suspended, and autocratic rule was reestablished. The old constitutional conflict of western countries between an elected parliament and the king's prerogative, which had cost the heads of two kings in England and France, took shape in India. But there was something much more than this constitutional aspect. The volcano was not in action, but it was there and rumblings were heard.

The impasse continued, and, meanwhile, new laws and ordinances descended upon us by decree, and Congressmen and others were arrested in ever-growing numbers. Resentment grew and a demand for action on our side. But the course of the war and the peril of England itself made us hesitate, for we could not wholly forget the old lesson which Gandhi had taught us, that our objective should not be to embarrass the opponent in his hour of need.

As the war progressed, new problems arose, or the old problems took new shape, and the old alignments seemed to change, the old standards to fade away. There were many shocks, and adjustment was difficult: the Russo-German Pact, the Soviet's invasion of Finland, the friendly approach of Russia toward Japan. Were there any principles, or any standards of conduct in this world, or was it all sheer opportunism?

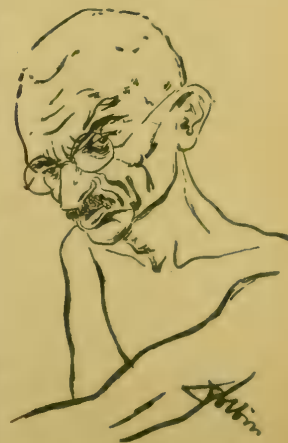
April came and the Norwegian débâcle. May brought the horrors of Holland and Belgium, June the sudden collapse of France, and Paris, that proud and fair city, nursery of freedom, lay crushed and fallen. Not only military defeat came to France, but, what was infinitely worse, spiritual submission and degradation. How did all this come about, I wondered, unless there was something rotten at the core? Was it that England and France were the outstanding representatives of an old order that must pass, and therefore unable to hold out? Was it that imperialism, though apparently giving them strength, really weakened them in a struggle of this nature? They could not fight for freedom if they denied it themselves, and their imperialism would turn to unabashed fascism, as it had done in France. The shadow of Neville Chamberlain and his old policy still fell on England. The Burma-China route was being closed in order to appease Japan. And here in India there was no hint of change,

and our self-imposed restraint was understood to mean an incapacity to do anything effective. The lack of any vision in the British government amazed me, its utter incapacity to read the signs of the times and to understand what was happening and adapt itself accordingly. Was this some law of nature that in international happenings, as in other fields, cause must inexorably be followed by effect; that a system that had ceased to have any useful function could not even defend itself intelligently?

If the British government was slow of understanding and could not learn even from experience, what can one say about the government of India? There is something comic and something tragic about the functioning of this government, for nothing seems to shake it out of its age-long complacency; neither logic nor reason, neither peril nor disaster. Like Rip Van Winkle, it sleeps, even though waking, on Simla hill.

The developments in the war situation posed new questions before the Congress Working Committee. Gandhi wanted the committee to extend the principle of non-violence, to which we had adhered in our struggle for freedom, to the functioning of a free state. A free India must rely on this principle to guard itself against external aggression or internal disorder. This question did not raise itself for us at the time, but it occupied Gandhi's mind, and he felt that the time had come for a clear enunciation. Every one of us was convinced that we must adhere to our policy of non-violence, as we had so far done in our own struggle. The war in Europe had strengthened this conviction. But to commit the future state was another and a more difficult matter, and it was not easy to see how anyone moving on the plane of politics could do it.

Mr. Gandhi felt, and probably rightly, that he could not give up or tone down a message which he had for the world. He must have freedom to give it as he liked and must not be kept back by political exigencies. So, for the first time, he went one way and the Congress Working Committee another. There was no break with him, for the bond was too strong, and he will no doubt continue to advise in many ways and often to lead. Yet it is perhaps true that by his partial withdrawal a definite period in the history of our national movement has come to an end. In recent years I have found a certain hardness creeping into him, a lessening of the adaptability that



Mohanda Gandhi

he possessed. Yet the old spell is there, the old charm works, and his personality and greatness tower over others. Let no one imagine that his influence over India's millions is any the less. He has been the architect of India's destiny for twenty years and more, and his work is not completed.

The Congress, at the instance of C. Rajagopalachari, made yet another offer to Britain. Rajagopalachari is said to belong to the right in the Congress. His brilliant intellect, selfless character, and penetrating powers of analysis have been a tremendous asset to our cause. He was the Prime Minister of Madras during the functioning of the Congress government there. Eager to avoid conflict, he put forward a proposal which was hesitatingly accepted by some of his colleagues. This proposal was the acknowledgment of India's independence by Britain and the immediate formation at the center of a Provisional National Government, which would be responsible to the present Central Assembly. If this were done, this government would take charge of defense and thus help in the war effort.

This Congress proposal was eminently feasible and could be effectuated immediately without upsetting anything. The National Government was inevitably going to be a composite affair with full representation of minority groups. The proposal was definitely a moderate one. From the point of view of defense and war effort, it is patent that any serious effort involves the confidence

and cooperation of the people. Only a national government has the chance to get this. It is not possible through imperialism.

But imperialism thinks otherwise and imagines that it can continue to function and to coerce people to do its will. Even when danger threatens, it is not prepared to get this very substantial help if it involves giving up political and economic control over India. It does not care even for the tremendous moral prestige which would come to it if it did the right thing in India, and the rest of the Empire.

As I write this, the Viceroy has given us the British government's reply. It is in the old language of imperialism, and the content has changed in no way. The sands of time run out here in India, as in Europe and the world.

So many of my colleagues have gone back to prison, and I envy them somewhat. Perhaps it is easier to develop an organic sense of life in the solitude of confinement than in this mad world of war and politics, of fascism and imperialism.

But sometimes there is an escape for a while at least from this world. Last month I went back to Kashmir after an absence of twenty-three years. I was only there for twelve days, but these days were filled with beauty, and I drank in the loveliness of that land of enchantment. I wandered about the valley and the mountains, and climbed a glacier, and felt that life was worthwhile.

Passports to Nowhere

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

San José, Costa Rica, January 10

ON THE heels of every cataclysm comes the marauder. Whether it be an earthquake, a flood, a fire, or an exodus of refugees, the hyenas always hover near, eager to prey on the victims. By and large, the laws of nations are rightly severe on this particularly repulsive kind of evildoer, but it is usually the petty thieves that receive the roughest treatment, while the big shots get away with their plunder. Pilferers who loot a ruined town are shot, but men in consular positions who profit from the misery of hunted refugees go scot-free.

Thousands of anti-fascist refugees are at present stranded in the few countries of Europe yet uninvaded. Most of these have found only a temporary sanctuary, and being continuously harassed by the local authorities, they are ever on the lookout for a better place to go. These are the predestined victims of certain representatives of the smaller Central and South American republics who trade in unauthorized visas. Many an unwary refugee, setting all his hopes—and often enough spend-

ing all his money—on a visa granted him by the seemingly respectable consul of this or that Latin-American country, has been led on a tragic odyssey.

Practically all the countries of Latin America recently agreed upon a common policy toward refugees from Europe, a policy based in effect on these two rules: (a) Jews are to be denied admission on principle, in future; and (b) all applications for visas must be referred by consul to the immigration authority of his country. As a result of this agreement, the most important states of South America—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—have issued stern instructions to their consuls in Europe not to extend any visas not previously approved by the home authorities. And so far as I know, the representatives of these countries follow directions strictly. This cannot be said, however, of the consuls of a good many Central American states—like Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, Haiti, and Santo Domingo—who are not, as a rule, officials on the payrolls of their respective countries but merely local business men getting nothing

but their share of the visa fees from the country which they represent. When their former right to issue visas as they pleased was restricted or entirely abolished, the more unscrupulous of these "honorary" consuls simply continued on their own, selling visas which they knew to be unauthorized and therefore not valid.

In some cases such visas are issued under conditions which must betray to the most naive of customers the fraud in the transaction. For instance, when a Jewish couple whom I know bought visas for a thousand dollars each from the consul of Costa Rica at Berlin, he required them to sign a formal undertaking *not* to go to Costa Rica. They were willing, however, to buy those obviously phony visas for this reason: the prospective emigrant needs a visa, any visa, not so much for going to a particular country as in order to be able to get their transit visas.

Not all countries, of course, would grant a transit visa to the holder of a questionable visa of destination; American consuls in Europe, for example, would laugh at the suggestion. But the consuls of some other countries are not so fastidious. Most people traveling from Europe to America nowadays go east, not west. If they are bound for some place in Central America or the Caribbean, they have to provide themselves, as a rule, with transit visas for Russia, Japan, and Panama. It is not too hard, as yet, to get such transit visas upon the presentation of a seemingly valid visa to, say, Costa Rica or Haiti.

In the case of our Jewish couple the Costa Rican consul in Berlin knew that he had no right to grant the visa and he told the applicants so, more or less explicitly. However, he was not unwilling to help—at a price. And since the essential thing for them was to get out of Germany, no matter how, he offered to provide them with unauthorized, hence non-valid, visas to Costa Rica which would help them to get transit visas to Russia and Japan. Once they were started on that long journey, they believed, as others have done, that some chance would turn up for them to get off the boat somewhere. At the worst they would stay some time in Japan and run the risk of being deported from there to Shanghai. So the deal was concluded, the consul charged his 2,300 marks each for "fees and stamp-duties," and the pair started on their journey.

Theirs is by no means an isolated case, nor is the Costa Rican consul in Berlin alone in this business. Dozens of "honorary" consuls in Berlin, Vienna, Warsaw, Kaunas, Stockholm have been in this racket for a long time, some of them for years. The prices they charge vary enormously but are always exorbitant; the Haitian consul in Berlin, I have been told by several of his clients, used to charge wealthy Jews as much as 6,000 marks for a visa.

I myself had no reason to doubt the authenticity of my visa when I started, late in September, from Stockholm to Costa Rica on the strength of a nine-month visa

from the consul general of that republic in Sweden. It happened like this. After the Nazi invasion of Denmark forced me to flee to Sweden without a visa, I was given the choice by the Swedish authorities of getting out of the country as best I could or staying in a concentration camp for the duration. I applied at once to half a dozen Latin American countries for a visa, but they all turned me down, or rather, promised to forward my application to their respective governments, a procedure which would take from four to six months. At long last I struck oil. One day in July a letter from Victor Andersson, consul general of the Republic of Costa Rica, arrived at the camp informing me that I had been granted a visa for that country. On the strength of that letter I was given a day's leave from the camp and went to see Mr. Andersson in Stockholm. I found him to be a hard-boiled, voluble business man, a real-estate dealer, who talked glibly of his sympathies for the victims of oppression and still more glibly figured out his fees. After some hard bargaining we settled for \$35. The legal fee which a Costa Rican consul is entitled to charge, I learned afterward, is \$3 per visa.

In addition to a beautifully sealed and stamped visa, Mr. Andersson handed me two letters written in not so beautiful Spanish—this singular consul of a Latin American republic, I found out later, didn't speak a word of Spanish; all his correspondence with his government was done by a translator. One was a "laissez-passer" addressed to the minister of police at San José, stating among other things that I was of "Aryan race"; the other was a letter "to whom it may concern," requesting all competent authorities in Costa Rica to lend me benevolent assistance. Both letters were also richly adorned with seals, and provided with my photograph and the consul's signature.

How could I know that it was all worthless trash—the visa, the "laissez-passer," and the "to whom it may concern"? Mr. Andersson had assured me in emphatic tones that I was lucky to be an Aryan, for if I had been a Jew he would not have been permitted to give me a visa, for all his sympathy, or for all the money in the world. (Later, I learned that Mr. Andersson did sell visas to Jews also, only at a much higher tariff.) I honestly believed what he told me, that Costa Rica was one of the last few countries in the world that had not closed its doors to political refugees.

On the strength of my Costa Rican visa I acquired transit visas for Russia, Japan, and Panama, and started out late in September, together with my wife. We sailed from Yokohama on the Japanese liner *Ginyo Maru* and arrived at Balboa, Canal Zone, on December 4. There, to our dismay, we learned that we could not land. When I presented my passport to the quarantine officer, he merely shoved it aside with a curt "no good." Every other passenger with a visa to Costa Rica received

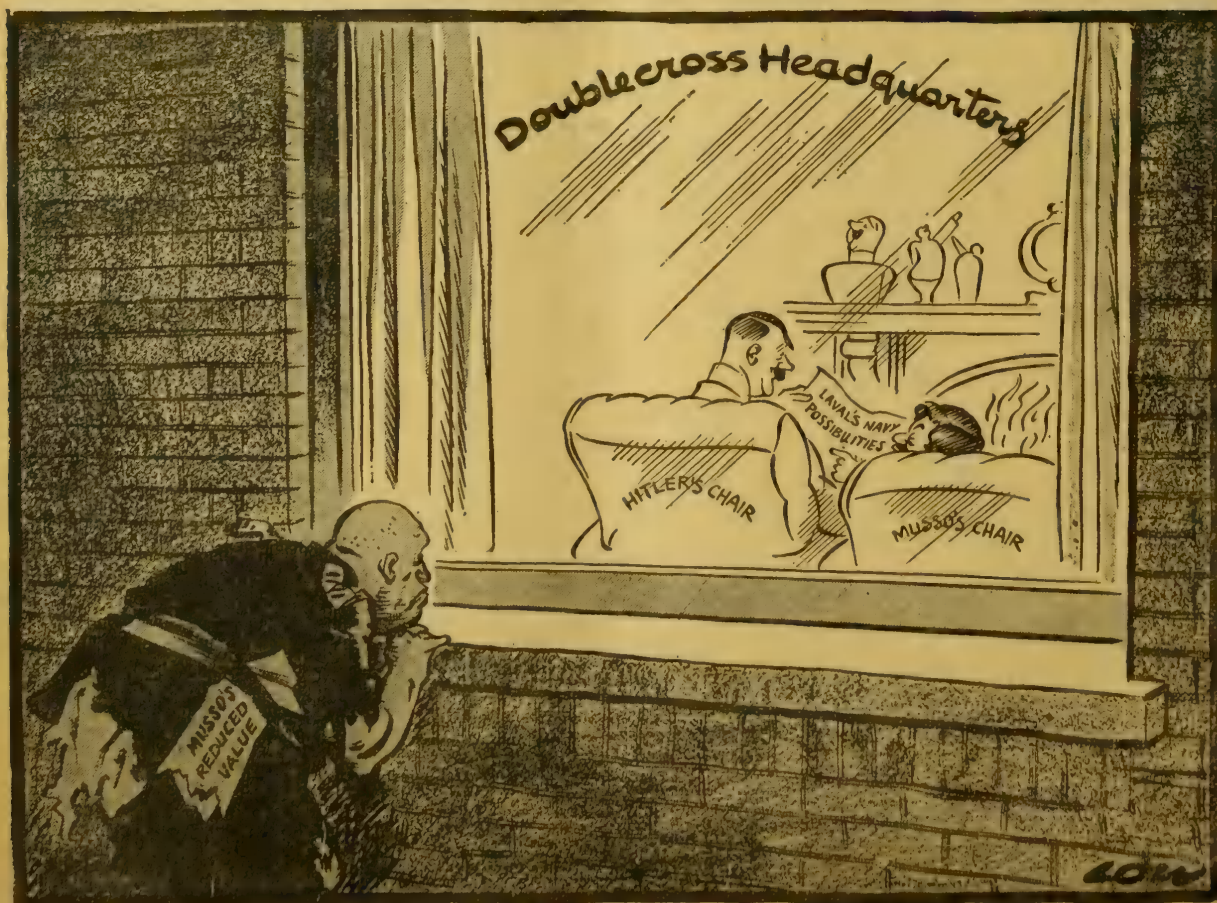
the same treatment, as did scores of others who held visas for Santo Domingo, Haiti, Honduras, and a few other countries. Our visas, we were informed, were not valid, since they had not been explicitly confirmed by the respective governments, and under these conditions our transit visas for Panama would not be acknowledged either. The Canal Zone authorities had just received stringent instructions from Washington not to allow anybody ashore who could not satisfy them that he was strictly in transit. The United States, we were told, could not take any chances with refugees, whether genuine or not, in a territory so vital to its defense. The quarantine officer was sorry, but he could do nothing about it; all those who had unconfirmed visas—and there were at least thirty of them on the Ginyo Maru, which carried mostly refugees from Europe—would have to go on with the ship.

It is not really relevant that my wife and I eventually did get ashore. We owed this happy ending to the vigorous intervention of a local newspaper man, Editor Ted Scott of *Panama-America*, who happened to know me by name and offered his help. A forceful article which Mr. Scott published in his paper clinched the case. After two days of tantalizing suspense we were permitted to

land. The Costa Rican government, yielding to urgent representations from its Minister in Panama, Dr. Fonseca Zuñiga, at last agreed to admit us into the country. It did not, however, honor the phony documents of Mr. Andersson in Stockholm; when we arrived, a few days later, in San José, it was on a new visa issued by the Costa Rican consul in Panama.

But that was our personal good luck. When the Ginyo Maru at long last left Balboa, nearly three days behind schedule, there were still some thirty hapless refugees on board, a majority of them Jews. The Panama authorities had, characteristically, declared themselves willing to admit them all if the proper sum could be "deposited"—\$3,000 per family, which might be refunded if the family left Panama again within a year, in addition to \$100, pure graft, per person. In the short period of time available it proved impossible to raise the money, and the scheme fell through.

Where are those thirty unwanted passengers on the Ginyo Maru going now? No one can tell. The ship will have to take them along to Peru and Chile, with not the slightest chance of their being allowed to land there, then back to Japan. Perhaps they will finally arrive "home" again, after five months' useless traveling.



FACE AT THE WINDOW

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Our Gerrymandered States

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Salem, Oregon, January 24

AT ANY moment now the legislatures of the states which showed substantial population increases in the 1940 census can be expected to petition Congress for additional membership in the national House of Representatives. With equal assurance, these same legislatures can be expected to disregard the census figures when the question arises of adjusting their own membership to population shifts and changes.

The final results of the 1940 census, announced recently by the Department of Commerce, put up squarely to almost every state an issue long avoided—the issue of legislative reapportionment. Most of the country's legislatures are as off balance as a waltzing dinosaur. Rural districts are greatly over-represented and the cities, conversely, are shockingly under-represented. In many instances, the situation practically adds up to a state-wide system of rotten boroughs.

This is not a new problem. Yet it has aspects never so conspicuous as now. President Roosevelt's reelection was mainly brought about by the vote of the larger industrial centers. In general, he carried the big cities and ran close or slightly behind in innumerable rural precincts. Thus the present gerrymandering of state districts amounts to supporters of the New Deal being denied equal voice with its opponents in choosing the personnel of legislatures. With state collaboration necessary in pension benefits, power and reclamation undertakings, and now in certain national defense plans, this may lead to a thwarting of the will of the majority.

Consider the dilemma in Oregon, one of the most progressive states and the first to adopt the initiative and referendum. Portland is the only city of any size. With its environs, it has a third of Oregon's population yet only 22 per cent of the membership in the legislature. Each representative from Portland has more than 25,000 constituents. Contrast this with some of the backwoods districts where constituencies number less than 7,000. Vernon Bull, railroad worker who represents the Union Pacific division point of La Grande, speaks for 18,000 people. Anti-labor legislators from nearby ranch areas have a third that many constituents.

Such a situation was not the intent of the adventurous souls who crossed the Continental Divide and in 1857 drafted the first state charter in the Pacific Northwest. Oregon's constitution provides that the legislature shall be apportioned according to population and that reapportionment shall take place at every census. The constitution has not been followed. In 1907 the last

reapportionment of the Oregon legislature took place. Since then the population of the state, stimulated by constant migration westward, has nearly doubled and the census has been enumerated four times. Singularly enough, all attempts at reapportionment have been blocked by the loudest and noisiest constitution-lovers.

Oregon is merely an example of a national situation. Rural districts cling to representation in state legislatures out of all proportion to the number of their inhabitants. Because legislatures are masters of their own apportionment, the condition cannot be corrected unless rural legislators are willing to vote away the unequal power they now enjoy. This is not the way of mankind. Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain of Columbia University pointed out recently: "In states where both major parties are strong, the Democrats usually have greater strength in the cities, while the rural districts return Republicans. Therefore, the chiefs of the latter party will naturally oppose any change which would lessen their political power."

St. Louis has 29 per cent of Missouri's population, yet only 14 per cent of the membership of the state house of representatives. Wilmington with 63 per cent of the population of Delaware has 28.6 per cent of the house of representatives. Baltimore has 58 per cent of Maryland's people but elects only 38 per cent of the lower house of the legislature. These anomalies are repeated in many states. Legislators from Los Angeles and San Francisco, for example, must represent 70,000 people apiece while each lawmaker from a California rural district has an average of 36,000 constituents.

A few states have constitutions which arbitrarily limit the size of legislative delegations from large cities. But in many states the legislatures are defying constitutional requirements to allocate representation on the basis of population. Legal suits even have been instituted asking that the courts restrain the collection of taxes until legislative membership was made to conform with the census figures. Judges, although remarkably scrupulous about other constitutional provisions, have held that legislative apportionment is a political rather than a judicial question and they have refused to interfere.

In the final analysis, public opinion is the only lever which can force legislatures to restore representative government in their states. A few years ago the people of Seattle got tired of a situation which virtually restricted their suffrage. The Washington state constitution declares that both senate and house shall be apportioned according to population, but for thirty years—three

decades in which Seattle expanded mightily—reapportionment had been unfinished business on the legislative calendar. One Seattle district, with 166,000 inhabitants, had equal representation with Skamania and Wahkiakum Counties, with 6,000 inhabitants between them.

Seattle voters took matters into their own hands. They drafted an initiative petition reapportioning the legislature. In their opinion, something had happened to democracy when a fourth of the state's population could elect a majority of the law-makers. Fifty thousand signatures were obtained to the petition and the proposal went on the ballot. After a bitter campaign it was adopted at the polls by a narrow margin. As a result, the Washington legislature today dovetails with the population. Seattle with 29 per cent of the people of the state has 26 per cent of the senators, 24 per cent of the representatives.

Nor may it be an accident that Washington is one of the most forward-looking states, with advanced legislation in labor, education and hydroelectric power and with a liberal State Planning Council which is generously provided for by the legislature. The anachronistic legislative apportionments in many states are a bar to progress. Throughout the Far West, counties where rich, irrigated land has attracted thousands of Dust Bowl migrants possess no more legislative voice than counties which have remained gaunt and desolate and dominated by a handful of cattle ranchers. Yet the people in one county are interested in social changes and additional school facilities, while those in the other want primarily to preserve the status quo and keep down taxes.

In our American rotten boroughs men and women in the cities and in newly settled agricultural areas are denied equal legislative representation with the older rural regions. Sometimes this unfair advantage attains a ratio of three or four to one. In such cases, representative government ceases to exist. The fresh presence of the 1940 census figures offers a new chance to remedy a situation which the authors of most of our state constitutions never dreamed would come about.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Exploiting the Conquered

ON SEPTEMBER 14 last I described in this column some of the methods of plunder which the Nazis were employing in the occupied countries. They included such dodges as fixing exchange rates so as to give additional purchasing power to the mark and the forcing of exports paid for by Reichsbank credits which could only be drawn upon to a limited extent.

In the past four months the economic experts who follow behind the German army have been busy perfecting these

and other methods by which the victims of *Blitzkrieg* are being bled white. But in the same period the channels of communication with the conquered countries have been improved, and, despite efforts by the Nazis to conceal the evidence of their depredations, a good many new facts have come to light.

I am now able, for instance, to present statistics of German-Dutch trade for the three months, June to September, 1940, and the corresponding period of 1939. The contrast is most revealing:

	1939	1940
	Millions of Guilders	
Imports from Germany	120	84
Exports to Germany	46	127

Holland, it will be seen, has changed a large passive balance with Germany into a large active balance and mercantile-minded persons, who believe that in international trade it is always more blessed to give than to receive, may jump to the conclusion that the Dutch have benefitted from conquest. The fact is, however, that in return for its excess of exports Holland does not obtain the means of purchasing the goods it needs for its own consumption. All it gets is a Nazi I. O. U., an entry to its credit in the books of the Reichsbank which can only be used for the acquisition of such German goods as the authorities chose to release for sale abroad.

All the conquered countries find that their blocked balances with Germany are piling up continuously, for the Nazis have a great hunger for goods while the demands of their war machine, the lack of raw materials, and the shortage of transport make them unwilling to send out of the country more than the absolute minimum necessary. Thus, although there is an abundance of coal in Germany, the Danes and the Norwegians cannot get enough to keep warm despite their wealth in marks. And for the entirely inadequate supplies they do get, they have to pay heavily, for the German authorities have fixed the price at least 20 per cent higher than the rate charged Sweden, which still has some power to bargain.

Germany is also drawing large sums from the conquered territories by charging them occupation costs. In the case of France the amount of the bill has been officially published—no less than 400 million francs per day. With regard to other countries, which are officially enjoying "protection," there has been more reticence, but it is understood that Norway's payment has been fixed at the total appropriation for its own military and naval establishments this year—an appropriation sharply above normal owing to last-minute efforts to build up defenses. The amount per day, on this basis, would be approximately one million kroner, or \$250,000, a very heavy burden for a country of less than three million people. Estimates for the levies on other countries, which have been published in London, are on the same scale and altogether, according to the same source, Germany is collecting from its victims something like 15 per cent of its total war expenditure.

Abundantly supplied with cash in these ways the German armies of occupation have rapidly made inroads into stocks of consumers' goods in the conquered countries—stocks

which cannot be replaced. They are also in a position to obtain first pick of the fresh foodstuffs which come on the market. The provisioning of the German army in Norway is believed to be carried out almost entirely from local resources, and since it comprises at least 300,000 young men with healthy appetites it is easy to explain the shortage of food in that country.

In Paris, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and all other cities under the swastika the stores are rapidly becoming bare of necessities and luxuries alike. Now with money to burn the Nazis are employing their looted funds to buy up industrial concerns in the occupied lands. Two weeks ago an article in *The Nation*, written by an American in Paris, described the way in which French enterprises are disappearing into the German maw. A recent issue of the London *Economist* gives particulars of a working arrangement between the German steel firm of Otto Wolff and one of the largest Belgian producers in the industry. A full merger is expected to follow the present agreement which covers production and exports.

Nor are activities of this sort confined to the conquered countries. Diplomatic and economic pressures are being employed to obtain control of key industries in states which have been brought within the German orbit. The German firm of Wintershall has acquired all rights of digging new oil wells in Hungary, together with the control of Standard Oil of Hungary, a company hitherto partly financed by American capital. Another German dominated concern has recently been organized to exploit oil and minerals in Yugoslavia.

Thus, in the midst of war, the Nazis frantically organize their economic empire. Their undisguised aim is to obtain a firm hold over the raw materials and vital industries of Europe. So far as possible they intend to concentrate manufacturing activity within Germany itself, for they know that military might in these days rests on an industrial foundation. If they can force France to revert to an agricultural state they know they can prevent its revival as a great power. In the same way they hope to organize the small states which they dominate into providers of cheap foods and raw materials for their own economy.

Pursuing this program they tend to favor the agrarian as against the urban interests in the conquered countries. This policy has the additional advantage of promoting schisms between the two groups and thus weakening resistance to the invader. In Norway the puppet Quisling is proposing a reduction of mortgage interest and taxation for farmers while simultaneously insisting that wages and salaries must be cut in spite of sharp rises in the cost of living. German purchasing methods help to promote the same ends. Danish farmers are paid good prices for their slaughtered livestock and are thus assisted to clear their debts. Were they Balkan peasants this might impress them with the benevolence of Nazism. But since they are, for the most part, economically sophisticated, thanks to the Danish educational system, they are well aware that money in the bank is little good if it cannot be used to replenish the herds or provide fodder for the remaining animals. And in Western Europe generally people are not being deceived by the Nazi's refined methods of burglary. They recognize the New Order for what it is and know that whichever way you slice it is still baloney.

In the Wind

AMONG POST-ELECTION developments list the sharp and bitter break between Roy Howard and Russell Davenport, the *Fortune* managing editor who joined Willkie's brain trust. Howard and Davenport clashed over the publisher's appeasement stand.

A MINOR MYSTERY among New York newspapermen is the present whereabouts of Clarence Hathaway, purged Communist editor. Reporters have been scouring the city in an attempt to interview him but so far without success.

HERE'S A HOLLYWOOD tale via *Variety*. Herman Mankiewicz, script writer, protested to the Screen Writers' Guild, demanding screen credit for his work on "Citizen Kane." When Hearst interests started a row over the film, which parallels the publisher's life, Mankiewicz withdrew his protest. Now the studio has decided to give him full credit.

JURISDICTIONAL BATTLES between the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. on defense construction projects have gotten some publicity, but the fight has just begun. Rival picketing is starting in key areas and labor leaders fear that this kind of battle—which makes no sense to the public—may lead to real anti-labor curbs. And nobody knows what to do about it.

SHORT-WAVE listeners report that Ezra Pound's broadcasts from Italy are becoming more frequent. He advocates that America stay out of the war and solve its economic woes with Social Credit.

WAR NEWS: St. Claire McKelway's biography of Walter Winchell—"Gossip, the Life and Times of Walter Winchell"—will be published shortly in England.

WHEN TWO New Haven dailies were struck recently, Yale students put on a show of anti-social consciousness. The editors of the college daily started to transform their paper into a city-wide daily to replace the commercial papers.

REPORTS THAT Phil Murray has been urging a vigorous pro-British stand by the C. I. O. are true. At the last executive board meeting he pressed hard for the position—and the left-wing spokesmen at the session moved very cautiously. Insiders say there was no clear-cut opposition but some sentiment for "moderate" action.

UNCENSORED, the isolationist news-letter, reports this puzzle. In its story of the meeting in Glasgow at which Winston Churchill and Harry Hopkins appeared on the same platform, the city edition of the New York *Times* carried the following sentences: "Whether the former United States Secretary of Commerce acknowledged the introduction [by Mr. Churchill] or said anything in response must be left to the reader's intuition. If he had, the defense regulations would prohibit the citation of his words and phrases." These sentences disappeared from later editions.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

The Naval Censor

ALONG with every other newspaper editor from Beeswax to Boston, I got a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, who, as the saying goes, used to be a newspaperman himself. The envelope was marked "personal" though I never had the pleasure of meeting the Secretary. The letter inside was marked "confidential" in capital letters and underlined. I can keep a secret, even one I did not ask to receive and one that is shared with several thousand other people. But I am saying that I feel very strongly that any regulation of the press in America in the emergency ought not to be a personal and confidential matter between an official and the editors. If I understand the freedom of the press, it does not belong to either the editors or the officials but to the people. And if there are going to be any modifications of it, at the very least the country ought to know about it.

An encouraging proportion of the newspapermen understand that. I attended a meeting of a good-sized group of us country editors not long ago. None of them would print any news which he thought would serve any enemy and hurt the nation. But all of them were anxious to give to the entire defense effort the honest and adequate reporting of legitimate news to which they think their readers are entitled. And they had a feeling that they were not everywhere being permitted to do it.

"My actual experience with the War and Navy Departments," said one of them who is not a trained seal or a syndicated columnist but a man who works his legs as well as his head, "has been mixed. Generally, I find that if I can get to the head man, I get courteous treatment. The man who has been through the mill does not have such an inflated sense of his own importance. He is also more conscious of the fact that promotion of good-will is important to the army's growth. Men like Deputy Chief of Staff General Richard Moore will listen to your questions, tell you what they can tell you on the record, add some information off the record, and often-time frankly reply that it is impossible to answer such a question. With the pressure of work, however, the real difficulty is getting to see these big boys.

"Rather than deliberate suppression of the news," he said, "I find confusion more often the trouble. Yesterday a friend of mine had a simple question about plans for

establishing a Negro army corps. He was referred to thirteen people before he was able to get a definite answer. Another man—a methodical and determined guy—recently called on fifty-two people in defense agencies before he was given a definite answer on a relatively simple fact. This shows that there are a lot of people who just don't know what is going on, and another bunch who are adept at buck-passing.

"In fairness, two things must be said. Some of the men are genuinely afraid of the rather sweeping application now being made of the espionage act. They don't know just how far they can go in giving information before they open themselves to possible violation of the act. Some of them just don't know what is and what is not 'legitimate' information. Also many inquiries get little consideration simply because of the pressure of work."

Of one thing he was certain: "There is hardly a correspondent here who does not complain about the difficulty of getting news, but I have heard few complain of the manner in which they are treated. There are, of course, exceptions to this statement. In normal times a press section is often a help in getting the news you are after. Now this office is apt to be a bottleneck, so we steer clear of it as much as we can. There is a small group in the War Department who will invariably reply that they can give out no information except through the press section. This usually means you get no information."

The sum of what he said and what I have heard from local newspapermen up and down the country seems to be not suppression so much as confusion. There is an increasing feeling among newspapermen like that I heard one conservative, mature publisher express recently.

"Ninety-five per cent of the military secrets," he said, "are to cover up military mistakes."

That may not be so. But both the army and the people would be safer from the consequences of military mistakes if there were a clearer understanding all down the line in Washington about just what constitutes legitimate information and a more efficient system of getting it through the press to the people. Secretary Knox, as a former newspaperman, might serve defense and security better if he spoke publicly and not personally, publicly and not confidentially, about this matter, so that subordinates would know what they can give and the people could know what they could expect,

BOOKS and the ARTS

A NOTE ON ORDER

BY W. H. AUDEN

LA TYRANNIE est de vouloir avoir par une voie ce qu'on ne peut avoir que par une autre."—Pascal.

1. As Mr. H. G. Wells remarked recently in *The Nation*, this war is not a war of ideologies: the totalitarian "New Order" is "just theoretical eye-wash for a purely individualistic control." Fascism is what happens to an industrial society when disorder is accepted as inevitable but has reached a point where it is felt as intolerable. It provides a positive satisfaction to the ambition of the few, and a negative satisfaction to the inertia of the many. Hitler is our immediate enemy because it is in his positive interest to increase the social disorder upon which his power depends, but, even if he is defeated, unless we overcome our own inertia against understanding and removing this disorder, he will only be succeeded by others.

2. A society in disorder is one which is only partially influential in imposing its characteristics in the form of prevalent laws. The laws of a society are those relations between the entities of which it is composed that are unconditionally required. A primitive or low-grade social order displays a massive and uniform vagueness which masks contrast and in which requiredness consists of immediate responses to unrelated objective stimuli—for example, conditioned reflexes. An advanced or high-grade social order displays a differentiation in which diversity is consciously felt as contrast, and requiredness is a constellation of subjective general notions. A degenerate social order displays a trivial multiplicity in which contrast is dismissed into incompatibility and requiredness disappears.¹

3. Civilization (high-grade social order), as we know it, makes two presuppositions: (a) that throughout this universe there is one set of laws according to which all movements and events in spite of all differences agree on happening; (b) that, nevertheless, there are in this universe many different realms or societies, each composed of a class of things peculiar to itself to which events of a peculiar kind happen (one important peculiarity is position in time), and that the peculiar laws of these several realms are modifications of the universal law mentioned in (a).²

4. Corresponding to these there are two heresies by

which civilization has been constantly threatened, heresies respectively defined in the Athanasian Creed as "dividing the substance" and "confounding the persons." (a) Dualism. The denial of any relation between the universal and the particular, that is, that the particular laws are modifications of the general law. Examples: Stoicism, Manicheism, the sentimentality of business men. Social result: an other-worldliness which regards all attempts to establish social order as vain, or a secularism which regards progress as inevitable. (b) Monism, that is, the assumption that the peculiar laws of one of the peculiar realms are the universal laws from which all the others are derivative. Examples: the dominance in the Middle Ages of the laws of Aristotelian logic, the Marxist theory of history, the Freudian psychology. Social results: tyranny or violent revolution.

5. During the last four hundred years a third heresy, really a modification of (a), has appeared, an empiricism which denies the necessity of any metaphysics. Bacon's description of science as putting nature to the torture is a good one. Science is a *method* of questioning which presupposes that the questioner has a particular question he wishes to ask of a particular subject. An essential feature of the method is a deliberate isolation of the experimental field from the rest of nature. The practical success of this technical device has led society to believe that this isolation is a characteristic of nature itself, and, while admitting in theory that the peculiar laws are modifications of the universal law, to deny it in practice by ignoring that this implies relations between the peculiar realms themselves.

The social aspect of this has been the atomic view of society as a multiplicity of unrelated special individuals pursuing special unrelated occupations, typical of liberal capitalist democracy. (In education it appears as a doctrine of "self-expression"; in literature as the formless "naturalistic" novel.)

A curious corollary of this view is that it really identifies the universal with the political, a conclusion implicit in Locke's theory of government as the ringmaster of competing interests. As long as this competition remained comparatively mild, that is, as long as politics did not have to be taken seriously, this corollary was not apparent.

The conditions that made liberal democracy possible were two: first, an expanding economy, a progress from

¹A. N. Whitehead: "Process and Reality."

²R. G. Collingwood: "Metaphysics."

an economy of scarcity toward an economy of abundance; and, second, a margin of scarcity, however narrow. A static economy of scarcity prohibits free social movement; an economy of abundance prohibits a free market. Men can bear being exploited better than they can bear being unwanted; the injustice of oppression is perhaps just bearable, the injustice of unemployment is certainly not.³

On the liberal assumption that the politician has the unique occupation of keeping order between all the other unique and non-political occupations, the moment serious disorder occurs he is obliged to become the dictator. The politician is, after all, the true empiricist. Fascism is theoretically perfectly consistent with Locke.

6. Modern society is a differentiated society in disorder, the result of our ignoring the relations between its different elements. As long as we continue to do so, disorder will seem due to the social differentiation itself instead of to our false conception of it. The only remedy, therefore, will seem the fascist remedy, that is, a return to primitive uniformity and multiple objective requiredness—a theirs-not-to-reason-why obedience to unrelated military orders. But this is simply to substitute for the disorder of triviality the disorder of vagueness, and since our technological and economic development obliges us to remain differentiated, this is a vain attempt that produces a worse disorder than ever. We must not, however, give the fascists the credit of being the first to attempt this return to vagueness; the advertising firms, film directors, Sunday reviewers have been at it for years.

7. The restoration of a civilized social order, which now means a world order, calls, among a multitude of other things, for the following:

(a) A recognition in every field of intellectual and social activity of the importance of metaphysics. The cohesion of an undifferentiated and segregated society is secured by tradition, that is, a multiplicity of commands in which the right thing to do is inseparable from the right way of doing it—an identity found today only in compulsion neuroses. The cohesion of a differentiated and open society can only be secured through a common agreement upon a small number of carefully defined general presuppositions, from which each individual can deduce the right behavior in a particular instance. These presuppositions must be consupposable with each other. Aesthetics, ethics, economics, science, though each a peculiar field, are not unrelated, and unless this relation is recognized, errors appear in their own peculiar results.

(b) A recognition, on the other hand, that these presuppositions are not knowledge, that a clear distinction must be drawn between presuppositions and propositions which are experimentally verifiable, between matters of faith and matters of belief, and the fullest acceptance of the principle of doubt.

I believe $X = I$ believe the proposition X to be true.

I have faith in $X =$ The existence of X is, for me, an absolute presupposition.

I doubt $X =$ I admit the possibility that at some future unspecified date, for reasons also unspecified, I may come *either* to believe the proposition X to be false *or* to find that, for me, the presupposition that X exists is no longer absolute but relative.

(c) A recognition that, as a society changes, its constellation of presuppositions, that is, its orthodoxy, changes too, but that the effect of social change *per se* is only destructive. History can be counted upon to expose propositions which are false, or supposedly absolute presuppositions as only relative, but it does not automatically create new presuppositions. Every orthodoxy, in fact, is, in an absolute sense, heretical. It can only represent the greatest degree of intellectual freedom from its own temporal limitations possible to any given society at any given time.

(d) A recognition of scientific method as the only way of asking questions to obtain valid knowledge.

In the *New Republic* for October 28, Professor Sidney Hook took Professor Mortimer Adler to task for dismissing science as a series of opinions about reality and therefore unimportant. If Professor Adler really said this, Professor Hook was perfectly justified in his attack. But the latter is naive when he asserts that "more universal agreement exists about scientific ideas than metaphysical axioms have ever given," and draws from this the moral that the scientific method must be extended to "the questions and problems in social life about which there is disagreement." That disagreement exists precisely because there is a lack of metaphysical agreement.

8. The words "orthodoxy" and "heresy" at once raise the problem of freedom. In a primitive society orthodoxy is secured by tradition, that is, assent is automatically and universally conditioned, and the problem of freedom has not yet arisen. In a semi-civilized society, that is, one which is changing but thinks of itself as static, the majority are still orthodox by tradition; the recalcitrant minority are coerced by some form or other of Holy Office.

In a degenerate society, that is, one with no standards, orthodoxy becomes an arbitrary succession of fashionable fads, frequently manipulated for profit by individuals (for example, the faith of the average American in doctors). In a civilized society, that is, one in which a common faith is combined with a skepticism about its finality, and which agrees with Pascal that "*Nier, croire, et douter bien sont à l'homme ce que le courir est au cheval*," orthodoxy can only be secured by a co-operation of which free controversy is an essential part.

For what at the time appears to be a heresy never arises without a cause. Either it is a real advance on the old orthodoxy (for example, the Copernican cosmogony

³ Nazi Economics. Charles Noyes, *The Nation*, September 14, 1940.

was an advance on the Ptolomaic) or it is an unsatisfactory reaction to a real abuse (for example, Manicheism was an intellectual heresy caused by the moral corruption of the relatively orthodox church). Persecution is futile in either case: in the first because the persecutor is wrong, and in the second because he is only suppressing a symptom while leaving the cause of disease untouched.

Elegy for James Joyce

BY IVAN GOLL

L'Aveugle aux grands yeux semeurs de phosphore
 Nous a guidés par le camp des dormeurs
 Lui qui fut phare sur la plage incolore
 En riant annonça les siècles de malheur

Il m'a conduit en me prenant l'épaule
 Dompteur de l'inconnu gardien de l'amitié
 Je l'ai conduit en lui prenant l'épaule
 Mais c'est lui qui trouva la Rue de la Pitié

Nous nous sommes assis près du fleuve de pierre
 Cueillant la fleur du mal au pré des Capucines
 Nous avons écouté le chant des lavandières
 Et le bavardement des Proserpines

Il était comme un arbre plein d'adolescence
 Voyant avec ses feuilles quand on ment
 Roseau qui las d'avoir trop pensé danse
 Et deviendra la Tour de notre temps

Soudain avec son rire il fracassait des villes
 Il déchirait la nuit avec son rire de hibou
 Avec son rire d'aulne il séduisait les filles
 Il arrêtrait le meurtre avec son rire roux

Avec ce rire il charmaient les rivières
 Et les trompait en confondant leurs lits
 Il leur montrait des chemins de chimère
 Qui conduisaient vers l'océan Oubli

Choréographe des quatre danses du vent
 Grammairien des douze langues de la médisance
 Horloger des vingt-quatre heures du drame
 Fumeur des cent pipes du rêve

Mécano des moteurs de la fécondité
 Tisserand des tapis volants de la fuite
 Ramoneur des vieilles cheminées du vice
 Chasseur de la bête de l'Apocalypse

Il montait tous les soirs à une balustrade
 Où l'attendait la folle aux cheveux de mélisse
 D'une racine d'Eire il tirait la ballade
 Pour mourir avec elle de sa propre musique

The Way of the Vanguard

NEW DIRECTIONS IN PROSE AND POETRY, 1940.

Edited by James Laughlin. New Directions. \$3.50.

THIS LATEST edition of Mr. James Laughlin's annual anthology seems to me by far the best of the five volumes that have appeared to date. It not only includes more varied material but also reflects a more rigorous principle of selection than was evident in preceding issues. In his preface the editor ingenuously confesses to the discovery that mere self-expression is not enough—that formal discipline is necessary. He has obviously consulted the conscience of craft, for this time he has refrained from giving professional exploiters of avant-gardist attitudes the free play they previously enjoyed under his auspices. The level and interest of this collection suggest, furthermore, that experimental and "new" writing is at long last recovering from the ten years' slump caused by the intervention in literature of political dogmatists and Comintern-appointed representatives of "progress." The energy of literary people is now flowing back into its proper channels; and, if only one could assume that the present war will not end in the wrecking of all cultural endeavor, one might reasonably look forward to a revival of imaginative curiosity and to the further extension of creative norms. Of course, it is neither possible nor desirable to recapture the spirit of the 1920's. What is to be aimed at is the critical renewal, rather than the resumption along nostalgic and purely reiterative lines, of the modern tradition in letters—a renewal based on an assimilation of both the positive and the negative lessons that the past decade has taught us.

Several of the contributors to this volume are evidently trying to formulate some such new attitude. Thus, in his two stories and short verse-play, Mr. Paul Goodman shows himself capable of putting to good use all kinds of knowledge—esthetic, philosophical, and political. He is a young writer of keen and agile intelligence, in possession of qualities that one usually misses in the typical American story-teller, who in most cases is a "natural," a naïf who supports his literary personality by regaling the big-city public with horrendous tales of his home-town. Not that we can take in Mr. Goodman the measure of the younger generation, about which very little can be said because as yet its features remain undefined. Moreover, most of its members are, unfortunately, still cowering in the shadow of their elders. Mr. Goodman, on the other hand, is resourceful enough to arrange his intellectual environment to suit himself. In his story, *A Ceremonial*, he handles a very risky theme—the life of man "after the establishment among us of reasonable institutions." The result is neither a Wellsian fantasy nor a propaganda-poster of musclebound happiness such as tourists used to bring back from Soviet Russia. His projection is idyllic, to be sure, yet sufficiently concrete and psychologically intimate to reveal the outlines of a possible reality. His second story, *A Cross-Country Runner at Sixty-Five*, is, to my mind, less successful, an idea-piece linked to no credible experience. Eudora Welty's *Keela the Outcast Indian Maiden* seems the most vivid and technically formed of the other items of fiction. David Kerner, a newcomer from Philadelphia, writes about immigrant Jews in a style which is something of an innova-

VAN WYCK BROOKS'S

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"My friend Oliver Allston, who died last year in his early fifties, was a literary man of some distinction. A few of my readers, at least, will remember his name. He had published half a dozen books, collections of critical essays, which had a certain point of view in common, and I am not alone among his friends in feeling that, if he had lived a little longer, he might have made some impression on the mind of his time."

From 1916, with the publication of "America's Coming of Age," to the present, the years of the magnificent and widely read "Flowering of New England" and "New England: Indian Summer," Van Wyck Brooks has exercised an influence on the minds of his countrymen second to that of few living American writers.

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tion, and which recommends itself by its tonal and dramatic adjustment to its subject matter, but I wish I could disentangle the story Mr. Kerner tells from his style.

The critical section also contains a number of very good things. Miss Katherine Anne Porter's "Notes on Writing" are so just and penetrating that they bring to mind the superb discussions of craft-problems that Chekhov entered into his diary. But the most formidable critical contribution is offered by Mr. George Orwell, an English critic. In his long essay, "Inside the Whale," he takes the work of Henry Miller for his point of departure and then proceeds to evaluate in a lucid and forceful fashion the last decade of English literary history, with special reference to the political relations into which literature was drawn during that period. Mr. Orwell understands the social psychology of the writers he analyses, also the doctrinal meanings of Marxism, also the role of those groups that use Marxism to hide their shame. And I might add that he is the first critic I have read on Henry Miller who makes sense.

Among the chief features of "New Directions" this year is a documentary compilation of surrealist texts, edited by Nicolas Calas, an orthodox surrealist who apparently has the ear of his *chef d'école*, M. André Breton. Mr. Calas's summary of the surrealist creed is enlivened by defiant gestures and militant epigrams. The three principles of surrealism, he states, are Objective Hazard, Estrangement of Sensation, and Black Bile "served hot or cold at all times of the day." The main impression the texts give is that surrealist theory is somewhat at odds with surrealist practice. Instead of exploring the Unconscious, the writers of this school seem more intent on "imitating" and idealizing it in the same sense that the Romantic poets imitated and idealized Nature, which was discovered and appropriated in the eighteenth century in much the same way as the Unconscious was discovered and appropriated in the twentieth. Freud, of course, was a scientist, whereas Rousseau was an ideologist; but art has taken from both what it could and wanted to take.

I should mention that the surrealist section is rounded out by two essays, one by Herbert J. Muller and one by Kenneth Burke, which attempt to estimate the value and meaning of this movement. Mr. Burke is his usual brilliant notion-spinning self, while Mr. Muller carefully formulates most of the standard objections.

PHILIP RAHV

Literary Autobiography

LIFE FOR LIFE'S SAKE. By Richard Aldington. The Viking Press. \$3.

MR. ALDINGTON was born in 1892. This means that in 1914 he was twenty-two. And when he was just short of twenty and quite old enough to go traveling by himself to Paris in search of adventure and the literary life it was the year 1912, and the month was May.

It is more than likely that all persons who had a taste for poetry and who knew Paris in May of 1912 were especially blessed by the gods. Good food and wine were cheap, the lilacs were in bloom, life was gentle, charming, and civilized, and in any café friends could sit all day and all night

and talk largely about philosophy, music, books, love, and every other subject under the sun. For a young poet it was the Golden Age, and one need not wonder that Mr. Aldington has never ceased to mourn its passing. It was then that he began to live. In this account of his life, more literary than personal, he describes briefly and with a pleasant humor his childhood in London or on the Dover coast, his schooling at the proper sort of school, his brief experience with the university. When the family fortune failed, he was perfectly willing to quit college and get himself a job. To the astonished chagrin of his elders, it was a job as a writer and he did not starve at it. He made friends among other writers and his memorable Paris holiday was with Ezra Pound and H. D. As was natural in that age of innocence, having seen Paris, one saw Italy, with the Roman gentry riding out every afternoon in their carriages and white violets blooming in Anacapri.

At that point the clock struck 1914. For Mr. Aldington as for everybody on the wrong side of forty, life has never been the same, and probably it never will be. Nevertheless he lived through it. Through three years of soldiering which he hated. Through the bibulous twenties, during which he retired to a cottage in the country and worked. And through many more years of writing poems and essays, reviewing and translating French books, and finally writing novels. During these same years he cemented the literary friendships which are the most interesting part of his book. First the imagists—Pound, Amy Lowell, Harold Munro, John Gould Fletcher, John Cournos; Yeats, also D. H. Lawrence and Frieda; later T. S. Eliot, Orage, Ford Madox Ford, and many others. Mr. Aldington's portraits of Pound, Eliot, and Lawrence are noteworthy. Comparing Pound and Eliot, he says:

Tom Eliot's career in England has been exactly the reverse of Ezra's. Ezra started out in a time of peace and prosperity with everything in his favor, and muffed his chances of becoming literary dictator of London—to which he undoubtedly aspired—by his own conceit, folly, and bad manners. Eliot started in the enormous confusion of war and post-war England, handicapped in every way. Yet by merit, tact, prudence, and pertinacity he succeeded in doing what no other American has done—imposing his personality, taste, and even many of his opinions on literary England.

But work and friends and literary success were not enough. Mr. Aldington wanted to be a "good European," and the good life in Europe was shutting up shop and retiring in favor of brainless tyranny. The Golden Age had vanished as perhaps it always vanishes. Mr. Aldington packed up and came to the United States where he now lives. And for all his nostalgia, one may say that he has not done so badly. He not only lived for a while in Arcady but he has written books about it. He has made an adequate living doing work he enjoyed. When one part of the world became unbearable he was able to retire to another, less so. Even with the Golden Age irrevocably liquidated, there have been worse fortunes than this.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN

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IN BRIEF

MY SISTER AND I: THE DIARY OF A DUTCH BOY REFUGEE.

By Dirk van der Heide. Translated by Mrs. Antoon Deventer. Harcourt, Brace, and Company. \$1.

This is a twelve-year-old boy's day-to-day story, amplified by himself, of what the *Blitzkrieg* means to an average middle-class family; and it is a document you will never forget. It lays directly before the reader the simple details of tragedy and endurance as they were burned into an intelligent child's memory. The basic facts of the experiences recorded here have been known before, but they have never been presented with such lack of self-consciousness, directness, and simplicity. It is a book of both human and historical significance.

DELILAH. By Marcus Goodrich. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.75.

Like a contemporary "Two Years Before the Mast," this novel evokes poignantly and at times almost lyrically what it meant to live and serve on a United States destroyer in 1917, during the six months before we entered the war. The U. S. S. Delilah, an "over-age" craft even at that date, churns up the South Seas on a score of arduous missions, and like a woman, commands the devotion of her oddly sorted crew as much for her crotchets and faults as for her sleekness and strength; yet Mr. Goodrich, who served for many years with the fleet, does not romanticize the buffetings that make up a large part of life on the tough, mettlesome little "black boats."

THE GREAT AMERICAN MYTH.

The True Story of Lincoln's Murder. By George S. Bryan. Carrick and Evans. \$3.75.

From a really vast background of study of manuscript sources, newspaper files and other contemporary accounts, there emerges a fairly clear picture of the actual happenings connected with the assassination of Lincoln, as distinguished from the insoluble mysteries created by the acceptance by different historians, and by the public, of conflicting legends founded on rumor. The author makes no pretense of solving these mysteries, and probably every reader will feel aggrieved that some story on which he was brought up is here waved aside with nothing to take its place. (Southerners particularly will not be satisfied with the treatment of Booth's motives.) The

illustrations are enlightening as well as attractive. The index, compiled by Richard Webster, is of a rare completeness.

NOT FOR THE MEEK. By Elizabeth Dewing Kaup. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

The meek don't inherit the earth, or any appreciable part thereof, in this meaty, forthright novel about Martin Lyndendaal, a Danish immigrant who worked hard and purposefully, took what he wanted, and battered and cajoled his way to the ownership of a large steel mill. The point is grimly driven home at the end of the book; for, as Martin lies dying at seventy-three, recalling the highlights of his long, robust life, his native Denmark is being overrun by the Germans, who likewise have made no fetish of meekness.

PRESENTING MOONSHINE. By John Collier. Viking Press. \$2.50.

A madcap collection of the eeriest, screwiest tales this side of Never-Never Land, by a man who is Dunsany, "Saki," and S. J. Perelman all rolled into one, not to mention Anatole France, Sax Rohmer, and J. B. Cabell. It shouldn't be missed by those who like to take their peris, goblins, and bottle imps straight, or with a grain of salaciousness and a dash of pungent innuendo.

DRAMA

Tragedy Is Not Easy

SOME ten years ago when Lynn Riggs's "Green Grow the Lilacs" was a current production of the Theater Guild its author was commonly set down as a more than usually promising young playwright who had chosen to cultivate the "folk play" rather than any one of the other more popular genres. Broadway has not been especially hospitable to the folk play (vide Paul Green), and despite two subsequently produced works Mr. Riggs rather fell out of sight. Now he has reappeared with an extremely ambitious and solemn piece called "The Cream in the Well" (Booth Theater) which the Guild is sponsoring, though Wharton and Gabel are listed as producers. Here the time is 1906 and the scene Indian Territory—which is familiar ground for the author. But "The Cream in the Well" is not really folk drama. It is, in intention at least, high tragedy. It does

not, that is to say, exist for the purpose of exhibiting the "manners" of a particular scene but for the sake of the passions portrayed, and Indian Territory in 1906 is merely a local habitation. The scene might be New York City or Singapore without essentially changing the play, and, as a matter of fact, the remoteness and relative unfamiliarity of the setting tend only to make the whole seem almost abstract.

The central character is the hellion daughter of a benevolent and hard-working farmer couple on a Cherokee allotment. Before the play begins she has already succeeded in separating her brother from his fiancée and in sending him upon an adventurous as well (one gathers) as a somewhat debauched career with the United States Navy. During the action she further succeeds, before her ultimate suicide, in driving the deserted fiancée to her death and in making a drunkard out of the weakling she herself has contemptuously consented to marry. Rather early in the play the audience has begun to realize what, it later appears, the principal parties concerned also understand, namely, that the girl is in love with her own brother and that her malice springs from conflict and frustration. In fact, near the end, the brother actually suggests that it would be better for them to yield to their impulses, that even unnatural love is less destructive than hate. But she is not able to face that possibility and prefers self-destruction instead.

Mr. Riggs writes, not only with obvious sincerity but also on a rather high level of literacy and competence. The result is that he holds the interest and commands respect. Yet it is impossible not to feel that the whole thing is somehow gratuitous, to ask what the play "means," why it was written, what it is ultimately "about." I have already said that it is not a folk play whose *raison d'être* is the presentation of a local culture. Neither is it primarily a psychological study, since the interest is not really centered in the psychological problem. And that leaves one asking for the sake of what it does exist.

Mr. Riggs, to be sure, might reply with a rhetorical question. "What," he might ask, "do 'Oedipus' and 'Agamemnon' mean?" "What, for that matter, did Mr. O'Neill's 'Desire Under the Elms' or his 'Mourning Becomes Electra' mean?" Such questions, however, suggest their own answers. Obviously it is not necessary for a play to "mean" anything in the sense in which the word is here being used, provided

that the passions revealed are really convincingly intense to a superlative degree. But they must be intense and convincing for beyond anything that is necessary in another kind of play. We easily grant our cooperation to the writer who is managing to amuse us. We demand somewhat more if he is presenting an interesting thesis, if he is proposing to demonstrate some truth we want to know. But we demand most of all of the author who invites us to a high tragedy. We resist it as we resist all things which are even superficially unpleasant or painful.

What's Hecuba to us or we to Hecuba? As the tired business man says, we have troubles enough of our own. We must, if the tragedy is really to succeed, be caught up and carried away in spite of ourselves. We must find ourselves concerned whether we want to be or not, too moved to ask why we should care. And if Mr. Riggs commands respect and holds attention without quite stilling question or complaint, the reason probably is simply that though his play is good it is not quite good enough to meet the requirements of the most difficult and exacting of dramatic forms—even though, as happens to be true in this case, it enjoys the advantage of a generally good production and a fine piece of acting contributed by Martha Sleeper as Julie, the unhappy sister. Several of the other parts are at least competently played, but Miss Sleeper's role is so much the most vivid of the play that other performers have little chance to shine conspicuously. She plays with a good deal of necessary restraint but she suggests very vividly Julie's hate and her suffering.

Any musical review which engages Willie Howard as principal comedian has made a very good start. It has also taken another promising step if it has acquired the services of Luella Gear to back him up. "Crazy With the Heat" (Forty-fourth Street Theater) did both these things and still manages to be something less than first-class entertainment of its kind. After a very feeble start it picks up somewhat, but it lacks the all but indefinable air of smartness which we have come to expect in Broadway musicals and though I know nothing of the previous activities of the producers many of the scenes suggest the more elaborate "production numbers" familiar in movie houses. In at least one scene, however, Willie Howard gets an opportunity to be very funny indeed. He is a Cossack singer in a Russian restaurant and a loving couple can't

chase him away from their table because, as he explains, "I come with the dinner." JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

There isn't much of a story in John van Druten's "Old Acquaintance" (Morosco Theater), and there is certainly no dramatic excitement, but it is a good show all the same. Mr. van Druten is a playwright who pulls no punches in exposing the shoddier aspects of his characters, but his sympathies run deep. Within the narrow confines of his play, which is greatly enhanced by the beautiful performances of Jane Cowl and Peggy Wood, he does a remarkable job of steering a group of civilized people through situations which bring out their pettiness and jealousies, without stripping them of their essential kindness and decency. For all the smartness of the writing and sophistication of the plot, such as it is, Mr. van Druten's play conveys a peculiarly warm conviction that humanity, even on its less rarefied levels, is capable of a modest sort of nobility.

ROBERT BENDINER

ART

Greco for Greece

DOMENIKOS Theotokopoulos, a Cretan who lived in Spain and was given the nickname El Greco by the Italians, has been reclaimed for the Greeks on the occasion of his 400th anniversary by the Countess Mercati, Grand Duchess Marie and half a dozen other titled ladies who are raising baskets for the brave at Knodler's and would probably have preferred getting their hands on Phidias whose origins are more certain. We know war is nothing to joke about; and for just that reason, we find it difficult to think of it as a pretext for an art show or to think, for that matter, of El Greco hastily called in like a specialty dancer at a masquerade ball, to raise money for relief. There is something absurd about associating the great painter with an Americanized Almanach de Gotha or visualizing him, profoundly melancholy as he was, with a Red Cross to bear.

However, the work of the worthy committee ends at the door with the entrance fee, and the rest is Greco, magnificent and miraculous. Sixteen of his paintings are on exhibit—"The Penitent St. Peter" is listed in the catalogue but absent from the walls—from the early "Purification of the Temple" to the late

"Landscape Near Toledo" (1610) which Stephan Bourgeois, in his notes describes as belonging to the Cretan's third phase "when he became greatly interested in the influence of climatic changes on the human mind." Further on, Mr. Bourgeois becomes specific about the climate of Toledo whose "rapid desiccation due to its proximity to Africa produced [such] mental states . . . that its inhabitants were drawn toward extra-terrestrial experience as though by a supernatural power."

We somehow must take objection to this quasi-scientific attempt—like the theory that Greco's distortions were due to astigmatism—to analyze a talent that essentially escapes definition. The creative act of genius is a little like death, subjective, mysterious, and yet universal. It seems an error on the side of pedantry to reduce it to a litmus test. Historically speaking, Mr. Bourgeois's climate seems to have had little effect on the development of Spanish painting in general. That atmosphere produced no painters of first magnitude before or after Greco's time until the advent of Velasquez. And yet many of the influences supposedly singular to the Cretan are to be found in Spanish art. From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, for example, we find a strong Oriental and Byzantine tendency in illuminated manuscripts, icons, and the early mural paintings at Toledo. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, two Italians, Gherardo Starnina and Dello, began the invasion which ended with the school of exaggerated Italian manner (under Philip II) and actually retarded the development of any national painting in Spain. Llanos and Yáñez both studied under da Vinci and it was Charles V of Spain who said of Greco's master: "There are many princes but only one Titian." His son Philip II, on Titian's death, displayed a ruinous prejudice against native art and imported as many Venetians as he could obtain to decorate the Escorial, among them the inadequate Zuccaro. And out of all this confusion came Greco whose Greek origin may be factual but obscure, who hurried on to Rome, then to Venice, and actually spent three quarters of his working life in Toledo. His influences, like his biographical data, are incomplete and cannot be accounted for in terms of environment, religiosity, or reason. The landscape in question as a matter of fact has much the same *quality* that Greco brought to the painting of a face or the drape of a cloth, and might just as readily be a portrait of Xanadu as of Toledo

for all its "tropic desiccation." That quality is luminosity, *ambiance*, there is no right word for it, the element which Taine in his "*Philosophie de l'Art*," rediscovered for the Impressionists when he observed that "the principal personage in a picture is the light in which all things are plunged." (Later paraphrased by Carrière: "A picture is the logical development of light.") The most extraordinary factor in a canvas like the "Adoration of the Shepherds" or "Christ in Gethsemane" is not its palette or its almost contrived design, but its inner radiance which spreads and catches like fire, moving everywhere with such continuous intensity, that none of the painting's parts may be conceivably separated from its whole. The absence of that "perpetual motion" in both the versions of St. Francis at Knoedler's (there are more than fifty St. Francis credited to Greco) creates some doubt in this reviewer's mind as to their authenticity. The "St. Francis in Ecstasy" seems to bear all the recognizable marks of Greco, one might almost say his clichés, the tapering fingers and prominent cheekbones, the typical "Greco face," and yet the areas in the background are almost opaque, the Saint's sleeve stiff and his eye heavy, static. The same remarks may be made of "St. Francis in Prayer" hung near the superb "Portrait of an Unknown Man" whose brush strokes (if one compares the beards for example) belie the same hand. "The Portrait of El Greco or His Son," despite its obviously damaged condition, is unmistakably Greco in its central figure and in its likeness of the child, probably Greco's grandson. As for the others, they are Greco at his best, and Greek or Spanish, however deserving or meretricious the sponsorship, must be experienced in themselves, they cannot be adequately described.

CHRISTOPHER LAZARE

RECORDS

THE best—which is to say the most devastating—commentary on the "Henderson Stomp" and "Nobody" of Benny Goodman's new large band (Columbia 35820) and "Royal Garden Blues" of his new Sextet (35810) is Columbia's reissue of "Moonglow" (35839). This is one of the finest of the performances Goodman recorded with musicians assembled for the purpose in 1933-34—performances with the freedom, vitality, and exciting improvisatory invention of good "hot"

musicians playing in small groups. Further commentary of the same sort is provided by the "hot" playing of Goodman and Muggsy Spanier on the previously reissued record of "Royal Garden Blues" made in 1931 by Ted Lewis with a special group (to say nothing of the reissued Beiderbecke record of the tune). In 1931 Goodman and Spanier were two "hot" musicians earning a living with "commercial" jobs—for example, in large bands—when they had to, and playing "hot" in small groups whenever they could—mostly in private sessions for their own pleasure, and sometimes in recording studios for pay. When Spanier organized a band of his own a year or two ago he made it one that satisfied his love of "hot" small-group performance; and rather than make it anything else he accepted financial failure and went back to a job in a large band. On the other hand Goodman, after those 1933-34 records, organized a large band and popularized a new "commercial" style with which he made a fortune; starting the Trio as a small group for improvisatory performance, he soon commercialized that too; and even with a fortune to make it possible he did not go back to a small band, and did not even make records like the 1934 "Moonglow" on the side. If it is true that the "hot" improvisation of small groups is what he loves best to participate in, it is a love he has kept from costing him a dollar; and one might say that in comparison with Spanier he has held uncompromisingly to doing what he doesn't care about, at a sacrifice of the smaller income he could have had by doing what he loved. And I won't say this is the reason, but it is interesting to note that Spanier last year gave us some of the finest jazz performances ever put on records, whereas Goodman not only gives us the smooth slickness of his "Henderson Stomp," but even with a small group produces only the sheer pretentious phyness and sterility of much of his "Royal Garden Blues."

Columbia has reissued also a number of 1932 and 1933 Ellingtons (Set C-38; \$2.50). On the first record (35834) is "Lazy Rhapsody," which is as fine example as I know of the Ellington composed piece put together out of the idioms of jazz and the styles of his players, and in this instance put together with simplicity and taste; but the same process operating with inferior material gives us the dull "Blue Rumble" on the reverse side of the record. I like also "Bundle of Blues" (35836)

and "Drop Me Off at Harlem" (35837), except the growl trumpet passages, "Baby, When You Ain't There" (35835) moderately, the others not at all. Every Ellington record, that is, gives evidence of his skill in combining and spacing instrumental colors, his ear for sophisticated harmony; but not every one offers interesting musical ideas. Moreover the arrangements of tunes are often too elaborate and tricky and impose too great restraint on the soloists; and as someone who gets most pleasure in jazz from the Muggsy Spanier type of performance I like the simpler Ellingtons which leave more to be improvised and to be improvised with more freedom. Among recent records I like, then, only "Without a Song" and "My Sunday Gal" (Bluebird 10946), made by a small Ellington group headed by Rex Stewart, and parts of "In a Mellotone" (Victor 26788) and "Across the Track Blues" (Victor 27235), which have some fairly good solos in addition to their tricky backgrounds and ensembles.

Stewart does fine work in the 1930 McKinney Cotton Pickers' "I Want a Little Girl" reissued by Victor (Bluebird 10954); and he and Earl Hines are excellent in the recent Sidney Bechet New Orleans Footwarmers' "Stomp Jones" (Victor 27240). I have had great pleasure from the beautiful solo playing of Paul Mares, Santo Pecora, and Charlie Cordella in the 1925 New Orleans Rhythm Kings' "Everybody Loves Somebody Blues" (Bluebird 10956); and the 1932 Bennie Moten Kansas City Orchestra's "New Orleans" (Bluebird 10955) is enjoyable. I don't care much for Louis Armstrong's previously unissued "Last Time" and "Ory's Creole Trombone" (Columbia 35838), Bessie Smith's "Preachin' the Blues" and previously unissued "At the Christmas Ball" (Columbia 35842), and the 1930 Fletcher Henderson Baltimore Bellhops' "Hot and Anxious" and "Comin' and Goin'" (Columbia 35840); and I like only Joe Sullivan's piano solos in the 1932 Rhythmackers' "Oh Peter" (Columbia 35841). But I have enjoyed the recent "Blue Washboard Stomp" of Johnny Dodds's Washboard Band (Bluebird 8549), the Coleman Hawkins "Jamaica Shout" (Decca 3358), the playing of Teddy Bunn, Douglas Daniels, and Marlewe Marrio in the Lionel Hampton "Pig Foot Sonata" (Victor 26793), and the playing of Artie Shaw, Billy Butterfield, and Al Hendrickson in the Gramercy Five's "Keepin' Myself for You" (Victor 26762).

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

The Refugee Council

Dear Sirs: Recent discussions in your pages of the duties of anti-fascist émigrés are marked by certain illusions. The task and the position of the political exile of today are very different from those of the romantic figures who were compelled to leave one or another European country in the period 1815 to 1859. Such changes always occur in history, even in much wider fields. A principle, an idea, a myth perhaps, renders, at a given moment such an essential service to the cause of freedom that it helps to change the situation radically—so radically that even the myth should share the changes, but it doesn't. It lives embalmed in its past glory, and everybody still salutes it even when it has become a lifeless formula. That is what happened to the national idea. When it was the outstanding force of European progress it gave us a Mazzini, a Cavour, a Kossuth. But when wider action became necessary to insure the democratic peace of the world, it contracted into nationalism—that caricature of patriotism. And the hateful stupidity of nationalism rises now to make us forget that the highest apostles of the idea of nationality in the nineteenth century never considered nations an end in themselves; during his long struggle for the freedom of Italy, from 1830 to 1860, Mazzini never ceased to proclaim that national freedom was but a station on the way to complete European union.

In an analogous sense the political function of the exile seems to me to suffer, in the present world and in the present war, from illusions and delusions which are a relic of the past. In the first half of the nineteenth century Italy gave Europe—and even America—the highest type of political and intellectual émigrés; to London came a great poet with Foscolo, the purest political thinker with Mazzini, scholar with Panizzi; to France, Maroncelli, Tommaseo, Princess Belgioioso; to America, the martyrs of the Spielberg who became professors at Columbia. They worked miracles for Italy, because before they spread the word nobody knew how cruel and mean was Austrian rule in the north, how corrupt was papal rule in Rome and Bourbon rule in Naples. Europe and America learned of these things from our exiles; whence the long

tradition of respect for free Italy which marked all fields of political and intellectual life in England—with one exception: Queen Victoria hated Palmerson and Russell because of their sympathy for "those revolutionary Italians."

But now, alas, there is nobody to illuminate or to convince; everybody knows. When—until yesterday—political leaders acted against the interests of their country in favor of policies or of men mortally dangerous for the life of democracy, they well knew what they were doing.

The truth is that the world is no more divided by political frontiers but by the barriers between different social strata, in some of which the love of country is less potent than the fear of losing economic privileges. Did I myself not see in France last summer the ill-concealed joy of *gens de qualité* to whom the French defeat meant the end of the republic? That is why many exiles of today might repeat with Ghiberti, who added so much to the beauty of fifteenth century Florence: "Am I not more at home where I may live free than in my native land if there I am enslaved?" And that is why the exiles today are perhaps less exiles than a century ago, but at the same time enjoy less authority. Men with the moral prestige of a Salvemini or of a Sturzo were not listened to in England during the fateful Baldwin-Chamberlain period when they warned their Tory personal friends that fascism wanted war. I was not listened to in France when from the very first day I told all the Blums and Daladiers that the Nazi-Fascist invasion of Spain would become the first and probably irreparable defeat of France. Is it admissible that more attention would have been paid to assemblies of political émigrés—when we know the naive superiority complex of people "in power" toward the eternally "bitter, dissatisfied, dubious" elements of the political emigrations? (The quoted adjectives belong to the common vocabulary of all foreign offices.)

From our own point of view there is only one thing which we must hate even more than not to work for freedom; it is to pretend that we work when in reality we issue only "resolutions" and "orders of the day." Let us remember how non-existent has been the influence of the Second Internationale in

spite of the fact that it was led first by Vandervelde and, after him, by de Brouckere—two men of great intellectual and moral force.

One last remark: I do not think that the form of action proposed by Señor Alvarez del Vayo might "lay the basis for the United States of Europe." The United States of Europe or, even better, a federation of free peoples, some in Europe and some out of Europe, is bound to come some day. But it will come sooner if it grows naturally out of some sort of union between two or three free nations, wise enough and generous enough to keep their covenant open to free newcomers. When I favored with all my strength the formation of the Little Entente and wanted Italy to be a sincere friend to the liberated peoples of Central Europe, my first idea was, of course, the creation of a common line of defense against a possible resurrection of some new mad German attempt at hegemony, but my deepest hope was to help the birth of a loose federation which might become a nucleus for future additions. That is why, at that time, I regarded as a very bad omen the blindness of the Polish rulers who resisted—out of nationalistic vanity—all my recommendations to join the new group. I observed with less surprise the selfishness of French statesmen, who did all in their power to transform the Little Entente into a mere pawn on the diplomatic chessboard.

Political exiles must—each in his own field—try to be near to those in power who work for democracy. Knowing the schemes and the lies of the totalitarian rulers, they must warn and inform all the time, but they must do it discreetly, even in a free country like America. We shall be much stronger if—having found at last statesmen who understand—we offer facts instead of solemn advice.

Eloquent victims? yes; most useful and loyal experts? yes. But why teachers?

COUNT CARLO SFORZA

New York, January 24

Dear Sirs: I am not interested in the destiny of any ruling dynasty. I am not concerned over the vested interests of any given social group. I am thinking of democracy—of its ideological struggle with Nazism. Even above that I am anxious about the struggle of the 150,000,000 men and women whose nations

have been conquered by the dictatorships of Europe.

The need is not only for a common front but for a joint program. Because they lacked what Hitler had—a plan—the democracies fell. Not the genius of Hitler but the weakness of the democracies brought on disaster. Since 1934 I had led a strong Czechoslovak movement which significantly was called "The Mobilization of Moral Power for the Defense of the State." Thus we were prepared—yet in vain.

After my escape to the United States, I wrote my "Ten Million Prisoners." It is my expression of gratitude and regard for this country. My time is spent traveling through the United States, organizing people of Czechoslovak origin for the defense of democracy. Our emigrant group is prepared. I speak to Americans gathered in clubs, schools, and churches. I broadcast and grant numerous interviews. I attempt to show that the real reason for the defeat of European democracies lay in their fatal shortcomings. This analysis is of a most useful kind for the American democracy. It is, indeed, a mirror held up to it. Whether they be united in a council, as planned by Mr. Del Vayo, or act as individuals, the exiles are in duty bound to do all they possibly can for democracy.

VOJTA BENES,

Superintendent General of
Czechoslovak Public Schools
New York, January 15

Dear Sirs: Mr. Del Vayo is right to remind those who have been saved from fascist terror of their duty of solidarity with the anti-fascist exiles still in Europe and of their not less important duty of active participation in the anti-fascist struggle. Only by carrying out his appeal can we justify our life in this country. All who have tried to fulfil these duties during the last seven years know the difficulties. But difficulties exist to be overcome.

Hitler has succeeded by dividing his opponents. We can defeat him by uniting them under the slogan—For Democracy. Hitler has won by brutal violence and by eliminating all possibility of changing the government in a constitutional way. He can be destroyed only by revolutionary action. This slogan and this action have been proposed by Del Vayo. And I agree. As a Spaniard he would exclude from the united anti-fascist forces only Señor Madariaga and the archdukes and charlatans to whom the appeasers confide the rebirth of a new Europe. As a German I propose to

exclude also the Legitimists of the former imperial countries, particularly the Hapsburgs, the Wittelsbachs, the Hohenzollerns, and their dangerous puppeteers.

No exile knows now what role, if any, he can play in the revolutionary struggle in the various Nazi-dominated countries. That depends upon our heroic comrades now living and fighting over there. We can offer in all modesty only our cooperation. We need a short and clear anti-fascist program of action and a council of militant anti-fascists from all subject countries. Naturally we must act independently of the different governments in order not to be suspect in the eyes of the suppressed peoples in Europe. Men who are not interested in the continuation of our quarrels of the last ten years must organize in united action against fascism. Go ahead, Mr. Del Vayo! The time is ripe for action.

KURT ROSENFELD,

Former Member of German Reichstag
New York, January 14

Labor Education Service

Dear Sirs: May I call the attention of your readers to the activity of an organization that seems of particular importance in these days of challenge and threat to our democratic way of life. Labor is aware of the danger from within as well as from without and has developed its educational projects more and more during the last years. Its Labor Education Service has recently reorganized its Teachers' Registry to serve as a central place in the nation where all leaders and teachers in the workers' education field may register. All men and women who are prepared to put their services as discussion leaders or in other capacities at the disposal of labor classes and seminars are invited to register.

Another project of Labor Education Service may also interest you. A large number of persons who have been very active in the labor movement of one or another of the European countries have recently arrived in the United States. It is often difficult for them to get in touch with the labor movement of their new homeland. American labor, however, wants these new citizens as friends. In order to further mutual understanding Labor Education Service will open a class on American Labor in January, 1941, for newcomers who have been active in the labor movement of their own country and for those who are working in shops here. The class will be held in the evening in the form of a

discussion group for two or three months. Further information can be secured at the American Labor Education Service, 437 West Fifty-ninth Street, New York.

TONI SENDER,

Secretary, Teachers' Registry
New York, November 20

Correction

Dear Sirs: A correspondent has called my attention to an error in my article, Labor's Catholic Bloc, which appeared in *The Nation* for January 4. The Chrysler strike in which the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists was influential took place in 1939, not 1937. The strike of 1937 was, of course, the famous sitdown strike; in 1939 the Chrysler workers struck again, and the A. C. T. U., as my article showed, played an important part in helping them to victory.

RICHARD H. ROVERE

New York, January 15

CONTRIBUTORS

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, former president of the India National Congress, shares with Gandhi the leadership of the movement for Indian independence.

JOACHIM JOESTEN, a German liberal journalist, prophesied the invasion of Denmark in his "Rats in the Larder."

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Portland journalist, was recently elected to the Oregon State Assembly.

W. H. AUDEN, distinguished English poet and critic, is now living in this country.

IVAN GOLL was a close friend of James Joyce for twenty years. He collaborated in the translation into French of Anna Livia Plurabelle.

PHILIP RAHV is an editor of the *Partisan Review*, a radical literary journal.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN, formerly associate editor of *The Nation*, is the author of "Those First Affections" and other novels.

CHRISTOPHER LAZARE, formerly art editor of the *North American Review*, is now assistant editor of *Direction*.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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The Shape of Things

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GRAZIANI'S DECIMATED ARMY IS FALLING back on Bengazi between which and Tripoli stretch 400 arid miles. No doubt Mussolini has ordered a desperate last stand at this point but there seems little doubt that the well-led and confident British troops will repeat their successes of Bardia and Tobruk. It is true that the Italians, are now receiving assistance from the German air force, which has been attacking British supply ships along the Libyan coast. But this aid does not seem to be on a scale sufficient to turn the tide. Once Bengazi is captured it appears likely that General Wavell will call a halt, for at this stage in the war the capture of Tripoli hardly seems worth the risks involved. His campaign has shattered all Italian hopes of invading Egypt and has provided him with a well-protected outpost in the comparatively fertile Barce peninsula where a small force will serve to keep an eye on Graziani. The bulk of the now seasoned British Near Eastern army should thus be available for action elsewhere. Already at least one division which took part in the capture of Sidi Barrani has been switched 1,500 miles to the Red Sea and has now penetrated deep into Eritrea. There and in Ethiopia the Italians are in a sorry plight with the British advancing at many points and Haile Selassie's rearmed warriors rising everywhere in the rear. Mussolini's East African empire seems ripe for dissolution. The essential British base in Egypt is thus secured on all sides and new operations become possible. It is reported that General Wavell has promised reinforcements to Greece in the near future. Their arrival at Salonika would have diplomatic as well as military significance.

★

WITH THE VOTING OF A THREE-DAY LIMIT to general debate, the Lease-Lend Bill seems likely to achieve passage of the House by the end of the present week. It was approved by the Foreign Affairs Committee by a majority of 17 to 8 after the inclusion of amendments which do nothing to weaken the bill. An attempt by part of the Republican minority to turn it into a straight "lend" bill was defeated. But this plan has been commended by Mark Sullivan and appears to have the support of important business interests. From their point of view a loan to the British government, which would

enable it to continue placing orders on its own account, is preferable to a plan which will channel all purchasing for Britain through our own procurement authorities. Nor is it hard to see why, when it is considered that up to now British orders have been filled on a much larger profit basis than is permitted on our own defense contracts. It would not be surprising, therefore, to find this straight loan plan being pushed again in the Senate. It is not likely to succeed any better there than in the House but it may serve to cause additional delay in a debate which threatens, in any case, to drag on into March. The Senate isolationists are a definite minority but they are well schooled in the tactics of obstruction and can be counted on to fight a bitter rearguard action. But there is increasing evidence that public opinion overwhelmingly favors the bill and we hope that the Senate will be made so aware of this fact that it will shorten its usual leisurely procedure. The suggestion is being made that there is no need for haste since the bill cannot give the British material aid in resisting the expected spring assault. But its passage will afford them moral aid by letting them know that succor is on the way.

★

THE NAZI CAMPAIGN TO FORCE LAVAL ON Marshal Pétain appears to have succeeded, and by the end of the week he is expected to be in Vichy, endowed with greater power than before. The executive powers of the French government, it is reported, are to be concentrated in a four-man board, over which the new Gauleiter will preside. This is only a first step: the next move will be to obtain from Vichy the kind of "collaboration" which Hitler needs to finish off Britain quickly. It cannot be doubted that his requirements go far beyond economic cooperation. He wants use of the French fleet and bases, and military control of Tunisia if not of other colonies. These needs grow in urgency with the progressive deterioration of the Italian position. Moreover, there is good reason to suppose that they are essential to plans for the spring campaign which may combine an attack on Gibraltar with an attempted invasion of Britain. The French fleet is still fairly powerful and might prove invaluable by creating a diversion which would keep the British navy away from the Channel. But Hitler's hopes of supplementing his own inadequate fleet are still thwarted by the obstinate refusal of Marshal Pétain to accept the Nazi interpretation of "collaboration." Nor would it suffice to push him aside, for no Frenchman acceptable to the Nazis, and Laval least of all, could command the allegiance of France and particularly of the North African army. In this connection it is noteworthy that General Weygand, answering the recent radio appeal of De Gaulle, referred to the armistice "which ended the struggle for France." Listeners must have realized that, if the Free French want to denounce the armistice, Hitler wants it rewritten in his favor.

JAPAN APPEARS TO HAVE WON A COMPLETE, though bloodless, victory in the first stage of its drive for mastery of Southeastern Asia. As the price for mediation of the undeclared war between Thailand and French Indo-China, it is reported to have exacted concessions from both countries which will leave the Japanese in complete economic and military control of the area. In a separate agreement concluded simultaneously with the armistice between Thailand and Indo-China, the French are reported to have yielded Japan a free hand in the exploitation of Indo-China's rich natural resources, including a virtual monopoly on all exports of rice, rubber, and coal. They are also said to have granted Japan the right to establish military garrisons on the border between Indo-China and China, to allow Japan free use of all present air bases in Indo-China, and to permit the establishment of a Japanese naval base at Cam Ranh Bay and a defense concession at Saigon. The only barrier to complete Japanese control of South Indo-China—a development invaluable as a stepping-stone for an attack on Singapore, the East Indies, or the Philippines—is a reported appeal of French authorities to the British. Should this fail, Japan is likely to postpone immediate efforts for the conquest of China, and devote itself in the coming weeks to the easier task of picking off sections of the French, Dutch, and British empires. This effort will in all probability be timed to coincide with the threatened Nazi offensive against the British Isles.

★

ALTHOUGH THE RIVER PLATE CONFERENCE was called primarily to take economic measures for the relief of land-locked Bolivia and Paraguay, its proceedings reveal substantial progress toward a more substantial Pan-American unity than has hitherto prevailed. Particularly significant is the fact that Argentina, the traditional stumbling-block to Pan-American unity, has in this instance taken the leadership not only in offering concessions to the smaller states but in safeguarding the rights and interests of the United States so as to prevent the conference from becoming narrowly regional in character. While no sweeping economic readjustments are expected to result from the conference, agreement has already been reached on a number of projects which should work to the advantage of the five countries represented. These include suspension of the most-favored-nation clause in concessions made to Bolivia and Paraguay; special arrangements facilitating banking, credit, and foreign exchange operations among the five countries participating in the conference; arrangements for the setting up of free port zones; and agreement to study the possibility of organizing a regional customs union, lowering of consular fees, and unification of customs regulations. Nazi spokesmen may profess complete indifference as to the outcome of the conference on the ground that it is concerned entirely with local issues, but they cannot

fail to be disturbed by this tangible evidence of new unity in the Western Hemisphere—a unity which is a direct answer to Nazi policy.

★

MELLON'S ALUMINUM COMPANY OF AMERICA has been indicted with the German dye trust and four other concerns for a long-standing conspiracy to curtail the supply of magnesium, a vital war material useful chiefly for airplanes, in both this country and Great Britain. A few weeks ago, it will be recalled, the aluminum trust was on the carpet because the Reynolds Metal Company was unable to get enough raw aluminum from it to take care of orders from airplane companies. The present charges are even more serious. It appears that the Dow Chemical Company, America's only producer of magnesium, has been exporting it to Germany for 21 cents a pound while maintaining a 30-cent price in this country. Exports to England were limited to such English concerns as were licensed by the German dye trust. Complete monopoly of the important metal—one-third lighter than aluminum—was assured by a patent pool in which the Dow Chemical Company and the German dye trust participated. Whether because of the high price or of undisclosed restrictions, American production of magnesium has been allowed to fall far behind that of Germany. Quite apart from any illegal conduct that may be established by the courts, the situation in both the magnesium and the aluminum industries provides a graphic illustration of the fact that monopoly is the worst enemy of the technological progress so essential to national defense.

★

WILLIAM GREEN'S CLAIM THAT A MAJORITY of Ford workers at the River Rouge and Lincoln plants have joined A. F. of L. unions and his bland announcement that "none of these employees was ever discriminated against by the management of the Ford Motor Company because of membership in A. F. of L. unions," are both mysterious and ominous. On the face of it, it does not seem possible that the A. F. of L. has succeeded where the more powerful and aggressive C. I. O. has encountered such difficulties during the past few years; and it is significant that Mr. Green refrained from being specific. He gave no figures and he failed to make it clear whether he was talking about the long-established craft unions or the federal union chartered when the United Automobile Workers split. His announcement raises the suspicion that the A. F. of L. may have offered Ford what amounts to a company union wearing the A. F. of L. label—the federation has done just that in other instances—but there are no indications so far that Ford would accept even a docile union that carried the name of an "outside organization." Only one thing is clear. Mr. Green has in effect exonerated Ford of discrimina-

tion against unions just at a time when the issue was at last being raised in connection with defense contracts and when one minor contract had been withdrawn from Ford for his refusal to accept the labor clause.

★

DEMOCRACY GAINED A LOCAL VICTORY OF considerable importance when a jury in Bridgeport, Connecticut, acquitted Joseph Spell of the charge of raping Mrs. John K. Strubing, Jr. Spell is a Negro; he was employed as butler and chauffeur by the woman who accused him of attacking her. He admitted freely that he and Mrs. Strubing had had sexual relations and that he had driven her on the same night to the Kensico reservoir near where she was found dripping and hysterical early in the morning. All these facts, colored by class and race prejudice, might easily have tipped the scales against Spell. The evidence pointing to his guilt was, to be sure, unconvincing and contradictory, and its credibility was not increased by the obvious mental confusion of the alleged victim, who was the only eye-witness. But in many circumstances and places, such factors would have weighed very little against the emotions aroused by the charge of rape brought by a white woman against a colored man. That they brought a verdict of acquittal in this case is a tribute to both the men and the women who made up the jury and to Judge Foster whose charge was a model of fairness and detachment.

★

A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT WAS ESTABLISHED last week when, upon order of the Court of Appeals, Charles J. Hendley was compelled to surrender the membership list of the New York Teachers Union to the Rapp-Coudert legislative investigating committee. The legislative committee has insisted that it required the lists in order to uncover possible "Communists" in the school system. But as it has never indicated how it will distinguish between Communists who happened to be on the list and ordinary union members, there is reason to suspect that the step is intended as an attack on the union itself. Frightened by the unfavorable publicity resulting from the investigation, a number of teachers have already deserted the union, and the organization's efforts to obtain a restitution of full state aid for education has been severely hampered. If teachers protected by tenure can be intimidated by these tactics, there would seem no limit to the havoc that might be wrought if, say, the employees of a Ford or a Girdler could be forced to yield their union lists to an investigating committee set up by a labor-baiting legislature. Since the highest court in the state has upheld the procedure, labor's only protection lies in the passage of the Zimmer bill in Albany, which would make the seizure of labor-union membership lists illegal.

Close the Blockade

IN the field of war diplomacy no problem is more difficult than the question of how to conduct relations with Russia. Is the Soviet Union to be treated as an irreconcilable enemy or as a potential ally? We know that relations between Moscow and Berlin are officially friendly, that Russia has recently undertaken to increase greatly its exports to Germany, and that, with the approval of the Comintern, Communist parties in the democratic countries carry on campaigns calculated to react harmfully against the British war effort. On the other hand, the Soviets are still aiding China and to this extent are impeding the axis. Moreover, there is good reason to believe that Moscow's influence in the Balkans has acted as a partial check to Hitler's plans for a drive through Bulgaria or Yugoslavia.

The problem has recently been put up to Washington as the result of pleas from the British government for aid in plugging what it believes to be the worst hole in the blockade—the Pacific route to Vladivostok. This request has been received somewhat coolly in the State Department which, according to I. F. Stone's report on page 147, has been confused by conflicting advices from London. Be this as it may, it is unlikely that the British government would complain were Washington to decide that provisioning Germany through the Russian channel was hardly consonant with a policy of all aid to Britain.

During the past twelve months Soviet imports from this country of such commodities as cotton, copper, wheat, hides and skins, brass, lard, and machine tools have shown a big increase over 1938. These are all articles of strategic importance and among them are commodities that Russia has agreed to furnish to Germany. While it is not thought that these American goods are actually being shipped across Siberia to the Reich, there is good reason to suppose that by filling the requirements of Eastern Siberia they enable the Moscow government to release equivalent quantities from stocks in European Russia. An additional cause for concern in London is a recent large Soviet order for oil-drilling equipment. At present Russia can spare little oil to Germany but it has huge reserves waiting to be tapped and every new well brought into production is a potential source of supply for Hitler's war machine.

Various government departments are said to be studying the questions raised by these facts but Secretary of State Hull has been inclined to belittle the extent of the leakage through Vladivostok. It is also being pointed out that Russia's increased purchases in the United States in most cases are cancelled out by the absence of normal imports from the British Empire. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the U. S. S. R. has contracted to supply Germany with foodstuffs and raw materials of the same

kind which it is buying from us, ostensibly for home consumption. It is undeniable that without our assistance Russian surpluses available for export will be reduced.

The question to be considered then is whether we should stop this trade with Russia altogether or, at least, reduce it to its pre-war volume. It may be argued that such action ought to be avoided lest we offend Moscow and drive the Soviets into closer bonds of friendship with Germany. For our part we are more inclined to agree with the view set forth by Louis Fischer on page 146. We do not believe that if Britain and America are sufficiently kind to Stalin he will be weaned from his unnatural liaison with Hitler and hurl the Red Army into the fight against fascism. But we find it equally hard to believe that he can easily be pushed into joining Germany as a military ally for he is well aware that the Third Reich is as dangerous to its friends as to its enemies. Under these circumstances it seems stupid to try and appease Russia by refraining from actions which otherwise are judged desirable. The only result would be an invitation to Moscow to make threats and levy blackmail.

On the other hand, it would be futile to embargo or limit exports to the Soviets without taking equally strong action in regard to Japan. There is good reason to believe that the Japanese are acting as trade agents for Germany, particularly in Latin America. But still more important is the strategic aid which Japan affords to the axis by serving as a standing threat to American and British interests in Asia. And with its steady encroachment on Indo-China this threat grows more serious. Yet we are continuing to underpin Japan's rickety economic system despite moral embargoes and export licenses. It is true we no longer allow it to buy aviation gasoline but we permit the purchase of slightly inferior grades which help to keep its planes in the air even if they are a trifle slowed down. Nor have we stopped selling strategic metals to Japan, including some in short supply here.

The growing demands of the defense program are ample excuse for the institution of a strict system of priorities for exports in respect of most goods now reaching Russia and Japan. Home demand should be satisfied first; then the requirements of Britain and its allies and of Latin America. It is improbable that much would be left over except in the case of cotton, wheat, and gasoline, and in regard to the last of these it should be noted that domestic consumption is rising so rapidly that export losses due to the war have already been made up. However much Russia might resent interference with its blockade-busting activities, its wrath would be tempered by the simultaneous blow to Japan's war potential. Hitler is working hard to bring the Soviet Government and Japan together but Russia's terms are believed to be stiff and any weakening in the Japanese position would make them stiffer. It is certainly not to our advantage

for these two powers to reach an understanding about the division of the Far East. Now is the time to discourage such a development and to plug up a leak in the British blockade which is apt to grow larger if left unattended.

Labor's Plan for Steel

BEHIND the C. I. O.'s badly written and clumsily presented "plan" for steel lies a story as dramatic as that behind the Reuther plan. A preview of the possibilities of coordinated planning in the steel industry was given by our Washington editor in his dispatch on Little Steel Soviets in the issue of December 28. The proposals now submitted to the President by Philip Murray provide a complete picture of the idle or half-used facilities which could be brought into the defense program if the steel industry were treated as one production unit. Every steel company has a "top scheduling clerk," whose job it is so to arrange the filling of orders as to get the utmost use of that company's facilities. The C. I. O. proposes that the President give the entire steel industry a top scheduling clerk in the shape of an industry council equally representative of capital and labor, with a government representative as chairman. The C. I. O. declares that although the steel industry claims to be working at 99 per cent of ingot capacity, a total of 5,920,195 net tons of steel melting and finishing capacity is still idle. It is idle because there is no one person or agency to do for the whole industry what the top scheduling clerk does for one steel company, itself often a conglomeration of many scattered plants.

The obstacle to the creation of such an agency is that it would take business away from the larger companies, now bloated with orders, and pass more business on to smaller companies, many of them partially idle and a few wholly idle. According to the C. I. O. report:

Each of these [steel] companies is operating as an entity unto itself, and is engaged in compiling the largest and most diversified possible backlog of orders. This is done to assure profitable operations as far into the future as possible. This may be economically desirable to the individual company, but, permitted to run its course unchecked, it can be disastrous to our defense program. Much of the demand for increased ingot or certain finishing capacity is evidence of mal-distribution of orders. This "shortage" is a company shortage, not a national inadequacy. Over-taxed and idle facilities—similar or complementary—are found side by side, but in different companies, and due primarily to this illogical distribution of orders and lack of coordination.

Within the boundaries of any individual company, no such lack of planning is permitted, for it would be as costly to the individual company as the over-all plan-

lessness is to the national economy and to the defense program. "Each integrated steel company," the report explains, "constantly coordinates its facilities with the needs of its customers. One such firm operates its own pig-iron and steel-making furnaces." In these furnaces the company makes its steel ingots. From these ingots, with its finishing capacity, the company makes sheets, tinsplate, tubular goods, structural shapes, wire, and nail products. Combined, these finishing capacities considerably exceed the company's ingot capacity, yet by spreading the peak months for various finished products over the year, it is "able to meet all the demands of its customers for finished products with its existing steel melting facilities." This coordination is the work of the top scheduling clerk, and it is just such a function which the C. I. O. would give its proposed industry council.

The C. I. O. does not think that coordination would make expansions of plant unnecessary but it believes present programs for expansion are as ill-planned as is the industry as a whole. "Expansion plans already announced," the C. I. O. report declares, "are mostly for steel plants that neither have the necessary working force or housing facilities for an increased working force, while more than a score of steel ghost towns have industrial buildings to house new steel facilities, a well-rounded working force to man such facilities, and adequate housing to care for the working force." These expansion programs, like present production programs, owe their weaknesses to the fact that they are geared to provide the highest profit to the big steel companies rather than the maximum output for defense.

There is much besides the mere idea of coordination in the C. I. O. report. It is full of concrete suggestions not now being applied because individual steel companies have no profit interest in applying them. The C. I. O. wants a wider application of the Bessemer flame-control process developed by Jones and Laughlin but adopted by few other companies. It believes the steel castings section of the industry is capable of producing cast armor plate, and thinks funds should be made available for experimentation. If successful, this would reduce the serious shortage of armor plate. Many production hours are lost because mills must cease operation while "mill changes" are made for different types of orders. The C. I. O. believes half this time could be saved by dividing orders among the different companies on a basis of efficiency and specialization rather than competition. Many of the smaller or medium-size companies cited by the C. I. O. have "lopsided facilities," too much ingot capacity for their finishing capacity, or vice versa. Comparatively small R. F. C. loans to build up the missing factors would immensely increase their usefulness, but they lack sufficient prominence or "pull" to obtain the loans. *The Nation* believes that sooner or later defense needs will drive the government to the use of

these suggestions. It also believes that since the big steel companies by their very nature will oppose any such program as a threat to their profits, a plan of this kind can only be put across by establishing an industrial council, and giving labor equal representation in it.

The Moral Embargo

BY LOUIS FISCHER

THE recently announced decision of the United States government to lift the moral embargo on shipments of certain commodities to the Soviet Union seems to me a bad one chiefly because its consequences may be detrimental to American interests. It could easily contribute to an improvement of Russo-Japanese relations.

Russia's present embarrassing international situation arises from the exposure of its western frontier to German pressure and of its eastern expanses to simultaneous Japanese pressure. Russia is too weak to cope with Germany or to antagonize Germany. But if it could weaken or divert Japan its position would be improved and the fear of Germany lessened.

Russia can weaken Japan by supporting Chinese armed resistance. It has done this. But the method is expensive. The Russian government started aiding Spanish Loyalists in October, 1936; when the Chinese "incident" began, Moscow sent arms to China, and Spain got fewer. During the Czech crisis beginning May, 1938, both China and Spain received fewer planes, and it was Czechoslovakia's turn to get something from Russia. But, principally, Russia was worried about the possibility of becoming involved in war itself and kept as much material as it could at home. In parallel and worse circumstances today Stalin would wish to cut his arms shipments to China.

A better way of relieving Japanese pressure on Russia—better than reinforcing Chinese resistance—would be for Moscow to try to direct Japanese expansion southward towards Siam and the Dutch East Indies. This would also serve Germany's interests. Even a great Japanese victory in China would not help Hitler soon in Europe. But the end of the Chinese war would help Hitler immediately by enabling Japan to concentrate on areas to the south of her where the United States and the British get vital war materials.

A Russo-Japanese agreement could envisage some kind of peace or truce or demilitarization near Siberia, and the end of the Chinese war. The Russians could end the Chinese war by encouraging the Chinese Communists to get a divorce from Chiang Kai-shek. Signs of trouble between the Communists and Chiang have multiplied of late. The Russians could take the Chinese Communists, in provinces contiguous with the Soviet Union, under

their wing, and Japan would have an easier time with Chiang.

An agreement with Russia becomes all the more important to Tokio since the United States is helping Chiang. Help from America and Russia to Chiang might spell disaster to Japan. If Russia dropped Chiang, American help to China would not be effective.

An agreement between Russia and Japan is facilitated by any appearance of improvement in the relations between the United States and Russia. Fearing such an improvement, Japan will court Russia the more ardently. If Washington could get Russia to abandon Hitler, any American concession would be worth while. But Russia is at present too exposed and too much in doubt about the outcome of the war to be actively or openly anti-Hitler. Accordingly, America's friendlier attitude toward Moscow can only frighten the Japanese into coming to terms with Russia.

The lifting of the moral embargo is a feather in the cap of Constantine Oumansky, the Soviet ambassador in Washington, and that is probably why he urged it with such insistence. The State Department may have yielded to him on the purely legalistic ground that since Russia is no longer at war and no longer bombing civilians, the embargo imposed by the United States after the red air fleet bombed Finnish non-combatants ceases to be justified. But in the summer of 1939 the Russians used every concession and friendly gesture by London and Paris to sell themselves more dearly to Hitler. And the real objection to the recent steps toward a rapprochement between the United States and Moscow is that Stalin might easily use them to intimidate the Japanese into signing a pact which would channel Japanese aggression southward, undermine Chiang's position, and give the Russians a Communist zone of domination in China—partition of China à la Poland.

The release of a few million dollars worth of American machine tools or the lifting of the moral embargo will not alter or shape Moscow's attitude toward the war. Countries like Russia decide their course in this war by their estimate of its possible outcome. Stalin will remain tied to Hitler until Hitler appears to be losing. Then the fear which now inspires the Kremlin's policy will diminish and in its stead will come a greater freedom of action. At that time, America can play an active role in producing a shift in Moscow's allegiance. If, thanks to increased American aid, England looks as if it would be the victor, Stalin will have a change of heart. Until then, America's diplomatic overtures can only serve Japanese and German ends.

It is in no sense a matter of idealism versus realism, as Arthur Krock has suggested in the *New York Times*. No one expects idealism from foreign offices these days. The question is whether the realism will achieve or defeat its purpose.

The Halifax Debut

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 1

I AM sorry to have to fall back upon a much-abused phrase, but I am "reliably informed"—and that is just what I mean—that the State Department last Friday morning received a rather extraordinary cable from the British government. This cable said that the statements of Minister of Economic Warfare Hugh Dalton were not to be construed as criticism of the United States for lifting its "moral embargo" on the sale of planes to the Soviet Union. It also declared that since the unfortunate incident—for so it was described—conversations had taken place between representatives of the British and Russian governments and an understanding had been reached, an understanding presumably about American-Soviet trade.

I have no crystal ball in which to determine the cable's significance. However, it adds to the jigsaw puzzle of Anglo-American relations with Moscow. The "moral embargo" was lifted on January 21. Lord Halifax arrived on January 24. On the morning of January 28 he spent an hour with Sumner Welles, who has been in charge of the painfully slow and mutually suspicious negotiations looking toward better relations between this country and the Soviet Union. After this conference, Halifax told reporters that "a considerable amount of materials" was reaching the Reich via the Soviets, and informed them that the British were bringing pressure on the United States to stop the leak of essential war supplies, notably cotton, to the Nazis. Dalton made much the same statement in the Commons the same day, but he did not go quite so far as Halifax. He said there was little evidence that American supplies were reaching Germany directly, but "ample evidence" that the Soviets were exporting their own products and replacing them with imports from this country.

Hull at his press conference on January 28 explained apologetically that the lifting of the moral embargo was a psychological move designed merely to get rid of a point of irritation. He said cotton shipments to Russia were up only 125,000 bales last year.

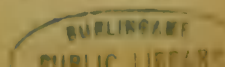
The next day in London "a spokesman for the Ministry of Economic Warfare" took issue with Hull on the question of the cotton exports. Hull and Welles are already under fire from Catholic sources and from the Republicans in Congress for "appeasing" the Soviets. The cable arrived two days later.

The feeling in the State Department seems to be that

this incident reflects differences between Eden, on the one hand, and Halifax and Dalton, on the other; that Halifax was instructed to check on possible leaks through Russia to Germany but was not instructed to do so in a way that would embarrass Hull and Welles in their Soviet negotiations. Two months ago, talking with a British correspondent, I was told there would be no improvement in Anglo-Soviet relations as long as Halifax was Foreign Secretary. I wonder whether he will play a similar role at the British Embassy in Washington.

Best news in a long time was the War Department's action in rejecting a Ford bid because he refused to accept a clause calling for compliance with the labor laws. Many factors went into the achievement of this victory. Credit goes first to Sidney Hillman, and his aides, for a long and vigorously waged fight. The new OPM setup also plays a part, for under it Hillman's division has a check on contracts that it did not have before. The publicity given the odd circumstances surrounding the "midget car" contract, brought to light in a *Nation* Washington letter on December 14, helped put pressure on the War Department. On the day the Ford bid was rejected, the War Department also withdrew its application to grant the canners exemption from the overtime requirements of the Walsh-Healey Act. Secretary of War Stimson, by these moves, has demonstrated his good faith. But it would be a serious mistake to believe that the fight has been won. The Department gives signs of taking fright at its own courage, and Undersecretary Patterson wobbled badly on Friday before the House Military Affairs Committee. The big-business crowd on the Defense Commission is determined to make the War Department reverse itself.

I suspect all this is not unconnected with an announcement which William Green will make tomorrow morning. He will say that "the production workers employed at the Lincoln Plant and the River Rouge plant of the Ford Motor Company have become organized into unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor." It looks as though Harry Bennett and Edsel Ford have finally won over "the old man" to their contention that the smart way to fight the C.I.O. organization drive is to play along with the A.F. of L. It is doubtful whether Green has been promised recognition for these, as yet, imaginary unions, but he has probably received stronger hints than he has in the past that Ford would look with



favor on the A.F. of L. The fear that the War Department may be forced to continue its new labor policy, and concern over a possible investigation into influences favorable to Ford in the quartermaster corps, make it desirable to "change the subject" and give Ford's opposition to unionism the appearance of a jurisdictional dispute. This is especially important because of the growing demand for a Congressional investigation.

Congressman Charles I. Faddis, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, a member of the House Military Affairs Committee, promised ten days ago to introduce a resolution to investigate the "midget military car" contract given to Ford, but he now seems to be hesitating. Colonel Faddis has an intimate knowledge of military affairs.

The Nation, in an editorial on January 26, called attention to the fact that the weight specifications on this midget car, which the General Staff has tried to keep as light as possible, had been raised to a point that accorded with Ford's wishes. Only a Congressional committee could find out how this happened.

A Congressional committee would find a similar change in specifications for the new half-ton truck contract on

which Ford's bid was finally rejected. I want to call attention to an unnoticed aspect of this contract. Last August the Fargo Manufacturing Company, a subsidiary of Chrysler, was awarded a contract for 14,000 of these half-ton trucks. Fargo was the low bidder, and the contract contained an option for 7,000 more. The War Department shortly afterward decided that it wanted an additional 11,000. It could have taken up the 7,000 option and ordered an additional 4,000 from Fargo and thus been certain of a standard type of truck. The task of repair and parts replacement behind the lines becomes a nightmare, when many different types are used. But instead of taking up the option, the War Department "in the light of experience in maneuvers, decided to change certain specifications of the truck to increase manufacturing sources of this item." (I am quoting from an earlier release by the War Department.) This statement is contradictory. It could mean that the change in specifications was made "in the light of experience in maneuvers" or that it was made "to increase manufacturing sources of this item"; that the change was made for military reasons or to let Ford in on the contract.

Mediterranean Scene

BY HARRY J. GREENWALL

Cap d'Antibes, France, January 15

AT NIGHT, when the entire French Mediterranean coast is blacked out, when every lighthouse, according to Italo-German orders, has its beams extinguished, British bombing planes hum over the seaboard country. Scattered along the coast, German and Italian agents spread fantastic stories of British bombings to come, bombings which the British who still live along this coast will be warned about in time to escape. These tales have a measure of success, because the French are only too willing to listen to any talk about British perfidy.

On the one occasion when Marseilles really was attacked, the German-controlled press in French unoccupied territory stated that British planes had bombed the city; that an energetic protest had been forwarded to London, via Washington, and that the Vichy government demanded apologies and reparations from Britain. The following day there appeared a statement that the French note had been sent through Madrid, not Washington, and that the fragments of the dropped bombs had been examined by experts who were certain that the bombs were of British make. That the bombs were British is true, but the report failed to state that they were British bombs that had been part of the booty captured during the German thrust to Dunkirk. In Marseilles it

is whispered that these bombs were dropped from Italian planes. In any event nothing more has been heard of the Vichy demand for British apologies and reparations.

The prologue to this Mediterranean scene goes back to June 8, when the battle of the Alps began. It was the last battle between French and German forces, a campaign not yet fully recorded. I saw part of that battle, as an onlooker caught up in the fleeing masses of French soldiers and refugees. Finally on June 19 we came to rest at Valence, the headquarters of General Orly's army, a scratch force of some 25,000 men who stemmed the advance of German motorized divisions which had been moving at thirty-five miles a day.

The Stuttgart radio had announced that the German-Italian armies would "link hands in the center of France." I believed that Lyons was the chosen center, but according to definite information which came eventually into the hands of the French High Command, Chambéry, the capital city of the province of Savoy, was the place chosen for this merry meeting. The Germans were planning to march to Marseilles, believing that the French would not seek an armistice before the whole of France was in pawn to Germany and Italy.

The Italians? The Italians were to sweep into France, overrun the whole Alpes-Maritimes province and take

the province of Savoy. It is possible that the Italians might have been able to carry out the major part of their program, but the last stand of General Orly's army (which consisted partly of sailors) drove a wedge between the Germans and Italians and threw the enemy war machine out of gear. The armistice came before the Germans could overcome the barrier General Orly provided. The General merits a niche in French history, alongside that of Marshal Joffre. I mean no offense to the bravery and *cran* of Orly's army when I write that it was not his men but his personal genius which stemmed the rising tide. General Orly had the brilliant idea of blowing up the huge dams which held back millions of tons of mountain waters, flooding the river Isère and making it impassable to the German troops. At this point I will leave the battle of the Alps, which, I suggest, formed the prologue to Mediterranean hostilities, and pass on to the first phase of the later battle.

In the early days of September the Italians in North Africa swung into action and thrust eastward, invading Egypt and gradually taking British Somaliland. The success was spectacular and good for home and foreign consumption; moreover, it was a grave threat to the security of the Suez Canal.

After the initial success of the Italians in September and early October, strange rumors flowed back across the Mediterranean. The Italian official version of the halt of operations was that a new and good road had to be built to carry stores, men, munitions, and gas for the tanks and lorries. Yet it was apparent that unless the Italians hastened on with their operations, the comparatively short dry season would end before the conquest of Egypt was accomplished. It was reported persistently that there had been a personal quarrel between Graziani and the Duce; the General was not prepared to cry "*Avanti*" to his men. Then came reports that Graziani was under "open arrest."

No real light was thrown on the situation until the attack on Greece. I happened to be in Italy directly after the seizure of Albania. I found displayed outside every bookshop maps of Albania showing the alleged riches—petrol, rice, and tobacco—the little country contained, although from my own observation I thought its riches could better be listed under the twin headings: scraggy mountains and goats. However, inside the bookshops there were offered for sale booklets which appeared to ignore the economic resources of Albania and to call more attention to the strategic and political advantages to be extracted from the possession of the country. A student of European affairs could not have failed to conclude that Albania was intended as a springboard for the eventual attack on either Yugoslavia or Greece.

An attack on Yugoslavia had two disadvantages. The country was, and is, more or less under the benevolent protection of Russia, and German economic penetration

of Yugoslavia meant a "keep out" sign to Italy. Yet, Greece as a conquest token would be of no great value to Italy. Of no value, that is, unless Graziani had won his point: that he could not attack because, contrary to Italian intelligence service reports, the British had strongly reinforced their armies. Is it not possible that the attack on Greece was intended as a diversion, a side-show staged to call troops and planes to the northern shores of the Mediterranean, leaving the British armies in North Africa weakened and easier to crush? If that is so two errors of judgment were committed. The Greeks themselves were able to meet and defeat an Italian army whose heart was not in the fight; and second, Britain could and did send assistance to Greece without endangering her situation in North and East Africa. Plans which had been rather slowly maturing for an attack on Graziani's men before the end of the dry season were hastened on. Risks were taken, as Mr. Churchill said in the House of Commons on December 19. Yet before the British took these risks, and won out, the Mediterranean battle had entered still another phase.

It has been suggested that Italy attacked Greece without the agreement of the Germans. This seems barely possible in the light of Germany's attempt to force Bulgaria into the war in order to strike at Greece on Italy's behalf. When the stage was set for this act Molotov went to Berlin. The *Neue Zürcher Nachrichten*, the best-informed European newspaper, gave the full story of that visit. In brief it was as follows:

Hitler wished to obtain Russia's consent to the partial occupation of Bulgaria, an attack on Greece, and war with Turkey if Turkey went to the assistance of its Greek ally. Hitler, it seems, pointed out to Stalin's envoy how he had smoothed the path which Russia of the Soviets trod in the footsteps of old imperialistic Russia: the path to Finland, the reconquest of Esthonia, Lithuania, and Latvia; how German engineers had built the very roads for the Russian forces which retook Bessarabia. Molotov, it is reported, agreed with everything, but then went on to state that Soviet Russia intended to follow further the foreign policy of the Tsars, that Russia preserved its interests in the Slav people of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. And moreover, so far as Moscow was concerned, the policy was still "hands off the Straits." Soviet Russia means to keep its entry from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea wide open. This frank statement of policy, said the Swiss journal, was the first setback to Axis policy.

We are now obviously rapidly approaching the fourth phase of the Mediterranean war, and the permanent question now is: how much will Germany help Italy?

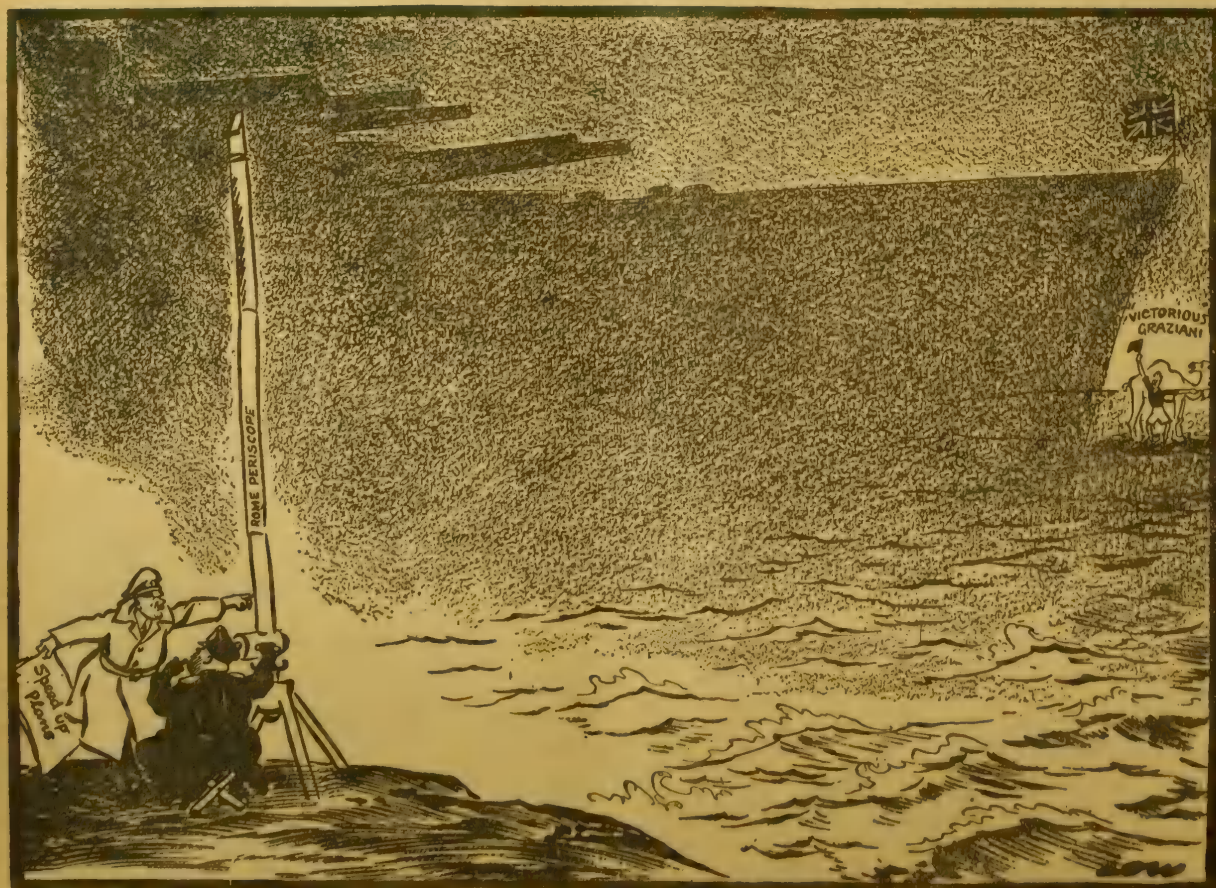
The possibilities, as an observer sees the situation here, are these: Germany without in any way violating the armistice agreement with France could pass its

troops into Spain, try and capture Gibraltar, and with the assistance of Spain close the western end of the Mediterranean. Spain has, despite British protests, laid heavy hands on Tangiers and thus holds one of the Pillars of Hercules, of which Gibraltar forms the second. But the control of the western end of the Middle Sea would not hamper to any considerable extent British operations in the eastern section. British sea power is still able to convoy ships bringing supplies round to East Africa via the Cape of Good Hope.

Germany could and, if she wanted, would violate the armistice with France and invade unoccupied territory, seizing the ports of Toulon and Marseilles. But would that help Italy very much? My own opinion is that before very long we shall see Germany occupying Trieste and the whole of the former Austrian territory which passed into the hands of Italy following the signing of the treaty of St. Germain. Germany has long since cast sheep's eyes on the fat lands of Lombardy, whose plains are even now but a stone's throw from her Austrian frontier. The seizure of Trieste would immediately make Germany a Mediterranean power. Maybe this would not be of any great assistance to Italy, but it would be one more successful circus for Hitler to present to Germany.

It is perhaps permissible to carry these premises still further. An early occupation of northern Italy would shut and possibly bolt the back door to Germany through northern Italy into Bavaria, should Britain and its Allies decide, after the defeat of the Italian troops in Africa, to carry the Mediterranean war into Italian metropolitan territory by landing troops at various points along the 4,000 miles of Italian coastline.

One can easily delve a little further into the not very distant future. The fact that French mobile guards have been mobilized on the new Franco-Italian frontier to push back the hundreds of civilians who want to cross over into France is a living proof that all is not so well in the heart of Mussolini's Roman Empire. Italian trains are being taken off by the score, because the supply of German coal is falling off. American newspapermen coming from Italy report stories of strong criticism of highly placed officials. It is not a matter of indulging in wishful thinking. One must visualize the moment when Germany will cast away the mask and set about making its ally of today the vassal of tomorrow. This might well come about, if and when the army revolts against the regime—and Germany, already installed in the North, marches south, just to keep order, of course.



MEDITERRANEAN OUTLOOK - VISIBILITY BAD

Caveat Investor

BY KENNETH MACNEAL

SHORTLY after the turn of each year thousands of American corporations mail out millions upon millions of neat little booklets to their stockholders. If you are a stockholder you will receive one from each corporation on whose stock list your name appears, whether you own one share or ten thousand.

These booklets all bear on their covers the inscription: Annual Report, Financial Report, Annual Statement, or some similar name. Each looks as though its purpose were to tell you how much profit your company made during the past year and how much wealth it possessed at the end of the year. If you believe that it will do this you are a perfectly normal stockholder and you are also, if you back your belief with money, perfectly ripe for the cleaners. For only rarely will a report supply this information, even approximately, and if it does it will be by accident rather than by design.

Suppose, for illustration, that you have recently purchased some stock on the advice of your banker, but you have since had some misgivings because you cannot afford to lose your money, and you have heard that even bankers sometimes make mistakes in recommending investments. One day in February you receive through the mail a booklet called "Annual Report of the Candid Company." It contains a letter from the president and several pages of financial statements. It occurs to you that this is your chance to learn for yourself what kind of investment you have made. So that evening, after dinner, you sit down in your favorite chair with a determination to read and understand the report even if it kills your whole evening.

First you read the list of officers and directors named on the inside of the cover. You are pleased to find some well-known names among the directors. But it is likely that you would be much more impressed if you realized that this page stands an excellent chance of being the only one in the entire booklet that actually means what it appears to say.

Next you read the president's letter, which starts with the words: "To Our Stockholders." This letter states that a balance sheet and an earnings statement for the year ended December 31, 1940, are being submitted herewith, and that the net earnings for the year amounted to a certain sum. It then asserts that the company's current assets are so many times its current liabilities. Finally, after some general remarks about the amount of business done, it winds up by thanking all the com-

pany's employees for their loyal cooperation during the year. You will do well to withhold judgment on the remarks about the earnings and the current assets. The president may believe these but, as will shortly become apparent, the odds are against either being true.

Following the president's letter is a financial statement occupying a double page, with the caption, "Balance Sheet, December 31, 1940," at its top. Below this caption the left-hand page is headed "Assets," and the right-hand page "Liabilities and Net Worth." Do not conclude from the date at the top that the figures in the balance sheet are meant to inform you of the value of the assets and net worth of your company on December 31, 1940, because if you do you will have fallen into a trap that has snared thousands. Some of the figures relate to that date, it is true, but others state only historical costs incurred at a variety of dates in the near or distant past, and still others are, well—just figures.

You can confirm this by examining the assets, which start with a group of items called "Current Assets." This group comprises assets whose function is to supply money in time of need, or to be converted into money in the ordinary and usual course of business operations. The first asset in the group is "Cash." This is the real McCoy. It represents actual cash on hand or in the bank at the close of business December 31, 1940. After cash come "Accounts Receivable" and "Notes Receivable." These also mean just what they say. They represent the total face value of the accounts and notes owed to the company by its customers on December 31, 1940, less an allowance for any that may ultimately prove uncollectible. So far so good.

The next asset is "Inventories," and the sum at which they are stated may or may not represent the value of the merchandise and material owned by your company on December 31, 1940. If the market value of the inventories is less than what they cost, this market value will usually, but not always, be shown. If, on the other hand, the market value of the inventories is more than what they cost, then only their cost will be shown. In other words, if your company's inventory includes ten million pounds of copper purchased at 6 cents per pound, and the present price of this copper is 12 cents per pound, it will be included in the inventory as an asset worth only \$600,000, even though it be instantly salable for \$1,200,000. In this case your company will have a concealed profit of \$600,000 which will appear neither

on its balance sheet nor in its earnings statement. Since inventories are current assets, and usually the most valuable current assets, you can see that your president's statement about current assets being so many times current liabilities may frequently be something less than the truth. If you are waiting for an opportunity to sell your stock at a fair price, the concealment of profits in this manner may have an important bearing on your financial welfare.

The last item in the current asset group is "Marketable Securities." These are securities with a ready market which may be sold at any time without injury to the business. They do not include investments in subsidiaries, or any investment whose sale would rule out working relationships with other businesses. Like inventories, if their market value is less than their cost, they will usually, but not always, be shown at the former figure. If, however, their market value is more than their cost, they will be exhibited at cost, with their market value appearing only in parentheses as a sort of obiter dictum. In this case a profit will again exist which will not appear in the earnings statement, and your president's statement about the ratio of current assets to current liabilities will again be in error. If your company's holdings of marketable securities are large, it is possible that many millions of dollars of profits may have been obscured in this manner.

Following the current assets is a group of large items known as "Fixed Assets." These consist of "Land," "Buildings," "Machinery," and in general those assets which are presumably never to be sold because their possession is essential to the operation of the business. With few exceptions they are always valued at cost, less an allowance for depreciation in the case of such assets as buildings and machinery, which deteriorate with use or the passage of time. The actual value of these assets may be many millions more or less than shown but you will never learn about it from your company's financial report. If the value is greatly less than shown, it may have long been obvious to insiders that your company will be unable to refund its first mortgage bonds, and that it is headed for bankruptcy. The first intimation you will receive of this, however, will be from newspapers which announce the bankruptcy. On the other hand, if the value is greatly more than shown, you may be deprived of enormous profits that are rightfully yours.

Consider, for example, the case of one corporation which for years owned and occupied a plant covering a number of acres in a large city. As time went by, the city grew and the value of the plant increased enormously. No mention of this increase was made in the reports of the corporation, and consequently most stockholders remained in complete ignorance of the value of their company's property. Speculators accumulated a portion of the company's stock in the open market and, as

the price rose, many small stockholders sold their holdings because the certified published statements of the corporation showed that from neither the standpoint of assets nor earnings was the stock worth so much. However, the stock continued to rise and eventually the corporation moved into the country, selling its old plant at a profit of several million dollars. This was sufficient to pay the large funded debt and to place the corporation in a different financial category altogether. The point is that stockholders of the corporation were, in effect, deprived of profits that their company had been accumulating over many years, because they were kept in ignorance of these profits and were not supplied with facts necessary for the formation of a rational estimate of the value of their stock.

Following "Fixed Assets" on your company's balance sheet come a number of items under the caption, "Deferred Charges." The assets grouped under this heading comprise, on the one hand, a number of prepaid expenses such as "Prepaid Insurance" and "Prepaid Taxes." The unexpired portions of these prepaid expenses are real assets, because they represent legal claims for services or protection that have been paid for but have not yet been received. Other items grouped under this heading, however, may comprise expenses that are not assets at all because they represent nothing material that can be used nor do they represent a legal claim on anybody for anything. They may consist of legal fees, stock-salesmen's commissions, advertising expenses, discount on bonds sold, and, in some cases, even the early operating losses of the business. As assets they are nonsense. They are really expenses or losses that the management of your company does not yet wish to acknowledge as such by exhibiting them as expenses in its earnings statement. To the extent that they exist your company's reported earnings have been exaggerated.

The next asset is "Patents." It is probably the most difficult item of all to value correctly because nobody knows its true value. In actual practice it may be valued at almost any figure deemed expedient by the management. Sometimes it is called "Patents and Good Will" and appears at a huge valuation. On the other hand, the General Electric Company values all of its priceless patents at the total sum of one dollar. You will have to do some tall guessing on this one. Bear in mind, however, that if it is overvalued or undervalued then the reported profits of your company have been overstated or understated by the same amounts.

Finally you come to the last asset of all—"Good will." This is the prize phony of the lot. Theoretically it is supposed to represent the value of the established popularity of a business, but usually it represents the exact reverse of this. Companies whose large earnings prove that they possess it in abundant quantities scorn to display it. Other companies, whose earnings are such as to

entitle them to claim no good will whatever, display it in profuse amounts, only to write it off if later good fortune grants them a real claim to it. Recognizing this, many sound companies display good will prominently in their balance sheets opposite a valuation of one dollar, to indicate that they possess it and that they therefore do not intend to exhibit it as an asset. Under these circumstances good will has become meaningless. No intelligent method is used to value or to revalue it from time to time, and accountants will sanction its reduction or total elimination at any time. Frequently it is combined with patents in an effort to conceal its amount. On the whole you will act wisely if you regard it, not as an asset, but as a concealed loss.

So much for the assets. You have scrutinized them all. The total at the bottom of the page seems to indicate that they are worth so much money. Now it is up to you to decide what they are really worth. By looking at the "Liabilities" section of the balance sheet, you can see that trade creditors, employees, the government, bondholders, and others, have a claim on these assets for various amounts. By looking at the "Net Worth" section, you can also see that the stockholders have a claim on them for everything that is left over. The earnings

statement, which follows the balance sheet, merely shows the amount by which the stockholders' claim has increased or decreased during the past year.

But do not forget that if the value of the assets is incorrectly shown, the amount of the stockholders' claim will be incorrectly shown, and that therefore the amount of the earnings to date will have been incorrectly shown. Furthermore, remember that although you may be morally certain that the assets are incorrectly valued, you still do not know their correct value. You may be more suspicious, but you are no wiser than before. Perhaps your company has made twice as much as it says it has. Perhaps it has lost twice as much as it says it has earned. It's your guess, and you will not be aided by relying on the accountant's certificate following your company's balance sheet and earnings statement, which assures you that these "fairly present the position of the company at December 31, 1940, and the results of its operations for the year ending at that date."

Finally, however, if like many others you perceive the futility of pitting your guesses against the knowledge of insiders who know, don't you think it is time that you cast your vote in favor of a change in our system of financial reporting?

What War Has Done to Japan

BY BARBARA PAINE

THE Japanese standard of living has undergone some startling modifications since 1935. The per capita income, although still very low by American standards, has nearly doubled, but ordinary commodities have become so scarce, so expensive, and so cheapened in quality that the standard of living has fallen sharply. Today farmers are the only people in Japan not suffering from shortages. They raise their own food, make their own charcoal, are the only group allowed by law to eat 100 per cent polished rice, and never spend much money anyway on store-bought objects. Farmers can get rubber-soled *tabi* or split-toed shoes when city workers can't. But the middle classes are gradually becoming impoverished. Before the war in China the majority of pawnshop patrons were day laborers; today that distinction is held by white-collar workers. While laborers are said to use the pawnshops now only when collecting money for a spree, the small-salaried men are driven to pawning their staple fiber clothes in order to obtain rice for their families. Wage levels are unbelievably low. A rookie policeman, for example, receives 30 yen, or \$7.50, a month, plus a uniform and a sword. Salesgirls and waitresses get about the same amount, domestic servants

somewhat less, school teachers start at \$15 a month, factory workers and miners get \$20 a month, and government employees average \$25 a month. Nevertheless, there are compensating factors which in normal times prevent mass suffering.

The Japanese diet, while it would horrify an American dietitian, is extremely cheap and moderately healthy. (On their part the Japanese not only dislike our food but consider it very indigestible.) Domestic architecture in Japan is well adapted to housing large families in a few rooms and still giving scope for a certain natural elegance and refinement. The literacy rate is quite high in spite of the difficulties of the written language.

Most workers either receive the benefit of, or actually possess, sources of income not mentioned in bare statistics. At New Year's and in July workers receive a bonus equal to from one to six months' total salary or even more. The bonuses of workers in key industries such as the munitions factories, in many big firms such as the Mitsubishi Company, and among various classes of small salaried workers are equal to at least their total year's wages. Besides this, most large firms provide retirement and pension allowances for their employees, extra for

overtime, and for medical treatment and hospitalization. Moreover, the family system is powerful in Japan, and it is a rather unusual family that must depend on the earnings of one individual.

The average Japanese petty official with three dependents spends \$7 a month on food, \$4 on housing, \$1 on light and heat, \$2 on clothing, \$7 on education, personal gifts, amusements, and other incidentals, and whatever remains on insurance, government bonds, and interest on debts. The bonuses are arranged so that poor families, with their supposedly feeble capacity for planning, can twice a year pay off debts and make big purchases such as winter clothing.

These low-salaried men and their families live in two- or three-room houses; eat rice and tea, and some fish, pickles, and fruit; take baths three or four times a week in the public bath house for half a cent a person, wear their clothes threadbare; and perhaps can manage to send their most promising sons through a higher school. The head of the family smokes Golden Bat cigarettes costing two cents for a package of ten, reads a one-cent newspaper, and can travel ten miles daily by train for less than a dollar. More likely than not he has a few debts.

In normal times this life, stringent though it is, is not too hard, but it has been badly dislocated by the war. Taxes have soared. A flat 6 per cent income tax is now paid on incomes over \$180 a year with surtaxes beginning at 10 per cent for incomes over \$2,000 and increasing to 85 per cent for incomes over \$200,000. An enterprising newspaper figured out that this year every man, woman, and child in Japan will pay nearly \$2 a month in taxes, some direct but most indirect.

The pressure to save and buy government bonds is unceasing. New Year's bonuses for 1940 were supposed to be paid in government bonds, and over 500,000 soldiers and civilians who distinguished themselves in China were awarded bonuses of bonds which they were not supposed to cash. Billboards on every street corner and in every street car announce postal savings bonds which can be bought for fifty cents. To make enforced savings palatable, lottery bonds have been introduced. This year the government hopes to raise twelve billion yen in bonds, 120 yen or \$30 for every individual in Japan. A high official of the finance ministry said, "I realize that it will be extremely difficult for minor officials, low-salaried men, and wage-earners to have 120 yen each, but the people must grin and bear it for the fulfillment of the lofty ideal for which the country is fighting."

After the typical Japanese citizen has paid his new and burdensome taxes and contributed his share toward the absorption of every new bond issue, he still has to face the most disagreeable effect of the holy war—rising

prices. Since the "China incident" started in 1937, wages have increased by 28 per cent and the price of commodities by over 40 per cent. Increasingly serious shortages and shabby and cheapened substitutes make this situation more serious every month.

The Japanese have few needs, so they become doubly alarmed when their necessities are threatened. Among foods, for example, fish became so scarce and expensive last winter that it practically disappeared from middle-class tables. In May, 1940, fruit and vegetables cost 11 per cent more than in March and 114 per cent more than before "the incident." Worst of all, Japanese rice is so adulterated with imported rice and barley that about half the population is complaining bitterly of indigestion. Those who are not satisfied by the new rice are being advised by the government to drink more water just before meals.

Next to food in importance is an adequate supply of charcoal, coal bricks, and other fuels. Last winter every form of heating except wood was affected by serious shortages. Where the Japanese felt the lack of fuel most deeply was not in their homes but in the public baths, thousands of which closed down entirely while others lowered the temperature of the water so that their patrons found themselves deprived of their last resources for getting warm.

Among other commodities it is impossible to buy a spool of cotton or a ball of wool in Japan. The current textile is *sufu*, a very cheap and flimsy staple fiber which has only 5 per cent the strength of cotton and which disintegrates completely after its second washing. Half a dozen would-be suicides who have tried to hang themselves with staple fiber rope failed because the rope snapped. *Sufu* is bad for babies, and six yards of cotton are rationed to the mothers of new-born infants upon presentation of their birth certificates, but the rest of Japan suffers greatly from lack of cotton.

The tale of Japanese shortages is endless. There is so acute a lack of drugs that major operations are performed without ether. The nail shortage is such that sneak thieves steal nails at night from fences. Flints are used again in kitchens because of the match shortage, and shoes are no longer resoled but merely patched because of the leather shortage.

The inferiority of commodities has diverted considerable income to the amusement business. Amusement taxes for 1939 were 56 per cent higher than estimated. In Tokyo alone over 78,000 women are now engaged directly in the amusement business; many big movie theaters sold the house out four times daily in 1939; and there are 220 cafés and bars in one small district of the city. Purchasing power where entertainment is concerned shows no signs of abating.

Industrial workers, in spite of the increasing demand for their services, are not to be envied. Hours

are so long, and many of the workers so young and inexperienced, that the accident rate is very high and constantly increasing—last year 30 per cent of all factory workers were reported as injured, disabled, or killed. Eleven-hour working days are still the rule, but the possibility of shortening them is being discussed and factories which put undue pressure on their workers are kept under police surveillance. There are many new laws for the protection of women and minors employed in factories, and police give frequent instruction in accident prevention.

Since rising prices constantly threaten the feeble security of the industrial classes, it is expected that eventually both wages and prices will be frozen by government decree. The first attempt at such stabilization in September, 1939, was a total failure, but the next will be more successful. As a temporary palliative the Welfare Ministry decided in May to boost the wages of workers in heavy industries by 40 to 60 per cent of the increasingly high cost of living. To laborers of low earning capacity with children under fourteen the government gives a special allowance of from fifty cents to a dollar a month. The Welfare Ministry has also subsidized the erection of 5,000 new houses and apartments this year to ease the housing scarcity, and compulsory schooling is going to be gradually increased from six to eight years, partly as a health measure to protect children who would otherwise go to work.

Among measures designed to help the hard-pressed white-collar workers there is one providing for the founding of several new government loan companies from which they may at least borrow money at a fair rate of interest. Within the last year, too, the government has extended its gigantic pension and health insurance system to about half a million very minor officials who were reported to be affected by rising discontent. School teachers have been granted a five-yen (\$1.25) monthly increase in salary. According to the Japanese sense of responsibility, those in superior positions have very pronounced obligations toward their underlings. At periods of stress like the present all the virtues of this system become especially apparent. For instance, most large firms maintain lunchrooms for their employees. The food is exactly the same for everyone, but prices are graduated according to ability to pay. Important officials by paying \$2 for their meal absorb most of the rise in prices and make it possible for lowly clerks to get a good meal for three cents.

The worst effect of the lowered standard of living in Japan has been the decline in national health. The infant mortality rate has risen; the birth rate has fallen, mainly, the Japanese think, because of over-employment of married women in factories and lack of money in the low-salaried groups. Young children aren't up to previous standards in height and weight. Office workers

require more and more sick leave. The amount of tuberculosis has increased by 50 per cent within the last three years, and the disease is so prevalent that one school child in seven in Tokyo is in immediate need of treatment.

The government is trying to cope with health problems by building hundreds of new hospitals and putting emphasis on gymnastics in primary schools; by establishing country health clinics and marriage relations bureaus, and free lunch kitchens for undernourished children, and by regulating the employment of pregnant women. Last year the government built six new tuberculosis sanitariums for urban children, and the army is planning to establish twenty-five, each to accommodate five hundred patients and intended solely for soldiers suffering from relapses.

It is obvious to anyone living in Japan, and to the Japanese themselves, that the standard of living will continue to fall until the war in China is settled. There is little serious suffering, and what there is, is mainly confined to the small-salaried men. In general the rest of the nation is superficially satisfied, but how much further it can see its meager standards reduced is something that must keep its leaders awake at night.

WPA Is Defense

BY FRANK RYHLICK

Washington, January 30

ONCE again the Work Projects Administration is facing its annual fight for life. And this time most of the cards in the deck are stacked against it. The tory junta in Congress is hopeful that before the end of the session the agency will be reduced to little more than a paper organization. This prospect brings a pleased smile to the lips of Messrs. Cox, Woodrum, and Co., who look at the defense program through the small end of a mental telescope and see a vast arsenal of guns and battleships constructed at the expense of human needs and liberties. But it is a matter of grave concern to those in the Capital who believe that under many circumstances a WPA project may prove more important to the defense of democracy than a flying fortress.

Already forming are the economic and political battle lines along which the WPA's future under the defense program will be decided. The complexities of the situation are many, not the least of them being such imperious as the role the United States may play in the war a year from now.

President Roosevelt fired the opening salvo in his budget message with the announcement of a \$400,000,000 cut in WPA funds for the 1941-42 fiscal year and the disclosure that he would seek a deficiency appropriation of about the same amount to finance work relief for

the balance of the current fiscal year. He asserted that employment expectations more than justify the proposed reduction.

Congressional conservatives promptly replied by attacking the President for not cutting next year's appropriation enough and for requesting too much for this year's deficiency. They proposed to slash the requested deficiency by at least one-half and the appropriation for next year by a minimum of two-thirds. Their rationalization was avidly expressed by the *Washington Post* in an editorial holding that "with the prospect that the defense program will create millions of jobs in the next two years, we might well reduce the WPA to a skeleton and shift the remaining public relief problem to the states where it belongs." There is more than a chance that something along this line will be done, for the powerful Southern bloc has bedded down with the New Deal only to the extent of supporting its foreign policy and will always coalesce with the Republicans on social issues.

A third position is held by Acting WPA Administrator Howard Hunter. He contends that reemployment during the next fiscal year will make only a small dent in work relief rolls and not even tap the huge waiting list of certified and uncertified eligibles.

Here are the available facts:

President Roosevelt asked that \$995,000,000 of his \$17,500,000,000 budget be appropriated to WPA for the next fiscal year. It was the first time he had attempted to estimate WPA needs for a full year ahead. WPA received \$975,000,000 for the current fiscal year, with the proviso that it could be spent in eight months if necessary. Most of the money will be gone by the end of February. Of the amount requested for next year, about \$20,000,000 must be earmarked for miscellaneous obligations, leaving about \$975,000,000 for work relief. The effect of spreading this sum over an entire fiscal year would be a cut of \$400,000,000.

At his annual budget "seminar" for reporters, the President claimed that the list of those waiting to get on WPA had dropped from nearly 1,000,000 to less than 500,000 in the past six months, and predicted that his budget estimate would care for all unemployed except those who couldn't hold a job anyway. "It will not be necessary," he added, "to use this full amount if the defense program should result in more general employment than is presently indicated."

As of January 8, there were 1,886,824 persons employed by WPA. At the present cost of \$64.50 per month per person, including wages, materials, and administrative expenses, an average of 1,300,000 could be employed in the next fiscal year, about 500,000 less than this year's average. However, Acting Administrator Hunter predicts that the monthly cost per man will rise to \$70 and possibly \$80 because WPA plans to put increasing emphasis on strictly defense projects, such as

airports and military roads, on which more must be spent for materials. In other words, between 500,000 and 800,000 workers will have to be pruned from the rolls under the contemplated budget.

Hunter disagrees with the President's statement that the waiting list has been reduced to less than 500,000. He produces WPA records to show there are about 600,000 on waiting lists in states which certify all applicants. He estimates there are nearly 400,000 more in states which do not formally certify applicants until there is a place for them on the rolls.

Various government and private economists have predicted that anywhere from 2,000,000 to 5,000,000 new jobs will be created by the defense program during the coming year. The largest annual increase of the World War era was 2,700,000, but there are so many new factors involved that this figure is of doubtful value now, even as a guide. Hunter says WPA economists anticipate an employment gain of 2,000,000, with approximately 400,000 coming from WPA.

Thus, according to Hunter's figures, WPA rolls would have to be cut at least 500,000 under the new budget, while only 400,000 would be absorbed by private industry. This, presumably, would add another 100,000 to the waiting list, which Hunter says is already close to 1,000,000. Allowing for the general gain in employment, however, WPA would continue to aid about 24 per cent of the unemployed. As one of the liberals in the House observed dryly, 24 per cent from 100 left 76 per cent when he went to school. As this calculation in higher mathematics undoubtedly still holds true, it leaves too many people on various state and federal direct relief programs or without known means of livelihood at an hour when democracy is facing its greatest challenge.

The Federal Security Agency report for January 18 indicated that reemployment had not kept pace with seasonal declines during November. It showed that total federal payments for public assistance and for earnings of persons employed under federal work programs amounted to \$281,176,000 for that month, an increase of about 3.4 per cent over the October total of \$272,006,000 and a similar increase over November, 1939.

At least as much weight must be given to official WPA statistics as to any others. But if all these figures prove anything, they prove the folly of leaving the problem of unemployment to estimates, predictions, arithmetic, and other such forms of economic crystal-gazing. The mere fact that two such experts on WPA as the President and Mr. Hunter disagree should be a warning of the danger in a small and inflexible appropriation. A small bloc of progressives in Congress has advanced informally the suggestion that enough money be appropriated to take care of the maximum number of unemployed, and that this be spent on a month-to-month

basis of actual need. But this will remain little more than a suggestion, unless the Administration and labor are willing to fight.

"Total defense," said President Roosevelt in his budget message, "means more than weapons. It means people of health and stamina, conscious of their democratic rights and responsibilities."

WPA can play an important part in translating the President's words into a program for human defense. It can also contribute to the material defense of the nation, as the record discloses. More than \$157,000,000 of WPA funds were earmarked for national defense projects during the first six months of this fiscal year; a total of 772 defense projects was approved. On January 9 over 400,000 workers were assigned to these projects. "For the past five years," Hunter declares, "the WPA has been the nation's front line defense against unemployment. Now it becomes one of the most important forces in the second-line trenches of the nation's defense of democracy. And General George Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, declared recently that "in the great task of preparing for national defense, the WPA has proved itself to be an invaluable aid."

In the Wind

THE *Daily Worker* has been giving Jan Valtin, author of the best-seller "Out of the Night," the Shmelka Ginsberg treatment accorded General Krivitsky two years ago. Valtin, says the Communist organ, is either an invention of Eugene Lyons and Isaac Don Levine or a character out of the German underworld. What the editors have not said, and may not know, is that their paper published Valtin's picture some years ago.

DOROTHY THOMPSON, whose sensational shift to Roosevelt during the Presidential campaign irked the *New York Herald Tribune*, will soon move her column over to the liberal *New York Post*.

IN A RECENT listing of draftees in the *New York World-Telegram*, only Nelson Rockefeller was dignified with a "Mr." before his name.

SOME HOLLYWOOD musicians, who hoped to escape draft duty, joined a California marine band. Recently the band was ordered to the Philippines for active service with the marine corps stationed in the islands.

GOVERNOR COOPER of Tennessee was asked by a Scripps-Howard reporter in Knoxville if he approved of teachers joining unions. "I think they should be patriotic and not do so," replied the Governor.

NEW YORK State Senator Charles Muzzicato won in the last elections as a regular Republican and also as the candidate of the left wing of the American Labor Party, which

means that he received active Communist support. To celebrate his victory a party was given by Carmelo Amoroso, who is associated with the openly fascist *Il Grido della Stirpe*. Among the more distinguished guests was Gaetano Vecchiotti, Italian consul general in New York.

THE MAYOR of Cambridge, Mass., recently discovered he had no funds for snow removal. He therefore suggested that the townspeople petition God to remove the snow. "The Almighty sends snow," he said, "and, if we have patience enough, He will remove it. He always has." The Mayor also ordered that, when snow threatens, factory whistles are to blow to summon the people to prayer.

AN ENGLISH schoolteacher asked her students who wrote the poem beginning, "Oh, to be in England. . . ." No one answered for a time, but a young Cockney finally broke the silence with "Itler."

WALLACE DEUEL'S ADDRESS on the war situation to the Council on Foreign Relations was reported by a Chicago daily in a brief story that appeared on the society page. One inch was devoted to an account of the speech. Four-and-a-quarter inches were given to a description of the hats of the ladies in the audience, one of which was "a confection of pink flowers and wings."

NEWEST STUNT in the drive to organize Ford is the use of a 1914 "tin lizzie." C. I. O. leaders are driving it through the city of Detroit with placarded suggestions that Ford's labor policy is a couple of decades behind the times.

THE GUARDIANS of political morals who are investigating the socially progressive Rugg textbooks may be interested in these quotations from Fairchild, Furniss, and Buck, the standard economics text at many large colleges, including Yale: ". . . the efficiency of labor is dependent on three factors—race and inheritance, health and energy, training and social environment. . . . A high degree of intelligence, the ability to learn, the ability to persevere are the recognized characteristics of certain races. Inability to receive more than a small amount of instruction or to grasp abstract ideas, fickleness of purpose, and lack of the power of concentration are found in certain other races. . . . Self-interest is the spur which drives the private business man to make his business efficient. To the public official this motive is weak or absent."

IN HIS ARTICLE, *Passports to Nowhere*, in last week's *Nation*, Joachim Joesten told of his thirty fellow-refugees on the Japanese liner Ginyo Maru who might, for lack of valid visas, be carried back to Japan and "finally arrive 'home' [Germany] after five months' useless traveling." The American Joint Distribution Committee reports that through its intervention twenty-one of the passengers have been given temporary asylum in Ecuador and none will be returned to Japan.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Lynching without Bloodshed

NEGROES have obtained jobs in the defense program. Many who have obtained jobs needed them badly in a South in which neither tobacco nor cotton has felt the effects of the boom. One of the stories told for laughter in a crowded military boom town is of a group of Negroes commuting in a second-hand hearse. But while defense has invented no new racial discriminations, it has given the most dramatic demonstration of the disappearance of the Negro skilled craftsman in the South—and beyond the South as well.

There is bitterness—and natural bitterness—among Negro leaders against the scarcely concealed Jim Crow lines in the army and navy. Thoughtful white men in the North and South have spoken sharply about the dangers to democracy in a policy in defense industries which shuts the door in the face of Negro workmen. The unfortunate fact seems to be that such protests come too late. In an America which has been assuring the Negro of more legal rights, in a South which has been growing less and less violent and even, though slowly, more and more equitable in its educational and other public services, the one right of the Negro which has been steadily destroyed has been the basic right to earn a living by the use of his skill. National defense projects are not so much taking that right away from him as they are demonstrating how far that process has already gone.

Every friend of the Negro knows that such a condition is not limited to the South. If it were, there would be no sense or reason in the protests of Lieutenant Governor Charles Poletti as coordinator of the New York State Council of Defense. But in the South it is most striking and most serious. I take as example one Southern state, my own North Carolina. It has been rather proud of itself in matters of race relations, in the justice of its dealings with the Negro third of its people. It has had in its history fewer lynchings than any other state in the South. But in North Carolina something significant is shown in the big body of workers mobilized to build two army camps. In the total number of men given jobs the Negroes have received their proportionate share on a population basis. But among the skilled workers in a state in which nearly a third of the people are colored, only one job in twenty has gone to a Negro.

Is that discrimination in defense? I don't think so—at least it is not merely a discrimination born of the emergency. I wish it were, because then there would be a better and quicker chance of doing something about it. It represents rather, I think, the long process by which not in a crisis but across the years the old-time Negro craftsmen have been decreasing in number and younger Negroes have been barred from the trades. In all the years during which the number of Negro doctors and lawyers, teachers and dentists, has been growing in a segregated all-Negro world, the essential middle class of skilled men has been disappearing. This leaves the race empty of strength in the skills between the bottom and the top. A Negro must be a leader or a laborer. There is hardly a chance for him between the two categories.

More serious than any present discrimination against the Negro is, I think, the showing that the rights of a minority may be effectually denied in a democracy in the very years in which they seem to be growing. They are establishing a graduate school at the North Carolina College for Negroes now. It is needed. But it makes me mad that a Negro may be a Ph.D. but has increasingly less chance to be a plumber. He may be a lawyer with a great deal more ease than he can be an electrician. I am for equal pay for Negro teachers but more concerned about the discrimination which is destroying the Negro barber.

The Negro undoubtedly has special legal rights in the defense program. The country is spending the money, and the Negro is the particular citizen whose rights as citizen the Constitution was amended to protect. Treatment of the Negro in the mobilization of American powers for defense of democracy obviously tests the honesty or the hypocrisy of the democracy we defend. But the discrimination in employment is deeper and sadder than anything involved in legal rights. The skilled Negro laborer whose crafts were a pride of the plantations under slavery, whose work was known and approved in the early years of his freedom in the South, has been all but destroyed. In quietness, often with the aid of craft labor unions, the skilled Negro worker has been lynched. And the body can be found North and South now in long lines of Negroes seeking relief. So far as Negro skill is concerned, what we face now is not discrimination in defense but a murder which has already taken place under democracy.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

IN THE weeks since the death of Scott Fitzgerald I have read or reread each of the nine books he published. It has been on the whole a depressing experience—partly because one must agree with the glib epitaph assigned to him in the newspaper obituaries: a man of talent who did not fulfil his early promise; and partly for other reasons. To reread Fitzgerald's early books is to be plunged back into the attitudes and ferment of the early twenties; and to feel a little duped. For one is brought up sharply against the fact that in the perspective of 1941, the "disillusion" of the twenties, on which we wasted so much gin and eloquence, seems poignantly youthful, romantic, affirmative—allied with the age of innocence which preceded it rather than with the age of guilt which it prefigured. The gusto with which "This Side of Paradise" and "The Beautiful and Damned" were written was certainly affirmative, though the theme was disintegration; and we have only to remember the joy with which the "lost generation" battered down the standards and taboos of its ancestors, immediate and remote, to recognize that not believing was a driving faith. The "lost generation" gave itself that sentimental and exuberant title because it didn't really believe it was lost—like the small boy who didn't really think there was anything wrong with the watch until he had taken it to pieces. Fitzgerald's rich boys and girls might be going to the dogs but the post-war intellectuals, even Scott Fitzgerald himself, were destroying the past to make way for the future. The outlines of that future were obscured by the blazing light of the October Revolution, but its portent was certainly socialism, freedom, the good life, art, music, love; and it was not far off.

Fitzgerald published his only enduring novel, "The Great Gatsby," in 1925, on the crest of that first wave of disillusion which was a form of belief. This book and a few short stories—I am thinking particularly of *The Diamond as Big as the Ritz* and *May Day*—will continue to be relevant because they caught and crystallized the underlying "values" of a period. But the novels and stories which preceded "The Great Gatsby" are for the most part dated by their fatal preoccupation with the sensational surfaces of contemporary life. They seem as quaint, and in the same way, as the evening dresses of 1921. As usual the *Saturday Evening Post*, with its fabulous prices and its fabulous circulation, exploited his weakness, not his strength. Fitzgerald's very facility for transferring to print the excrescences of contemporary life—combined with the importunities of editors who do not care what they sell as long as it sells—betrayed him into spending far too much of his energy and skill on short stories about glamorous and, today, boring girls, and boys who are not even glamorous.

After 1925, when "The Great Gatsby" was published, Fitzgerald wrote very little. In 1934 he published his fourth

and last novel, "Tender Is the Night," a confused exercise in self-pity. In 1935 came a book of stories, "Taps at Reveille." Its title and much of its contents are nostalgic and static.

If I seem brutal in my judgment of Scott Fitzgerald, it is perhaps because my first impulse on laying aside his last book was to set him down as the talented victim of a social generation, between wars, which might also be summed up in the epitaph: A man of talent who did not fulfil his early promise. It is a neat and appealing idea and a case can be made for it. I remember the bitterness and defeat of that moment when we became disillusioned with disillusion as a way of life; when we discovered that the future had been delayed and that the October Revolution was nothing but a heap of Stalinist cinders; when self-pity became the only solution for the insoluble. The external events of twenty years may certainly be cited in extenuation of the failure of Scott Fitzgerald to "fulfil his early promise." But that explanation will not explain to posterity why a Joyce, half-blind and beset by personal tragedy, and not a Fitzgerald could overcome the hazards thrown up by an old world disintegrating into a new; why, even in twice-chaotic America, talents lesser than Joyce but stubborn, have survived.

For this fundamental weakness Fitzgerald cannot be blamed. And it must be said for his integrity and his common sense that he did not accept, so far as I know, any of the substitutes for order which have become current in the past decade. It is reported that he was making a new beginning at serious writing just before he died, so perhaps my judgment, like his death, is premature. But I think it is easy to overrate Fitzgerald's powers. He was so touted in his heyday, and there are so many unfortunate circumstances to explain his failure, that he has become a romantic figure, one of the "sad young men" of his own fictions. Yet one cannot read his books, one after the other, without feeling that his was a fair-weather talent which was not adequate to the stormy age into which it happened, ironically, to emerge.

OF THE thousands of books published every year, the great majority deserve to be forgotten and promptly are. But everyone can cite important books which have been buried so completely under the yearly avalanches of print and the exaggerated claims of "best-sellers" that their existence is known only to the unfortunate authors, the custodians of publishers' stockrooms, and a few loyal readers. The Readers Club, newly launched, has therefore a fruitful field in which to operate. This new club proposes to send to its members, for one dollar a copy, twelve books a year which its committee selects as deserving of new and wider circulation. The committee consists of Clifton Fadiman, Sinclair Lewis, Carl Van Doren, and Alexander Woollcott.

The Readers Club has got hold of an excellent idea. But I must confess I was a little dismayed by one note in its ambitious first announcement. The advertisement starts off by

proposing to rediscover some of the "best already-published books"; its first paragraphs describe the venture as a movement and speak with crusading zeal of its intention of rescuing important books from their undeserved obscurity. The anti-climax comes when we read that "Mr. Woollcott has on a number of occasions called your attention to good books. 'Good-bye, Mr. Chips!', for one example, was languishing on its publisher's shelves until Mr. Woollcott told you about it." Mr. Woollcott is a good salesman and it would be less than realistic not to expect to find a good deal of commercial sugar in a concoction designed to be successful. But I hope the elaborate machinery of the Readers Club is not being set up to perpetuate the trivial. That would make the obscurity of the "best already-published books" doubly bitter.

SPEAKING OF the "best already-published books" I have been rereading "The Lives of the Poets" by that well-known literary critic Samuel Johnson. His essay on Milton has a quality which no contemporary account can capture: the quality of a world from which Milton was scarcely a century removed and to which he was still more man than genius. As we read Johnson's testy yet sympathetic account, as of a neighbor whose politics he does not approve but whose ability he recognizes, the writing of "Paradise Lost" becomes for us the actual travail of a human being, blind and beset by the struggles of an earlier age, rather than the creation of a "great poet" remote in time and not quite human. Johnson, as you may remember, took issue with those who had contended that the sales of "Paradise Lost" were shockingly small. The first edition numbered thirteen hundred copies and was sold in two years. But Johnson reminds us that between 1623 and 1664 only two editions of Shakespeare were issued, "which probably together did not make one thousand copies."

HAVING BEEN, as the saying goes, "born and raised" a Mormon, I was interested to see what Maurine Whipple had accomplished in "Giant Joshua" (Houghton Mifflin, \$2.75). I found a careful reconstruction, obviously based on conscientious research, of the settlement of a community in Utah by a group of Brigham Young's devoted and hard-working followers. Polygamous family life is given a great deal of attention, and one understands why one of the most frequently sung of Mormon hymns celebrates "Love at Home." But the book is pretty hard going. The fact that Miss Whipple is a pedestrian among writers is largely responsible, but I doubt very much whether even a first-rate novelist could make much out of the Mormon saga in its internal religious, as opposed to its more conventional external pioneering aspects. Joseph Smith was one of the duller prophets and his transcriptions from the "golden plates" were dictated by a heavy-footed spirit. Brigham Young was a superb organizer but there is no mystic excitement to be found in his career or personality. A friend of mine wrote me last summer that he liked Utah so much that he was tempted to settle down and become the T. S. Eliot of the C. J. C. L. D. S. But I'm afraid he would find little grist for his æsthetic or intellectual mill. Mormonism is a practical religion—eccentric but quite guiltless of ecstasy.

I WAS rather touched by a letter which took me to task for my strictures on the characterization of Maria and the love story of Roberto and Maria in "For Whom the Bell Tolls." This "Nation Reader" insists that it was a beautiful and true relation. "I speak so emphatically," he goes on, "because it is an experience I have had recently. If you have not been in real love, you won't know what it is that makes the world move under you, you won't know how it is that as you are in an embrace, you feel that you want to die." I still think—though I would swear that I have been in "real love"—that the affair in "For Whom the Bell Tolls" borders on pulp fiction. My correspondent assures me that he is not a reader of *True Confessions* and I believe him; but it is quite possible that this view of women and this vernacular of love have become so imbedded in the national consciousness that they have become conventions in the love life even of people who don't read *True Confessions*. It is a startling thought—but it doesn't make Maria any more real.

Incidentally, I have been reading the highbrow reviews of Hemingway's book. The pretentious solemnity of some of them made me reflect that even in book-reviewing it is a good idea to let the punishment fit the crime. I was particularly struck by Christopher Isherwood's discovery of a whole series of reincarnations in Hemingway's novels. As the ads so truly say, "For Whom the Bell Tolls" has something for everybody.

MARGARET MARSHALL

After Verdun

AFTERMATH. By Jules Romains. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75.

"VERDUN" was a magnificent epic; "Aftermath" is inevitably an anti-climax. History offered no other choice. In the West, at any rate, it was an anti-climax to be alive. We had been overwhelmed by the crash and blare of a barbaric and mighty orchestra. In the sudden dramatic hush, a small placid voice was heard: "And I always fry mine in butter." For some, the anti-climax took the form of "normalcy"; for others, of "abnormalcy." There was a desperate clutching at the sweets of life, but no genuine joy of living. Jules Romains must have found it easy to recapture that mood: 1938 strangely resembled 1919. But in the ghastly light of the present, the uneasiness, the fatigue, the obscure dread and remorse of two decades before seem shallow, almost futile. So the work, with its tragic background, is curiously light in tone. It is neither frank comedy nor savage satire, but a series of delicate, amusing, slightly repellent, and slightly disquieting caricatures.

The hero of the second part, our old friend Jallez, offers a charming ironical self-portrait of the *Normalien* (*Normale* is the glorious premier graduate school in France, and therefore in the world.) Everybody is delighted with Jallez—the shrewd Bishop of Digne, society ladies ripening for a fall, a little newspaper vendor in Nice. Above all, he is well pleased with himself; with the dollars in his pocket—real American dollars; with his resplendent imperial-and-royal dress suit; with his darling sport ensemble ("I had chosen a smallish soft felt hat with a narrow brim in preference to a cap which never suits me well"). He patronizes the older generation in the person of the new academician Allory, and he

despises the younger in the person of Vorge. When he condescends to seduce a very young working girl, he will, virtuously, have us know that he has no snobbish prejudices: "The thought-processes of the 'common people' are not always and necessarily elementary." Whether he describes—for American readers whom he scorns—the putrescence of post-war Vienna, or announces his willingness to lend the League of Nations a hand, it is always with the same ineffably superior smile. He is an insufferable young ass, and fast losing the excuse of youth.

Another small voice is heard in the hush—that of Vorge, a young Dadaist poet. Romaines draws him purely and simply as a poseur, a faint distant disciple of Gilles de Rais, Byron, Oscar Wilde, des Esseintes, and most of all as a blurred caricature of Baudelaire. He is an adolescent indulging in horrific make-believe. He needs, in order to fool himself, the faith and admiration of his "gang." His one fear is to be treated as a kid, for then his whole world of silly romancing would dissolve. To impress his public and himself, he stages a Baudelairean masterpiece—the rape of a woman after strangling her. This, at any rate, is tragic reality. But Fate smiles scornfully; the woman revives, the Baudelairean poem turns into a "Droll Tale," and the two pseudo-aesthetes become excellent friends.

The third hero in this volume is Quinette, the quiet, bearded, soft-spoken bookbinder who years ago committed 'the perfect crime,' gratuitously, for art's sake, in the purest André Gide spirit. In later volumes, Quinette took to killing women, and readers exclaimed: "Why, Quinette is turning into Landru!"—an all-too-real assassin of the time. In this book, the historical Landru affair breaks into the headlines. And now it is Quinette who cries: "Why, this Landru is a regular Quinette!" He is beginning to worry about his identity. Are there two of them, miraculously alike, or a single mind in two bearded bodies? His confusion grows to the point of madness when Landru is charged with killing one of Quinette's victims. His head reels; he is tempted to go to the police and ask them: "Tell me, in Heaven's name: am I I, or am I Landru?"

This gruesome fantasy on the old Hoffmannesque theme, *Doppelgängerie*, is in the purest Jules Romaines vein. He has always loved a hoax (cf. "Les Copains") and he has even evolved a profound theory of "creative mystification." Dr. Knock the quack creates the diseases he diagnoses. Le Trouhadec invents a city, Donogoo-Tonka, and lo! the city springs into existence. It is a form of romantic irony. The poet explores the very limits of the possible (like Vorge with his 365 intercommunicating apartments) but he is ready to add with a disarming smile: "It is a good story anyway."

That element exists in the solemn spookery of "*Quand le navire*," and in the learned psycho-physiological disquisitions of Dr. Farigoule on extra-retinian vision. It exists also in Abbé Mionnet's mission to Rome, in Laulerque's romantic "Organization." There is more than a touch of it in "The Seven Mysteries of Europe." To be at the same time an epic and dramatic writer of undeniable power, a "man of good will" in the noblest sense of the term, and also a *pince-sans-rire*, a pokerface mystifier—such is the paradoxical achievement of Jules Romaines.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Now It Can Be Told

MARK TWAIN IN ERUPTION. Edited by Bernard DeVoto. Harper and Brothers. \$3.75.

OUT of material intended for Mark Twain's "Autobiography," but not used, Mr. DeVoto has produced a remarkably lively and instructive book. It contains about half the left-overs, in as effective a form as first-rate editing can achieve. As for the other half, Mr. DeVoto's excellent preface convinces you it was better left out. Here is a book in which Twain, having his say in the knowledge that it would not be made public until after his death, speaks without compunctions about the world he lived in and the people he met. It is no gentle outpouring, as you may judge from the title.

If brutal frankness and enraged commentary were enough, these opinions from beyond the grave would indeed belong among the great examples of self-revelation. But as Mr. DeVoto says, it was only in certain fiction, like "The Mysterious Stranger," that Mark Twain could nakedly confess his innermost feelings and thoughts: when he chose an overtly personal form of expression, he might be blunt and scathing, but the final revelation was withheld. For one reason, his instinct was stronger than his conscious desire; for another, he knew his emotions far better than he knew what precipitated them. The most interesting things about "Mark Twain in Eruption" are the least intentional. It is clear that while Twain had strong feelings about the human race, he had only a partial perspective on it; and that while he consciously arrived at one philosophy of life, he never completely got rid of another.

Here is a book (most of it dictated between 1906 and 1908) about America, about people, about Twain and his career. It is for the most part a gossipy and anecdotal book, about equally filled with tart and lively humor, a somewhat querulous dissent, and a feeling of outrage. There are some affectionate memories, but it is largely a blast at things and people as they are, full of dislikes and distrusts, of a sense of ubiquitous treachery and impending disaster. Yet the mood of the book as a whole is not one of violent protest but of inveterate cynicism. Twain's final role is rather that of a healthy misanthrope than of an embattled satirist—simply because he did not care enough about things. His never-ending discoveries of how small man is, and how vain and vicious and corrupt, produced disgust, no doubt; but there is a kind of satisfaction in the disgust, almost a kind of pleasure. His exposures pull people down, with no desire ever to lift them up; and he was so absorbed in what facts he found that he never sought very profoundly to learn their causes.

Or perhaps it was all much simpler than that: Twain was pulled two ways, by being a nineteenth-century American as well as a great individual. He might expose and deride the successful, he might even expose and deride "success"; but from childhood he had been taught to believe in the gospel of success, and he never in any philosophic sense achieved better standards of his own. He did not revolt: he reviled. He could not be, obviously, a credulous Republican, or a complacent celebrity, or a flag-waving American. But what (for all his denunciations) did he become except a cynical Republican, a joking celebrity, an American to whom Eu-

rope failed to teach very much? He attacks the Republican oligarchy—whom he calls "the monarchy"—on page after page, then remarks quietly: "I shall vote for the continuance of the monarchy." The trouble was he was muddled by his own insights into things as they were because he had no real vision—and possibly no real concern—about things as they might be. He never perceived how paralyzing it is to discover what is wrong without knowing what is right.

There was much more to Mark Twain than this, but somehow this is what strikes you most strongly in reading this book. Much of it, taken casually, is merely amusing; most of it is so personal in tone that it seems at times to be settling old scores rather than passing judgment. The judgments, indeed, are too severe without being severe enough. With

his fundamental loathing of human nature, it is men's natures that Twain seems to be reviling rather than their values. He sees the fool and fakir in Carnegie, but not what Carnegie represented in modern life. He makes Teddy Roosevelt seem a dangerous wild man rather than a dangerous product of civilization. Even corruption is regarded more as a personal than as a social evil. Twain thought the world was base, not that things had debased it; and such a feeling produced a cynicism that might have its corrosive uses, but that ate into Twain as well as into his victims.

I ought certainly to add how much fun this book is. Twain erupting over Marie Corelli or Senator Clark or Leopold II, or describing his California days or his London dinner parties, or encountering the young Winston Churchill, or telling how he lost fortunes backing all kinds of contraptions, only to balk at backing the telephone—it isn't necessary to add that one does not come upon such good reading too often.

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A Study of Multiple Births

MULTIPLE HUMAN BIRTHS. By Horatio Hackett Newman. Doubleday, Doran. \$2.50.

THE problem of multiple birth has had much publicity recently in connection with the Dionne quintuplets. Professor Newman has made this problem his own for many years, and the present book bears the mark of the thoroughness of his study. Twins and other multiple births present a unique method of attacking the problem of heredity and environment. Moreover, the study of Siamese twins and related phenomena furnishes some information on the nature of intra-uterine growth. Dr. Newman outlines for us to what extent such studies have added to the knowledge of human development.

As we ascend the evolutionary scale, we find that the number of progeny becomes increasingly smaller; the lowering of the reproductive rate is offset, however, by the care taken to preserve the offspring to maturity. Twins are therefore of great importance because at one step they double the birth rate. They are apparently far more frequent than one would imagine. "One out of every forty-four babies born is a twin," writes Dr. Newman. Triplets are much rarer and quadruplets, of course, rarer yet.

The number of twins to be found in the population and their lack of prominence in the professional, political, and artistic fields suggest that the disadvantage of the twin at birth is carried into his later life. The natal death rate of twins is much higher than that of single births. This is caused in part by unfavorable intra-uterine conditions, not the least of which is mechanical crowding due to the upright posture of the human species.

There are, of course, two kinds of twins, those brought about by the fertilization of two separate eggs and those resulting from the subdivision of a single egg after fertilization. The first kind are merely coincidental brothers and sisters. The second kind are exact duplicates with respect to chromosomal origin. These identical twins present a fascinating study to the environmentalist. In the earlier days of Soviet Russia an immense laboratory was started in which

hundreds of twins were observed with great care and their likenesses and differences recorded. These experiments were unfortunately abandoned before much definitive work had come out. From Dr. Newman's study, however, this much seems clear: as a class, identical twins have a telepathic communication with each other that normal brothers and sisters do not possess. Indeed, Dr. Newman proposed identical twins to Dr. Rhine as crucial subjects to test the theory of extra-sensory perception.

This book is noteworthy for another reason: it is an official publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In sponsoring a series of popular books by capable authors the Association is performing one of the functions for which it was organized. The very existence of the book implies the recognition of the inter-relation between science and society. Dr. Newman has set an excellent pace in this initial volume of the series.

HUGH H. DARBY

Tales of China at War

IN CHINA NOW. By Winifred Galbraith. William Morrow and Company. \$2.50.

A GREAT many books have been written about China in the past few years, but none has been more entertaining than Miss Galbraith's volume of brief portraits. Miss Galbraith has lived in China for some fifteen years and has come to know and appreciate the people with whom she has lived. Although there are points in her otherwise mature pen sketches at which she reveals her missionary background, the latter portions of the book, which tell of the impact of the war in vivid, personal terms, are free of this emphasis. The book does not deal with actual front-line fighting or guerrilla activities. Most of the sketches have as their setting the city of Changsha, which has never been occupied by the Japanese. But because the setting is an interior city, we are able to see the impact of the war on Chinese life even more clearly than if the locale had been the occupied areas.

All sectors of Chinese life are covered by one or another of the sketches. We see the war successively through the eyes of peasants, merchants, bandits, soldiers, refugees, Chinese Christians, old women, students, spies, and many others. The stories are all true ones, with names and places changed so as to protect individuals. In some cases the disguise is more apparent than real, for it is not difficult to recognize certain well-known foreigners in some of the stories. Only a person of wide experience, keen powers of observation, and unusual ability as a story-teller could have achieved the scope of this book, its vividness and understanding, while limiting herself to stories from actual life. The results of Miss Galbraith's rather unusual technique are all that could be desired. No one who has experienced the burning of Changsha through the eyes of Lima or Li Han will ever forget or condone this horrible blunder. It is, in a word, the sort of book that makes you feel you have lived through some of the most stirring events of present-day history. And yet the tragedy is so interspersed with humor and ordinary human frailty that—as in life itself—it becomes quite bearable.

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A WORD TO THE WISE . . .

We have on hand only a small amount of our first issue copies. We are servicing subscribers with this first (valuable) number and will continue to do so for the short while until our supply is exhausted. Among the galaxy of authors whose articles (stories, essays, poems, reviews, etc.) appear in our first number are Sherwood Anderson, W. H. Auden, Max Ascoli, Stephen Vincent Benét, Henry Bernstein, Ernest Boyd, Jean Cocteau, Jannet Planner, Horace Gregory, Aldous Huxley, Christopher Isherwood, Frank Kingdon and Heinrich Mann.

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IN BRIEF

ALWAYS THE LAND. By Paul Engle.
Random House. \$2.50.

An Iowa idyll in which Mr. Engle has stirred together equal portions of young love, high-spirited horses, horse guys, and arguments over government crop loans, to produce a fragrant but not very significant potpourri. To those who languish in the soot-laden air and gasoline fumes of city streets, the book offers a pleasant three-hour escape among the odors of alfalfa hay and buckwheat cakes, to say nothing of more robust whiffs from barn and manure pile.

THE REMARKABLE ANDREW. By Dalton Trumbo. J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.50.

The author of that gruesome *memento mori* called "Johnny Got His Gun" has tied one hand behind his back and tossed out a jaunty little fantasy about the ghost of General Andrew Jackson intervening to save an honest young bookkeeper from the machinations of a crooked political clique in a small Western town. Aside from being a rather thinned-out version of "The Devil and Daniel Webster," it gets in some easy and not very telling cracks at political corruption and at our present foreign policy. It all adds up to nothing more than an entertaining little scherzo.

DRAMA

Darkness Visible

"LADY in the Dark" (Alvin Theater) is a superlatively "good show." The fact is indeed so sensationally obvious that standing room was already being sold at the second performance and the safest course for a reviewer might be to commit himself no further and to let it go at that. But when a chronic spectator finds himself, as I certainly did, following the progress of a "good show" with a great deal more than merely professional interest, he is justified in concluding that the goodness of the show is at least of some novel sort. And that far I must let myself go, even to begin.

First of all, and as Broadway prophets would say, "Lady in the Dark" "has everything." In Moss Hart, who wrote the book, and in Ira Gershwin, who wrote the lyrics, it has two experienced authors with a long record of success

behind them. In the composer, Kurt Weill, it has a musician whose talents are at least beginning to be recognized in this country and in Gertrude Lawrence it has a star who, besides being extremely popular, is a superb trouser, willing and able to do everything that practiced technical skill plus great personal charm can do. In addition, there is the imaginative choreography by Albertina Rasch, and some very ingenious as well as smooth-running stage machinery. Finally, someone, it is not quite clear who, has contributed faultless showmanship which has so coordinated everything that the maximum of effect is achieved from each of the elements and one gets, not a series of stunts, but a whole.

You may think that a psychoanalysis, taken seriously and, as it were, acted out on the stage, is an odd subject for even an unconventional musical comedy. You may also think that the scheme by which straight dramatic scenes in the business office of the heroine or the office of her psychiatrist alternate with fantastic musical interludes representing her dreams, is a scheme sure to result in either simple awkwardness or something absurdly pretentious. But if you do think this last you are wrong. The transitions are smooth and come to be expected; the actual content of the fantastic scenes is curiously evocative. They employ certain methods and materials which seem familiar enough parts of a current theatrical tradition but they give to them a subtle and imaginative twist which somehow freshens and almost transforms them. I do not mean to suggest that these scenes are in any sense pretentious or solemn. I do not mean that intellectually one takes them seriously. But I do mean that, artistically, they are astonishingly right, that they achieve more completely than any recent musical comedy or operetta I can remember that mysterious thing called style, and that the style includes both satiric and psychological overtones which give new meaning to otherwise conventional routines. Take, for example, the first of the ballet-pantomime scenes—that in which the heroine dreams herself a reigning belle showered with fantastic luxuries by hosts of suitors and the subject of a song which begins, "The Girl of the Moment! The Smile of the Hour! The Charm of the Week!" In broad outline this "number" and the "routine" through which it is developed are familiar parts of the technique of the review as practiced during the last few decades. In fact, Cole Porter, let us say,

would probably regard them as old-fashioned. Yet as here employed the whole takes on a new meaning, thanks to the satiric touch and to the even subtler psychological insight referred to before. Or take the uninhibited ballad called "The Saga of Jenny." Ethel Merman might almost sing it straight in one of her rowdy climaxes, but as superbly performed by Miss Lawrence it is parody plus a touch of hysterical desperation which makes it play its part in the development of the theme of the play as a whole.

In fact, though the fantastic scenes might be expected to be the most difficult to manage they are actually the most interesting parts of the evening. Capably as the straight drama is written and capably as it is acted, especially by Miss Lawrence who switches styles with amazing virtuosity, I am not sure that the play merely as a play is anything more than very slick stage writing. Certainly it is in the scenes where playwright, composer, choreographer, and performer combine that the most striking effects are achieved, and it is not easy to analyze out the contributions of each. That all do contribute I am quite sure, but I am inclined to suspect that the music is the most important and probably most thoroughly original element.

Unfortunately I am not equipped to discuss it as music and can only say that it struck me as more interesting and more effective than any I have heard in the theater for a very long time. In one scene—that of the circus—I thought I recognized unmistakably the idiom of Mr. Weill's score for "The Three Penny Opera," an idiom which I had not discovered in any of the other music he has written since coming to America and one which, indeed, I do not detect in most of the present usually less obviously acid score. Beyond that I can say only that it seems to me wonderfully adapted to its purpose. Whether or not any of the songs will be hits I do not know. Neither do I know whether or not the music would be interesting in a concert program. But I do know that as an accompaniment to an action it is delightfully unhackneyed, expressive, and evocative.

Though Miss Lawrence is the star and shines very brightly, indeed, it would be unfair not to mention an unusually good cast which includes Bert Lytell and Margaret Dale as well as Danny Kaye who deserves special praise both for his performance as the photographer in the dramatic scenes and for various contri-

butions to the fantasies. All in all, and to return to the beginning, "Lady in the Dark" is a good show and something more. In fact, I think I should even be inclined to call it "an interesting experiment" if that phrase had not come to be reserved almost exclusively for occasions upon which "experiment" really means "regrettable error in judgment" and "interesting" really means that everybody was bored stiff.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ART

All-American

THE pioneer Tribal Arts show of 1931 marked a turning point in the appreciation of United States Indian arts. An effort was made to assess their æsthetic value rather than to tolerate them as scientific specimens or as tourist curios. The show now current at the Museum of Modern Art finds Americans stranded on their own continent in recoil from a beset world; the patriotic angle may well weigh the scales in favor of these hundred-per-centers of American art, beside whom even Thomas Craven's roster of Americans acquires an immigrant flavor. However genuine our pride in the æsthetic achievements of the Indian, it should be tinged with introspective compunction: some of the objects now on exhibit were "collected" by our War Department, presumably as spoils, while the cover of the extensive catalogue is a shield design that pictures a bear charging fearlessly into the thick of a salvo of United States bullets.

Lest we be accused of sighing for bygone days, let us add that the coming of the white man had also its beneficent influence. The sculptors of the Northwest boomed into a renaissance with the importation of metal tools; to the paleface the plains hunter owes his horse, the forest Indian his beadwork, the Navajo his silversmithing.

That a museum dedicated to modern art stages this show is no haphazard event, for Indian crafts are one of the sources of our own modern style. Amédée Ozenfant, whom I met at the opening, suggested mischievously that Indians were imitating Picasso; but it is a fact that Chilkat blankets were admired by early Cubists as the living tradition on to which their own plastic inventions were grafted, while the distorted spirit masks of the Eskimos, conceived in visions induced by fasting or

by drugs, receive today the praise of orthodox surrealists. The élite of each succeeding generation may flirt with what in the vast and complex body of aboriginal art approximates most its fancy of the day, yet, at its best, it far transcends such modish standards.

As is the case in our own art history, where the golden age lies in the past, Indian Michelangelos have long been dead. Unlike its modern counterpart, struggling in a morass of folklore, prehistoric Indian sculpture exhibits a beauty of form strikingly set forth against an unfocused background of ritual pageants that no explorer scooped. Its might is at its best in the group of eastern pipes for the most part made from hardened clay, a material that suggests in spite of direct carving the caress of the modeling thumb. Some artists, relying on texture and geometric shape alone, root the cylinder of the bowl into the leaf shape of the stem at an angle evolved through centuries of use; such specimens match in their functional purity that other great civilized achievement—an English briar pipe. For those less puristically inclined, pipes adorned with animal shapes combine uniquely the observed vivaciousness of animal life, the Egyptian dignity of monolithic masses, with details of minute refinement; for example, the interplay of crossed wing tips and tail feathers on the back of a crested duck, or the wet ripple of muscles on the otter catching its prey.

For the critic who can measure an artist's size only as he matches his skill, Greek-like, against the proportions of the human body, a pipe from Adena Mound erects a chanting warrior whose eight inches of height have been enlarged by the impresario of the show into a photo-mural of heroic size without losing a mite of its compact humanness. A Mexican influence has been advanced for this piece, but it shows none of the loss of power that provincial art is bound to show, so far-flung from its center of civilization.

All Indian fine arts came into being as side-products of some utilitarian instincts, if one postulates the practical validity of religious instinct. Owing to this lack of cleavage between fine and applied arts, one is dragged imperceptibly in this exhibition from the consideration of the sublime to a limbo of moose-hair embroidery, porcupine-quill mosaics, ribbon appliqué, that prove the squaw a potential subscriber to the *Ladies' Home Companion*.

Indian artists have an amphibian gift

of moving at ease among abstract as well as realistic pursuits. In its rare bonafide examples, realism is used for purposes of farce, fable, or history, but most often is a not undignified pandering to the taste of the paleface. Objects classed by our standards as great examples of Indian art—the bear woman suckling her child, the mask of a maiden, the dancing medicine-man—were pot-boilers in the eyes of their makers. The deepest thrust of the Indian mind, the language it chooses to exalt its clan pride, wield magic power, or address the gods, is the language of abstract art: thus the Zuni amuse their children with dolls that are acceptable sculptures by our standards, while the fearful image of their war-god is hewn in such austere primitive style that we despise it as childish; the Eskimo humors his baby with teething-toys that we treasure as ivory statuettes, while his religious masks, carved to perpetuate lofty visions, remain for us shapeless.

One must discard such labels as realistic and abstract if one is to share further the Indian point of view. To illustrate without departing from the organic world: the "abstract" art of the Northwest is more deeply realistic than is the formula for reality in our art. The Haida painter splits the creature he paints and exhibits its innards too—heart, liver, stomach. For not only has he seen the bear and the whale, but he has hunted both, has killed, quartered and cooked them, and his painting sums up the knowledge acquired through all senses and his brain; while the white man is satisfied that he represents a creature when all he describes is its outer bag of skin. One is reminded of the visitor who asked Picasso, apropos of a "still-life with fish," how the fish kept while the work was in progress and of the artist's admission, "I ate it first."

Unfamiliar as we are with the Indian mode of life, our natural reaction to this show is to stress its picturesque and romantic connotations; but the Indian artist manages to assert his greatness within an accepted frame of tribal norms. The pipe-carver, basket-weaver, or sand-painter does not seem to suffer from the infirmity of our own artists who strengthen their personality insofar as they weaken the thread between their work and tradition. The spiritual content that loads the Indian work, a manual perfection deepened by technical impediments, the balance obtained between objective conventions and the personal quota of individual genius, mark the attitude of the Indian artist

as one of classical integrity. It is on such a plane that this show may bear valid fruits, rather than in a shop-window revival of feather-work and leather tooling.

Though the choice of individual specimens is impeccable, one would wish to admire with more confidence the murals from Awatovi; the original fragment exhibited, as sensitive as a Paul Klee, does not jibe with the cocksureness of the restoration.

The show is staged with ingratiating versatility, even if inverted lighting increases the Hallowe'en note of the collection of masks, rather than furthers an understanding of their beautiful carving. While most will justly delight in the surprises strewn in their path, the serious student may grumble a bit as he is made to grope his way through dim-lit detours. But serious students have already visited the Museum of Natural History and the Heye Museum of the American Indian, where many of the treasures exhibited here managed, up to now, to escape popular adulation.

JEAN CHARLOT

MUSIC

NOT long ago I was playing records for a pianist who is one of the finest musicians I know; and at one point, without telling him what it was, I started the first side of Gieseking's recording of the Beethoven Piano Concerto No. 4. He listened expectantly until the piano's phrase that opens the work began to emerge; with the first chords his face darkened; and almost before the phrase had ended he jumped up and demanded angrily: "Who plays in that terrible way? The music is not right with such staccatos"; and rushed to the piano to show me what the phrase sounded like when it was "right."

His reaction, I dare say, will appear excessive to some people—the people who probably find my comments on Stokowski's performances just as wildly extravagant. These people cannot believe that a performance on the Gieseking or Stokowski level of competence can be that bad; or that the differences between the performances of a Schnabel and a Gieseking, a Gieseking and a Horowitz, a Toscanini and a Stokowski are that considerable—enough to make one performance so much better or worse than another; or that there are any criteria for such judgments. But they would not express these doubts about differences in ways of speaking a

Shakespeare sonnet or one of Hamlet's monologues. They bring to poetry an understanding that each arrangement of words constitutes a form in which a large part of the meaning of the poem is implicit; that the process of speaking the poem is a process of giving it one physical form or another in actual sound, and in this way one meaning or another; that the process may distort the form and falsify the meaning. And they bring to the particular poem a precise idea of what it is and what it is not, what it means and what it does not, in what spoken physical form it has this meaning and in what form it has not. It is because they bring all this to poetry that they know one way of speaking the poem can be better or worse than another, and recognize better or worse when they hear it; and it is because they don't bring the same understanding and knowledge to music that they can't tell better from worse in musical performance and don't believe anyone else can.

But the musician I have mentioned did bring to Gieseking's treatment of the opening phrase of Beethoven's concerto the understanding that the arrangement of sounds in a musical phrase constitutes a form in which the content of the phrase is implicit; that the process of performing the phrase is a process of giving it one physical form or another in actual sound, and in this way one meaning or another. He did bring a precise idea of what this particular phrase was and what it was not, what it meant and what it did not, in what physical form it had this meaning and in what form it had not. And he was angered by a form which—with its swift, light, detached chords—destroyed the spaciouly meditative quality that he thought the phrase should have, and that it does have, for example, in Schnabel's recorded performance. And for the same reasons I am angered by a Stokowski performance of Bach that gives the work a distorted physical form in which it acquires the feverish excitement of the Bacchanale from "Tannhäuser."

There are no Stokowskis acting Shakespeare; and if the public brought to music what it brings to poetry and drama there would be no Stokowski playing Bach. Because it doesn't, the public which understands that a man may speak the lines of Hamlet with sounds that are exciting in themselves but inadequate or wrong or absurd for the effect and meaning of the lines, does not understand this about Heifetz or Horowitz or Stokowski playing Beethoven. For myself, I am bound to marvel

at the beauty of the sounds that Heifetz or Horowitz or Stokowski produces with his instrument, but I am equally bound to note that the meaning conveyed by these sounds is not the meaning Beethoven has for me. And if, on the other hand, Toscanini's recent performances of Verdi's Requiem and Beethoven's Missa Solemnis were great performances for me, it was not merely because of tonal marvels like the supple radiance and sheen of the choral sonorities that he produced with the superb Westminster Choir ("They're a fine chorus," as some one remarked, "but they're not that good"). Certainly I had ears for these things, and emotions for what was behind them—that completely personal and wonderful feeling of Toscanini's for the plastic quality of musical sounds. But what made these great performances for me was the effect and meaning which the two works had in the tonal embodiments that Toscanini gave them.

And so with Mitropoulos. What excited the New York Philharmonic audience to cheers, in a performance of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony, was his demonstration of power—power over the minds and wills and bodies of the Philharmonic players, which he demonstrated by exerting power over the music: with *fp*'s on a single chord augmented to explosive *ffffpppp*'s, with crescendos and decrescendos over a measure or two augmented to violent expansions and contractions of sonority, with phrasing that twisted the shape of the phrase. Certainly one wants a conductor to have competence in conducting; but this competence—like competence in manipulating a violin or a piano—is not properly an end in itself; it is the means for the achievement of the proper end of musical performance—a form in actual sound in which the piece of music has the meaning and effect it should have. If that Philharmonic audience had brought to the performance an idea of what Beethoven's Fourth Symphony is and what it means and what it must sound like to have that meaning, it would have realized that Mitropoulos—in effect using the work as something with which to demonstrate his virtuosity—was distorting its form and falsifying its character and meaning. As for me, since my only interest in a conductor—whether it is Toscanini or Mitropoulos—is in what meaning the music has when he conducts it, and since I have an idea of what Beethoven means, I don't want Mitropoulos around conducting Beethoven.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Who Owns the Future?

Dear Sirs: The only proof Max Lerner brings forward to show that socialism and fascism cannot be the same thing is that "if they are, millions of blasted lives have had no meaning." Unfortunately, history has a long record of lives blasted for false or unproven beliefs. Lerner insists on using the term socialism only for the society he and many others of us would like to see established. Dennis insists that one must use terms to describe actualities, not aspirations or dreams. This is not, it seems to me, Dennis's "clever strategy," as Lerner thinks, but his realism. Socialism in practice, i. e., state ownership or control of the means of production and distribution has proved in Russia and Germany to mean a party tyranny, persecution of all dissenters, terror, and the concentration camp, and an end to trade unions and all other safeguards of workers' rights and everyone else's rights and liberties. The fact that this is not what socialists the world over desired does not prove that it is not socialism. We can still believe that a democratic form of socialism is possible and work to achieve it, but we never shall if we treat fascism as an accident or as the result of the peculiar wickedness of a man or of a nation.

When Lerner says that the snags which prevent the establishment of a democratic form of socialism lie in the realm of politics ("in the realm of class resistance and press distortions and in the realm of power"), he is begging the question. It is precisely these snags in the realm of politics which so far history has shown cannot be unraveled except by compulsion and fear. The liberal socialists failed to unravel them in the post-war years; the Nazis have done it by compulsion in preparation for war, the British are doing it under the stimulus of fear of defeat. That fear is producing in Britain the whole array of strategic controls of the economic system which we must call national socialism, since it is socialist and certainly not international. So far the steps taken in Britain have been taken by consent because, as Dennis truly says, war is the great unifier. But can we be sure that the capitalist wolf and the labor lamb will lie down together once they have no lion to fear? Once the national

unity engendered by the war is destroyed how are the "snags" Lerner speaks of to be dealt with except by compulsion—whether the snags be the opposition of capitalists to surrendering their economic power or the opposition of wage earners to surrendering the right to strike, or the right to starve rather than work under any conditions the state decrees? Schuman, while retaining his liberal values, faces the problem; and it is only by facing it that we can hope to solve it. FREDA UTLEY

New York, January 28

Housing Economics

Dear Sirs: The dynamic side of capitalism is its machine production of consumption goods. Its static side is its handicraft production of "long-term investments," chiefly in the form of land improvements (building construction). The latter is the part of capitalism we inherited from our feudal forbears, and it is the dying part. The feudal formula that made the manipulation of land and credit easy rested on the agglomeration of populations for safety within walled areas where land was scarce, and on the fact that the low-income masses were compelled to live in forms of shelter so costly as to drain off much of their earnings in rent and interest. So long as the alternative was death by violence, the consumer paid his 10 per cent interest per month and up to 40 per cent of his income in rent without complaint. But as mass freedom, leisure, and mobility increased, the very basis of the feudal formula was undermined.

When this formula collapsed in 1933 and it became necessary to revive confidence in it, we began to plaster a prettier façade over small bits of the spreading area of urban decay. Liberal magazines quickly fell in behind this sentimental and wholly vicious plan. Why vicious? The investment per family in slum areas for shelter and appurtenances is already \$15,000. With slum clearance, public works appurtenances, and cost of amortization, this investment is doubled. How amortize an investment of \$30,000 per family from an average yearly family income of \$1,200? It can't be done under socialism or any other system.

Because the funds that private investors used to put safely into congested-

area construction now go sour there, even with 100 per cent federal subsidies and 80 per cent mortgage guaranties, the private investor is acquiring the habit of loaning his excess funds to the government to make work. The most exciting kind of made work, the kind for which funds are most easily appropriated and soonest spent, the kind that makes us all shout for the lifting of debt limitations, is military made work. This is the kind of work people are doing in every nation where the old feudal formula is being retained. In Italy and in Germany a program of public works shifted inevitably into one of military made work so designed that someone else will have to pay the bill. England and America are now following suit.

The design of shelter lies at the very core of the world problems now confronting us. All design tends to conform to the pattern of the successful man's house. Once this pattern falls behind changing ways of work, war, leisure, and mobility, all design soon falls behind. Then private investments go sour. Hoarding compels made work. Military programs quickly become necessary. The victory or defeat of Italy, Germany, England, and America will do nothing to solve this problem except as the bomber effectively drives a final nail into the coffin of the feudal formula: land and money monopolies built on pushing the masses into houses many times too costly in areas where land is scarce.

No matter what the form of political control, our machines will compel us to industrialize shelter design—reduce the home increasingly to a form of semi-durable consumption goods owned by its occupant. For a generation the motor car has been a small portion of the total shelter of a majority of American families. The motor car is shelter that has allied its design with the dynamic side of capitalism. Today the small boy defines "home" as the place where everyone waits for dad to get back with the car. But not in New York, the place of all others still in the grip of the feudal formula.

That nation will win its war and its peace that merges the technics of war and of peace. The factories, machines, mechanics now building weapons of defense can be turned overnight, almost, to the production of "machines-for-

living-in" if design is now adapted to this end. The static side of capitalism still thinking in terms of long-term investments in improvements on its scarcest land gave England its Munich and is now making it easy for the Germans to erase London from the map. The static side of capitalism, the dying half, still dictates shelter design for the world masses. Have these facts no importance for your readers?

CORWIN WILLSON

Flint, Mich., December 30

Progressive Students League

Dear Sirs: Robert Spivack, in his recent article "Youth Reorganizes" (*The Nation*, January 18), indicated a complete misunderstanding of the relation between the Progressive Students League and the Youth Committee Against War.

The Progressive Students League was organized in the New York colleges about a year ago by a group of independent students who felt that they needed some other means of expressing their united beliefs than that offered by existing organizations. Last spring it had grown to the point of sponsoring the annual Spring Strike Against War on most of the New York campuses. Since that time we have been spreading on a national basis.

Spivack, in calling the PSL "isolationist," attempts to label us with a term in general disrepute. "Isolationist" has now been so overused that it is meaningless in describing the aims of an organization.

It is illuminating to note that the major portion of Spivack's article is devoted to a pro-war group, the Student League for Progressive Action, whose actual student membership is negligible, while only a paragraph is devoted to the Youth Committee Against War, whose student membership in itself represents one of the most powerful of anti-war forces.

JOHN DIEHL,

National Correspondence Sec'y, PSL
Yellow Springs, O., January 25

Labor's Rights Contest

Dear Sirs: May I call the attention of your readers to two contests for worker-students being conducted by the Workers Defense League, national non-partisan defense agency of the labor movement? Persons attending trade union, WPA workers' education, or other labor educational classes in community centers, Y's, etc., are eligible. Prizes are \$25, \$15, and \$10 in each contest. Closing date is April 30, 1941.

The first is for "letters-to-the-editor." Students are asked to write a letter of about 200 words to local editors calling attention to current violations of, or threats to, labor's rights in the neighborhood or the nation. If printed, the clipping should be sent to us; if not, a copy of the letter. The second contest is for essays of from 250 to 400 words on "How Are Labor's Rights Threatened?"

Judges are George Baldanzi, executive vice-president, Textile Workers Union, C. I. O.; Rose Pesotta, vice-president, I. L. G. W. U., A. F. of L.; Thomas W. Patterson, international vice-president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. F. of L.; Harry W. Laidler, New York City Councilman, executive director, League for Industrial Democracy; and Arthur Garfield Hays, counsel, American Civil Liberties Union.

Available to students and teachers by writing the undersigned at 112 East 19th Street, New York City, are free study material and a 35-page booklet on "Labor's Rights in the United States," which sells for 15 cents (10 cents in quantities of 10). The winning letters and essays will be published by the Workers Defense League.

ISABEL TAYLOR,

Workers Defense League
New York, January 23

Poll-Tax Jury

Dear Sirs: Jonathan Daniels's excellent column on the Odell Waller case in your issue of December 21 summarizes the issues accurately and fairly. However, I changed my opinion of the case's significance about a week after I discussed it briefly with him over long-distance telephone, and when I was better informed as to the circumstances. It is therefore no longer accurate to say that I regard it as "merely a murder, not involving injustice to the convicted Negro." I am not prepared to say definitely that injustice was done, but I confess that I am not sure either way.

We have published two editorials in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* stating that the case seems to provide one more argument against the unjustifiable poll tax, since the grand jury which indicted Waller, and included two Negroes, was composed of persons "entitled to vote and to hold office under the constitution of this state," in accordance with Virginia law. Officials of Pittsylvania County, where the trial was held, deny that the poll tax entered in any way into the selection of the petit jury which gave Waller the electric chair. Governor Price has granted him a re-

prieve until March 14 to permit an appeal.

Early handbills on the case were misleading and inflammatory, but later literature is much more nearly in conformity with the facts. However, there is nothing anywhere therein to inform the public that Waller shot Davis twice in the back, when Davis, according to uncontradicted witnesses, was unarmed.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY,

Editor, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*
Richmond, Va., January 30, 1941

Correction

Christopher Lazare is assistant editor of *Decision*, Klaus Mann's new publication, and not of *Direction* as was stated in *The Nation* of February 1.

CONTRIBUTORS

LOUIS FISCHER, for many years *The Nation's* Moscow correspondent, is the author of "The Soviet in World Affairs."

HARRY J. GREENWALL is an English writer whose articles have appeared in the *New Statesman and Nation*.

KENNETH MACNEAL is the author of "Truth in Accounting."

BARBARA PAINE has recently returned from her second visit to Japan, where she lived two years in a Japanese household.

FRANK RYHLICK, Washington correspondent of the *New York Post*, is co-author of "Dixie Demagogues."

ALBERT GUERARD is professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER is the editor of "An Anthology of Light Verse" and of "An Eighteenth Century Miscellany."

HUGH H. DARBY is an associate in the department of biological chemistry at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University.

JEAN CHARLOT, well-known painter of Mexican subjects, is an archaeologist and the author of "Art from the Mayans to Disney."

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Editor and Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor

ROBERT BENDINER

Washington Editor

I. F. STONE

Literary Editor

MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors

KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART

Dramatic Critic

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager and Director of Circulation

HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager

MARY HOWARD ELLISON

The Shape of Things

"SOBER CONFIDENCE" WAS THE KEYNOTE OF Winston Churchill's radio report to the nation, the Empire, and the neutral world, a confidence given substance by a long series of victories in the Mediterranean and by the proved ability of the island fortress to grow stronger despite punishing attacks. But the British Prime Minister at the same time warned against over-confidence. Hitler, he pointed out, must attempt to destroy Great Britain itself and while preparations to meet invasion have been immensely strengthened since last summer, it is only to be expected that the Nazis have been using the winter months to organize a far more formidable assault than they could have staged at that time. Nevertheless, Mr. Churchill was clearly as unconcerned about the state of domestic morale as he was anxious to combat defeatism in the neutral countries. He spoke particularly about the difficulties of convincing the small Balkan countries that by accepting Hitler's "new order" they were backing the wrong horse, but his words were also intended as an answer to those Americans who have so energetically been echoing Goebbels's thesis that Britain is doomed and American aid will be useless. More emphatically than ever before he declared Britain was not expecting the assistance of American armies. Its need was for war material and ships to transport it—and for our faith in its capacity to win out. We believe such confidence warranted and that there is no justification for Lindbergh's thesis that Britain cannot defeat Germany. The deciding factor will be nerves and there is reason to hope that, in the face of setbacks, German morale will prove as brittle as Italian.

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THE DEAD CATS TOSSED BACK AND FORTH between President Roosevelt and Senator Wheeler make a rather sordid byplay to the controversy over the Lease-Lend bill. The exchange started when the Senator, never conspicuous for subtlety, described the measure as another "New Deal Triple-A foreign policy—plow under every fourth American boy." Mr. Wheeler's analysis, remarked the President, was "the rottenest thing that has been said in public life in a generation." *Touché!* Unfortunately the President was not content to stun his

foe and has lately been engaged in an unworthy effort to reduce him to a pulp. At a press conference he identified Wheeler as the unnamed Senator referred to in the late Ambassador Dodd's diary who is said to have remarked confidentially that Nazi domination of Europe was inevitable. What is more, Roosevelt implied, the Senator was not averse to such a catastrophe and even based his policy on it. Wheeler denied the whole story ("a slanderous attack on me—attributed to a dead man") and countered within a few days by charging that the President had given away so much American air strength that we now had not a single war plane capable of holding its own in a European war. Instead of analyzing this grave accusation Roosevelt merely remarked that of course one could work out all kinds of things with figures and that the Senator's interpretation must be very satisfactory to Adolf Hitler. That answer is fair neither to Senator Wheeler nor to the country, and it lowers the President's prestige. Even allowing for an inevitable degree of secrecy on military matters, the Administration has done a bad job of keeping the people posted on the general state of their defenses. That obligation is not lessened by the tactics required to carry on a private feud—even with so inviting a foe as Senator Wheeler.

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COMPLAINTS REGARDING EXCESSIVE TAXES on business make interesting reading these days alongside reports of 1940 earnings. In one of the most recent of these reports, the General Motors Corporation indicated net earnings, after payment of all regular and excess-profits taxes, of \$195,500,000, or \$4.32 per share of common stock. This may be compared with earnings of \$183,290,000, or \$4.04 per share, in 1939, which was an exceptionally good year. An increase of \$80,000,000 in taxes over the previous year was not sufficient to wipe out all the war gains. This was even more true of the steel companies which because of the capitalization provision in the Second Revenue Act of 1940 are practically exempt from the excess-profits levy. The United States Steel Corporation reported net profits of \$102,181,000, or \$8.84 a share, the highest since 1930. This was more than double the \$41,226,000 profit for 1939. The Bethlehem Steel Corporation, with more defense orders, did still better. Its earnings of \$48,677,000, or \$14.04 a share, were one-sixth better than in 1929, the next best year in the corporation's history. These may be taken as illustrations of how we must all sacrifice for the defense program.

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CHILD LABOR WOULD HAVE BEEN ILLEGAL in this country twenty-two years ago had not the Supreme Court in *Hammer v. Dagenhart* outlawed the 1916 Child Labor Law by a vote of five to four and made necessary the long, painful process of constitutional amendment.

Justice Stone has specifically overruled that decision in holding that both the wage-hour and the child-labor provisions of the federal Fair Labor Standards Act are constitutional. Justice Holmes, as he noted in his famous dissent in the old child-labor case, could not understand why the federal government was allowed power to prevent the shipment of lottery tickets, impure foods and drugs, stolen goods, and convict manufactures in interstate commerce but denied the right to forbid the channels of interstate commerce to the products of child labor. "The conclusion is inescapable," Justice Stone now says, "that *Hammer v. Dagenhart* was a departure from the principles which have prevailed in the interpretation of the commerce clause both before and since the decision." The Supreme Court nevertheless managed to escape these inescapable conclusions for twenty-two years. The new decision, which was in no way surprising after the decisions upholding the Wagner and Guffey Acts, should not be used as a means of blocking ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. That is still needed to end child labor in intra-state business.

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THE FUNDS APPROPRIATED FOR HOUSING defense workers last summer have been almost entirely allocated, according to C. R. Palmer, Defense Housing Coordinator, and Congress is now to be asked for supplementary appropriations totaling \$156,750,000. Of this sum \$150,000,000 is to be used for the construction of 37,000 units in sixty defense areas and the balance is to be employed for providing temporary accommodations in places where there is urgent need for shelter for short periods. In addition, Mr. Palmer is asking for an amendment to the National Housing Act which would enable the FHA to set up a separate insurance fund to underwrite 90-per-cent mortgage loans on dwellings to be erected by private builders and either sold or rented. At present the FHA will insure loans of this proportion only when the builder is the owner-occupier and puts up a 10 per cent cash equity. By this change Mr. Palmer evidently hopes to lure private enterprise into defense housing. Perhaps he will do so, for most of the risk will be shouldered by the government while operators taking advantage of the scheme will have a fair chance of a speculative profit. What is not clear from Mr. Palmer's announcement is whether there is to be any control of rents in the case of houses built under this program. For rents are mounting in those areas where defense contracts have been concentrated. According to Miss Harriet Elliott, chief of the consumer division of the NDAC, increase of from 6 to 29 per cent in the year ending December last have been noted in a dozen districts. Rent takes from one-fifth to one-quarter of most workers' incomes and nothing is more likely to provoke demands for increased wages than a rise in rents. Nor, as we have

pointed out before, will men be willing or able to work longer hours when lack of houses near their jobs forces them to commute long distances.

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL INFORMS US with refreshing frankness that "Squeeze plays were pulled everywhere on Army's rejection of Ford truck bid," and goes on to give the details, as follows:

Squeeze No. 1: Army was ready to give Ford a negotiated contract for trucks. Competitors kicked. Army invited general bidding. Ford was low, Chrysler second. Labor clause barred Ford; Chrysler got the order.

Squeeze No. 2: Army uses labor clause in bid invitations, omits it from negotiated and fixed-fee contracts. Soon it must either: (1) add clause to negotiated contracts or (2) drop it from competitive bidding.

Using Ford case to stir resentment, generals and colonels hope to jettison labor clause entirely. Officers announcing Ford rejections told newsmen it showed arms costs are higher "just because labor uses defense program as club to unionize Ford."

We can think of worse uses for the defense program. Meanwhile, we think it would be a good idea if someone with a loud and authoritative voice told the generals and colonels that the right and the obligation to bargain collectively have been legally established and it is not their business to nullify federal laws.

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THE JAPANESE DRIVE NORTH OF HONG KONG, notable as the first important Japanese offensive in nearly a year, is a serious threat to China's supply line to the outside world. For contrary to the usual impression, China has been receiving a greater amount of supplies through devious routes along the South China coast than over the widely publicized Burma Road. Much of this has been smuggled in through Hong Kong and then transported to free China either by inland waterways or on the backs of coolies. The occupation of the area north of Hong Kong will not stop this traffic but it will tend to bring it all under Japanese control. Most of the goods now entering China is carried past the Japanese patrols after payment of an illegal bounty to the Japanese officers. This traffic is well organized, being controlled in many instances by written agreements between the importers and the highest Japanese naval officials. So profitable has this trade become that some observers have expressed doubt whether the Tokyo government could withdraw its troops and naval units from China even if it so ordered. Although the extension of Japanese control will not stop ordinary trade, particularly that of Japanese goods, it will cut down the flow of arms and ammunition destined for free China. For there is a limit even to Japanese cupidity.

ALTHOUGH THE BACKGROUND OF THE Cuban "revolt" remains somewhat obscure, there can be little doubt that President Batista's energetic measures saved the island from more serious disturbances. Colonel José Pedraza, former army chief, who was charged with leading the "seditious" clique, has long been known as an ardent pro-Nazi. While there is no evidence that the alleged plot against Batista was in any way the result of foreign influence, it may be assumed that a regime headed by the three plotters would have been more susceptible to totalitarian wiles than is the present government. There was a day when Batista maintained as ruthless a dictatorship as may be found on this side of the Atlantic, but during the past two or three years he has reestablished a large measure of practical democracy. His promptness in restoring full civil rights after temporarily suspending them at the time of the arrests, seems to indicate that he means to continue his experiment with the democratic method.

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CORPORATION LAWYERS IN VARIOUS PARTS of the country, apparently under guidance from some central source, are employing a new legal device for circumventing the Norris-La Guardia Act. It is an ingenious one and it is being used with alarming frequency and success. It is aimed immediately at the Teamsters' Union but is capable of being used against other unions as well. When a union employer refuses to handle non-union cargo, the affected non-union employer institutes proceedings to enjoin the "fair" carrier from refusing to handle non-union freight. Since such litigation is between employers, the courts have in general prohibited interference from interested unions which sought to show the existence of a labor dispute and the consequent applicability of the anti-injunction law. The sued employer, more often than not, is sympathetic to the action and does not contest it. The practice has become so widespread that Daniel T. Tobin, president of the teamsters, and Joseph A. Padway, general counsel, have assumed personal direction of a nationwide drive to combat it.

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WE HAVE RARELY ENCOUNTERED REASONING more specious than that adopted by Circuit Court Judges Maris, Clark, and Goodrich in the Agnes Fahy case. The judges confirm the Labor Board's finding that Miss Fahy was discharged by the Newark, New Jersey, *Ledger* for her activities as head of the Newark Newspaper Guild. But they rule that the board has no power to reinstate her or to punish an employer for an unfair labor practice once the employer has entered into a collective-bargaining agreement. We have no hesitation in saying that the Wagner Act affords no support for this extraordinary interpretation. It would invite the employer to enter into

an agreement with the union and then proceed to discharge its more militant members. This is exactly what happened in the Fahy case. Few cases coming before the Labor Board exhibit a more shameful record of interference by management in union affairs than this one. Miss Fahy, after eight years of employment by the *Ledger*, was discharged in September, 1937, as "a warning upon all other editorial employees of the hazards of militant trade unionism." This was the conclusion of the then chairman, Warren Madden, and of Edwin S. Smith. William M. Leiserson, the third member of the board, thought no complaint should have been issued. While the court would ignore any unfair labor practices which occurred after the agreement, Leiserson proposed to ignore those which happened before it. Without citing any evidence, he dismissed the Fahy discharge as the result of "internal differences in the union."

H. R. 1776

THE PURPOSE of H. R. 1776 is to enable the President to carry out the policy of all aid to Britain short of war with more effectiveness than is now possible. That policy is not the personal property of Mr. Roosevelt or of any party in this country. Repeated tests have proved that an overwhelming majority of the people endorse it. In the late election Mr. Willkie supported it as heartily as Mr. Roosevelt and, indeed, had he not done so he would have polled millions fewer votes.

Despite this evidence, the Republicans in Congress, with a number of honorable exceptions, are insisting on treating the Lease-Lend bill as a partisan measure, regardless of how much damage they may do to national unity in this time of crisis, regardless of the effects of their action in Europe. Mr. Willkie has been telling us that Britain's courage remains undaunted, but we must remember that one element in its morale is faith that America will not fail in supplying material aid. Blind to the risks involved, Republicans in Congress are missing no opportunity to indulge in misrepresentation and obstruction. While part of the Administration forces were lurching last Thursday, an amendment was slipped through giving Congress power to rescind at any time, by concurrent resolution, all and any powers assigned to the President under the bill. By smart tactics Representative Dirksen of Illinois, who proposed this amendment, hitched it to the one limiting the period of the bill to June 30, 1943—an amendment already accepted by the Democratic leadership. Thus the problem arises of how to remove the Dirksen amendment without at the same time sacrificing the time restriction clause.

An amendment, introduced by Hamilton Fish, to recommit the bill and substitute a simple credit to Britain of two billion dollars was defeated. But it may be

brought forward again in the Senate by Senator Taft, who has also announced his intention of offering a string of amendments to the bill apparently designed to insure that aid to Britain will be "too little and too late." The supporters of the straight loan plan argue that the danger of providing additional powers to the President would be avoided and the British would be furnished with the means to continue their purchasing program on present lines. Congressional supporters of this plan have omitted to mention how welcome it would be to certain manufacturers who have been charging the British all that the traffic would bear. They do not like the bill because it means that future orders for Britain will be consolidated with those for our own defense forces and will therefore carry a lower rate of profit. But this is really one of the great advantages of the measure since it permits the smooth planning of procurement and also makes possible a standardization of armaments which will contribute to the economy and speed of our own program. Apart from these considerations, there is ground for questioning the motives of Messrs. Taft and Fish. We remember that in the fall of 1939 they both opposed lifting the arms embargo because, they argued, that would involve us in war. Now, they profess to favor arms for Britain and to be anxious to make loans to that country. Is this just a maneuver or does it represent a real change of heart and a confession of error in 1939?

With voting very largely following party lines, the bill went through the House with the inclusion of a new amendment placing a ceiling of \$1,300,000 on the value of existing war equipment or that under appropriation which may be transferred to other governments. This ought to dispose of absurd accusations that the President could and would give away the whole navy.

We have little hope, though, that reasonable amendments will silence those irreconcilables who seem determined to use the Lease-Lend bill as a vehicle for attacks on both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie. Against the President they continue to hurl the accusations of attempted dictatorship, asserting that he hopes to use the bill both to put the country in the war and to seize control of private enterprise. If there were truth in the first charge, we might wonder why he should seek such means to accomplish this end when his existing powers as Commander-in-Chief gives him far broader authority. As for the control of industry, Congress has already granted him wide powers through the defense appropriations it has voted and in the Conscription Act. H. R. 1776 neither adds to nor subtracts from these powers.

In the election we vigorously opposed Wendell Willkie but we feel disgusted with the venomous onslaughts now being made on him by some of his erstwhile friends. His crime is that he has lived up to his promise of "loyal opposition" by giving general, although not unqualified, support to the Lease-Lend bill.

Two elements in the Republican Party are now out for his blood. The appeasers and isolationists, who supported him during the election because, as they candidly explained, they regarded his stand on foreign policy as mere vote-catching, now have the gall to accuse him of betrayal. They are joined by some of the party hacks, who have always resented him as an outsider and take the line that an opposition has no responsibility except to oppose. We believe both these elements to be far more widely represented among Republican office-holders, in and out of Congress, than among the twenty-two million voters who endorsed Mr. Willkie. Consequently, we do not fear the effects of Republican antics in relation to H.R. 1776 on the unity of the country: it is far more probable that they will shatter the ranks of the G. O. P.

The First Battle

BY FRANZ HOELLERING

THE FIRST BATTLE for the liberation of Europe was fought seven years ago this week. It was then for the first time that common people took up arms against the fascist onslaught. They were defeated, as were the Spaniards a few years later.

It happened in Austria. On February 11, 1934, the Minister of Police in the Dollfuss government made a speech. The occasion was the celebration of the Holy Field Mass after the Sunday maneuvers of the fascist Heimwehr—Mussolini's fifth column in Austria, led by Prince Starhemberg, the same man who marched with Hitler in 1923 and who today is allowed to wear and to dishonor the uniform of De Gaulle's Free French forces. The Minister of Police declared that he could not say much; he did say that Chancellor Dollfuss was now of one mind with the Heimwehr and that the Heimwehr would do a thorough job, beginning the next day.

The promise was kept. After a successful bloody provocation of workers in Linz, the capital of Upper Austria, in the early hours of the morning, the Dollfuss government declared martial law and dissolved the trade unions and the Socialist Party which in the last election had received 75 per cent of the vote in Vienna and 45 per cent of the vote of the country. The government arrested the Socialist leaders, dragging even the seventy-year-old mayor of Vienna into prison, and started a wholesale attack with tanks and cannon on the workers' quarters. By nightfall the *Schutzbund*, the defense organization of the workers, was fighting back. Outnumbered, insufficiently armed, and without leadership, they held out for three days and four nights. They knew they could not win, but they fought. "Hunger hurts," they argued against the appeasers, "but we must resist injustice. Otherwise, we won't get anything to eat either."

Injustice! By this single word the workers of Austria understood in their own way the fascist ideology with which they found themselves confronted, after having built up over a period of more than thirty years the most advanced labor movement on earth. They had fought until then with "spiritual weapons," as their leaders liked to call the democratic processes. "One more election," many an Austrian worker thought, "and we'll have the majority in the country and take over the government and lead Austria on the way of peaceful progress, as we are already doing so successfully in the city of Vienna." Precisely this possibility and this conception of a dynamic democracy were the reasons why the workers of the Austrian republic had to be liquidated at a time when the ruling classes everywhere were still united in underestimating Hitler and in appeasing him by meeting him halfway, as they thought they were doing, with the glorious program: The status quo minus the Bill of Rights.

Today, to more and more people, this program seems like madness. It was then; but the semi-fascist Dollfuss believed in it and had the blessing of the Catholic Church which still believes in it, and everywhere the sympathy of the great press, which played him up as Little David defending his country against Goliath Hitler. The pretension was that Dollfuss represented the Austrian people and its freedom while he was dragging the most upright Austrians to the gallows. When the battle ended, on February 19, 1934, the *New York Times* wrote in an editorial: "Whatever form of government the Austrian people may decide to set up in Vienna is no concern of outsiders." As if the Austrian people had still any say about it! And as if G. E. R. Gedy, the most clear-sighted of the American correspondents in Vienna at the time, had not written the day before in the same paper: "While making the utmost of the Nazi danger, which instantly invoked the sympathy of foreign powers, the government actually always paltered with the Nazis while steadily preparing for the real objective—the destruction of democracy and socialism in Austria."

The destruction of democracy—or the building of democracy: this main issue of the present world conflict was clearly posed in the first battle in the February days of 1934. In the last analysis the poor tool Dollfuss and the whole Austrian people became the victims of Hitler because the ruling classes of France and England and the United States thought then, and for too long a time afterwards, that they could handle Hitler and Mussolini by throwing them a few crumbs—Ethiopia, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. Democracy, of course, meant nothing more to them than a convenient method for keeping their privileges. How seriously they have changed their minds in the meantime and how many of them only for the duration will be an academic question when the last battle has been won by the *Schutzbund* of England.

Why Hitler Hesitates

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

AT no time since the war began has the future of Europe seemed more obscure than it seems today. For the moment Hitler's path seems blocked in several directions, but it is certain that this setback can only produce a more intense and terrible attack. Hitler cannot afford setbacks.

The only serious obstacle he faces is Britain; every other interference with his plans exists only because British resistance is still undiminished at home and because the British offensive in Africa rolls on without check. Undoubtedly Great Britain is now aroused to full determination. The drive against Mussolini will be pushed to the limit; no one who heard Churchill's bold report last Sunday can doubt his intention to crush to powder the Italian empire in Africa. The bombardment of Genoa by British ships was an act of tremendous significance, for it was a demonstration both of Britain's mastery of Mediterranean waters, even along the Italian coastline, and of its ability to attack Italy on its own soil.

It is British strength that gives Pétain and Franco and the Bulgarians and the Yugoslavs courage to resist, even for a time, the pressure Germany has put upon them. Newspaper reports hint that American diplomatic efforts are largely responsible for the stronger stand taken by Hitler's satellites. Relief supplies from the United States have reached Spain and unoccupied France, and it is rumored that the State Department has promised oil and equipment for Pétain's North African army in case it finds itself fighting against the Italians. The "moral embargo" against Russia was lifted as a gesture designed to encourage anti-Axis feeling. But if these tokens of appeasement should prove to be effective it will be only because they supplement the successful efforts of British arms.

Because Britain is fighting with undiminished courage and growing success, Pétain has in the past few days begun to be looked upon as a ruler rather than as a victim. The people in the street crossed themselves and prayed when he walked to church last Sunday. For the moment the unanimous hatred of the French people for the treasonable plotting of Laval finds expression in the old Marshal's resistance. By tomorrow this precarious interlude of French independence may be ended. The new Darlan government may give Hitler the substance of his demands, even if Laval is not forcibly installed as his agent. Or he may set Laval up as head of a separate cabinet at Paris, recognized by Germany as the valid government of France. He must take risks if he cannot win without, for time is against him. But his temporary defeat at Vichy this week will remain a British victory; a by-product of Britain's successful campaign on other

fronts. So with Spain. Franco can afford a show of firmness in the face of Nazi demands only because Britain's success lends him a strength that he could never muster by himself. So, too, with Bulgaria. That poor country, stepchild in a miserable family, has lately been infested with Germans at a season when the Balkans are least likely to attract innocent tourists. At any time it may see the transformation of Teutonic salesmen and sight-seers into the advance guards of a Nazi army. But for weeks Bulgaria has blocked the way to Greece and the Dardanelles, not because it is strong but because Britain is strong and British advances in Africa have encouraged Russia to encourage Bulgaria to resist.

In this train of events there is a lesson for America—and for Britain, too. An ounce of military power is worth a million tons of appeasement. And appeasement is worth less than nothing except when it is an adjunct of power.

But since Hitler is not defeated, and since he cannot tolerate even a temporary halt, these past days will certainly serve as a prelude to new and more terrible destruction. Hitler could afford to wait only if waiting weakened the enemy. The next weeks may or may not produce the attempt at invasion which Churchill expects. It is true, as he said, that only a defeat of England would bring final victory to the Nazis, but Britain might be dangerously weakened by successful attacks elsewhere. In spite of the weakness of his chief partner, Hitler may decide to move toward Gibraltar or the Dardanelles or both. If he makes these attempts he will have to abandon most of the pretenses which have hitherto smoothed his road in France and the Balkans; this much the events of recent weeks have accomplished. He will have to treat Italy as a protectorate. He will have to drive through Bulgaria and perhaps Yugoslavia, through France and Spain—using these countries as military highways. If they acquiesce in his invasion, it will be a surrender, not a collaboration.

The reluctance of the rulers is rooted in the feeling of the peoples, feeling which even dictators must regard with respect and apprehension. In France hatred and an energy of resistance have replaced the apathy that followed defeat. Italy is boiling with suppressed rebellion; every private report tells a story of growing resentment against a continued, hopeless war and the regime that is responsible for it. In Spain the unarmed but unanimous opposition of a hungry population would break out in open rebellion the moment a well-fed German army crossed the frontier. Hitler must move, even against a tide of popular resistance. The British, for their part, cannot afford to let this mood subside or to be crushed into despair; in the end, if they have the courage to use it, the anger of the people at the misery and oppression that characterizes Hitler's "new order" will prove their most powerful ally.

Belated Magna Carta

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 6

IT may be said, without much exaggeration, that so far as labor and the anti-trust laws are concerned, the Supreme Court is beginning to follow the 1912 election returns. One of the pledges made by President Wilson in that year was the enactment of legislation exempting labor from the anti-trust laws. The promise was kept in the Clayton Act, but although this was passed twenty-six years ago the Supreme Court didn't put it fully into effect until last Monday. When I say Clayton Act I mean those sections of the law which Samuel Gompers hailed as a labor Magna Carta.

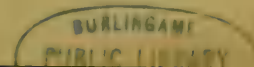
Gompers spoke too soon, and I too may be a little hasty. A few years after the Gompers statement Chief Justice Taft deftly nullified that Magna Carta, interpreting it as "merely declaratory" of "what had been the best practice always" and then applying it in accordance with what had been the worst. A few years from now further changes in the court may in turn undermine or reverse the brave reasoning of Justice Frankfurter in the *Hutcheson* case. Four judges agreed with him that "Big Bill" *Hutcheson* of the Carpenters' Union could not have been guilty of violating the anti-trust laws by calling a jurisdictional strike. But only three judges endorsed his reasoning and approved the principles he laid down for the future. These principles are the principles which most of the people of this country thought were enacted into law when the Clayton Act was passed in 1914. On these the court was splintered rather than merely divided, and the curious lineup may serve to warn Mr. Roosevelt that the New Liberalism of our highest bench is still too precariously established to permit the political luxury of appointing a Byrnes to succeed Justice McReynolds.

Justice Murphy took no part in the case, since it was begun when he was Attorney General. Justice Roberts and the Chief Justice, who dissented, belong to a generation of judges for whom the Clayton Act has been a kind of shadow statute, a legislative ghost easily laid by judicial incantation. Justice Stone, of the same generation but of a different temper and outlook, voted to uphold the lower court, which dismissed the *Hutcheson* indictment. But he could not bring himself to agree with Frankfurter's reasoning. Had the facts been but slightly different, Stone might have felt compelled, by past precedents, to cast a vote for *Hutcheson*'s prosecution.

This leaves but four judges, Black, Reed, Douglas, and Frankfurter, who were prepared to give an unequivocal answer to the questions of policy raised by the

Hutcheson case. The Clayton Act specified certain types of labor activities and disputes which were to be exempt from either injunction or criminal prosecution. These four judges might have overruled Taft's drastic limitation of this exemption, but there was an alternative. The *Norris-La Guardia* Act, which Frankfurter wrote, had already "reversed" the Taft decision by declaring specifically that jurisdictional disputes were to be exempt from injunction. In passing that act Congress made it clear it was correcting judicial misinterpretation of the Clayton Act. True, the *Norris-La Guardia* Act dealt only with injunctions, not with criminal prosecutions, but to Frankfurter and his three colleagues it seemed ridiculous to say that while the courts might not forbid jurisdictional strikes by injunction they could send men to jail for engaging in them. "Such legislation," they said, "must not be read in a spirit of mutilating narrowness." They threw out the *Hutcheson* indictment on the ground that Congress had shown its intent to exempt the jurisdictional strike from the anti-trust laws. Roberts and Hughes accused them of "usurping" the functions of Congress, but Frankfurter and his colleagues were merely applying Congressional intention instead of past judicial misinterpretation.

The importance of the *Hutcheson* decision does not lie in its legalization of the jurisdictional strike, a plague of which labor had best rid itself as quickly as it can. It lies in the fact that the *Hutcheson* decision makes more explicit the rule foreshadowed in the tangled compromises of Justice Stone's *Apex* decision. This is that labor activities are exempt from the anti-trust laws so long as they are not part of a combination with employer groups for the control of market prices. The establishment of this rule would sharply narrow the area in which Thurman Arnold has been trying to use the anti-trust laws against labor unions. Of the five types of "unreasonable restraints" outlined by Mr. Arnold in his famous letter of November, 1939, to the Central Labor Union of Indianapolis, only one would still be subject to anti-trust prosecution. This is the case of combinations with employer groups "to enforce illegally fixed prices." By this rule the Supreme Court majority does not imply approval of the labor union practices criticized; it merely registers an intention to limit the anti-trust laws to actions against "trusts," which is how they were intended to be applied. And it recognizes the dangers to legitimate unionism of attempts to use the anti-trust laws as a means of policing the labor movement.



British Communists Help Hitler

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, January 20

JUST one week ago today ■ "People's Convention" was held in London. It was an enthusiastic meeting, attended by at least some fifteen hundred persons. It passed unanimously ■ series of resolutions calling for more air-raid protection, higher wages, democratization of the armed forces, the creation of a "people's government," freedom for India, and so on. It also established a working committee which is to organize the intensification of the aims the convention approved, by propaganda which shall bring together the "massed forces of the working-class."

The convention did not receive much publicity in Britain. But it has received interested approval on the German and Italian wireless; and *Pravda* has reported its main proceedings at length. It was, in fact, essentially Communist-inspired, and its whole effective operation was in Communist hands. While some of the speakers, notably Mr. D. N. Pritt, were not members of the Communist Party, all the principal speakers were of the true faith; and no speech was made which deviated seriously from the Communist "line." The chairman and majority of the Standing Orders Committee were Communists; the resolutions put to the conference coincide in itemized detail with the latest program of the Communist Party; and the main Communist speeches were so little the outcome of the discussion in the conference itself that they were, I gather, distributed in multi-graphed form to the press while the discussions were proceeding. It was symptomatic of the habits of those who organized the conference that the "simple soldier" who addressed it (his name being withheld from the audience) was, in fact, one of the best-known Communist speakers in this country.

It is unquestionable that some of those who supported the conference do not belong to the Communist Party, either overtly or secretly; and some who did so would, as they have publicly said, withdraw their support if they believed that its purpose was "appeasement" in any shape or form. It is certain that many of the organizations represented in the convention sent delegates because on a number of matters they had real grievances to formulate and welcomed the chance of doing so. Some of those present, however, represented nothing at all. The workers, for example, in one aircraft factory protested that their shop stewards, who happened to be Communists, sent delegates to represent them without even a pretense at consultation. Other delegates went

from organizations which were created simply for the purpose of doing Communist propaganda under another name. Others were picked at hole-and-corner meetings utterly unrepresentative of the bodies they were chosen to represent. Others, again, like the delegates from the South Wales miners, voted for resolutions which, when put to a full conference of the miners themselves, were rejected by a three to one majority. The local labor parties which sent representatives were in many cases bodies dominated by members who are believed to belong to the Communist Party but deny their membership even while they carefully follow the party "line."

It is, I think, worth while to analyze a little closely the policy which lies behind this latest alias of the Communist Party. For what was important in the convention was not the resolutions which dealt with immediate questions, but the demand for a "people's government," and the insistence that it must be brought into being by the massed effort of the workers. It is based on certain beliefs that Communist writings in recent months have made unmistakably clear. They are: (1) that this is an imperialist war; (2) that a victory of the Churchill government would be a victory for British imperialism and against the interests of the working-class, the world socialist movement, and the Soviet Union; (3) that everything possible must be done to destroy this government and replace it by one chosen by working-class organizations free from the taint of imperialism or of fascism; (4) that such a government would offer Germany ■ "people's peace," based on the principles of no annexations, no indemnities, and of self-determination for the conquered and occupied countries; (5) that the offer of this peace would probably provoke revolution against Hitler and Mussolini in Germany and Italy; (6) that failing this peace, the people's government could wage war on Germany, with the help of the Soviet Union, until the European socialist revolution swept over the continent.

This is, I think, a fair summary of what the British Communist Party is now preaching. I hardly need to point out that it is an adaptation to the present conflict of Lenin's famous slogan "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war." Its purpose, essentially, is the overthrow of the Churchill government. Since it is clear that this cannot be accomplished in the present Parliament, or at a general election (only one anti-war candidate has saved his deposit at any by-election since the war began), it must be accomplished by extra-parliamentary means. The

exponents of this policy must therefore look to civil war as their method. To promote it they must destroy the national unity by every means in their power: strikes, demonstrations, exploitation of grievances, permeation of the armed forces, etc., on the well-known Bolshevik model of 1917. If they were to succeed in this purpose, it is clear to any rational mind that the resultant confusion would give Hitler the one certain chance he possesses of successful invasion. From this, the conclusion follows that the Communists believe, in 1941 as in 1917, that defeat is the prelude to revolution in the defeated country and that revolution in the defeated country would be the signal for revolutionary uprisings in Germany and Italy against Hitler.

It is important to remember in this context (1) that the Russian revolution did not provoke any attempt at a revolution in Germany while the latter was undefeated; that came only after the rapid demoralization of the German army consequent on the defeats of July, 1918, and subsequently; (2) that had Germany not been defeated in 1918, it is at least improbable that the Bolshevik revolution would have survived; (3) that the defeat of France has not seen any movement toward a workers' revolution and that this is unlikely until the hold of Hitler upon France has been broken; (4) that no evidence exists of any willingness on the part of the Soviet Union to come to the assistance of the French workers, directly or indirectly. On the contrary, the months since the fall of France have seen the constant reiteration of its neutrality by the Soviet Union.

It is impossible not to conclude that either the British Communist Party is dwelling in cloud-cuckoo land or its purpose is to assist in the defeat of Great Britain. The second result, whatever its intentions, would be bound to follow if its present policy was in any serious degree successful. A wave of strikes which paralyzed British production; the growth, deliberately fostered, of unrest in the armed forces; the organized conduct of anti-war propaganda which involved deliberate stimulus to seditious conspiracy—all of these would obviously hamper our power to hold Hitler, and might do more than hamper it. If it led to our defeat, the spectacle of France does not suggest that there would be an opportunity for working-class revolution. On the contrary, it shows that we should become a tragic province of Hitler's dominion with no hope of revival for long years to come.

It is significant, I think, that in the literature issued to expound the principles of the People's Convention, as in the resolutions of the convention itself, while there is much talk of liberty and democracy and socialism, and of the Churchill government as the enemies of these, there is no mention of their greatest enemy in the world today—Hitler and Hitlerism. That is characteristic of all Communist propaganda since the famous volte-face of

October, 1939. In the first month of the war the Communist Party had no doubt that Hitler must at all costs be defeated, even though it hated and distrusted the Chamberlain government. Since October, 1939, it has had little to say of, or against Hitler; all the artillery of its hate has been directed against Great Britain, which is now accused, in concert with the Roosevelt Administration, of looking eagerly toward a war against the Soviet Union.

What underlies this attitude? I cannot believe that the Communist Party really desires a Hitler victory. I can understand that it is disturbed at some of the policies of the Churchill government, notably its indefensible blindness over India. But to seek, as it is now seeking, its extra-parliamentary defeat, is clearly to court civil war; and, as I have said, a civil war here means a Hitler victory. For not even Mr. Dutt can believe that if Hitler struck, the Soviet Union would come to the assistance of a disorganized Britain. Not even Mr. Dutt can believe that Russia, granting a desire to help a revolutionary Britain, would be capable of doing so if Hitler decided simultaneously to attack the Soviet Union. In the light of Soviet experience in 1917-18, he cannot seriously believe (or, if he does, he cannot be taken as a serious observer of affairs) that a victorious Germany would accept from a Britain emerging from the confusion of revolution terms of peace which deprived it of all the fruits of her conquests. Certainly that acceptance is no more implicit in the terms imposed on France, or in the speeches of Nazi leaders, than it was explicit in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk twenty-two years ago.

What, then, explains the Communist attitude? It is, I think, due, essentially, to two causes. The first is the necessity of defending the position of the Soviet Union in this war. If it were to be accepted as a war against fascism, then the defense, not indeed of the neutrality of the Soviet Union, but of a neutrality largely benevolent to Germany, would be impossible. Its more obvious explanation—the fact that the Soviet leaders fear the effect of a major war on their experiment, and, hardly less, upon their personal control of the experiment—is not an explanation which easily fits Communist boasts of the impregnable strength of the Soviet Union. It is not easy to admit that the leadership in the fight against fascist dictatorship has, after all these years, passed from Moscow to London. It is therefore necessary for the Communists to maintain that this is no longer a war against fascism. To do otherwise is to reveal the weakness of the Soviet Union.

The second cause is more recondite. The Communist Party is assuming that with the end of the war there will be immense social problems causing profound discontent. This, it believes, will recoil upon the heads of the two major parties, and leave the way open for a third party

which not only predicted its coming, but opposed the war because it saw this condition as its consequence. The Labor Party, it believes, will be the main sufferer from this discontent, and the Communists will be able to take advantage of Labor's unpopularity to seize the leadership of the working-class forces in Great Britain.

This view is, of course, one that it is easy to see might well become a strongly founded one. If, at the close of the war, nothing has been made ready to grapple with the issues of reconstruction, there will be swift and condign punishment for the responsible leaders; and the main punishment will rightly be visited on the Labor Party, whose inescapable obligation it is to prepare now to meet problems it is possible to foresee, and for which there are clear and obvious remedies. The workers will not tolerate mass-unemployment and distressed areas after this war as they did after the last. They will not tolerate the continuance of the grave inequalities, in wealth, in housing, in education, in public health, which now deface our social system. They will expect gigantic plans to be ready for dealing with these matters; and a failure to deal with them may easily and, indeed, rapidly, produce a revolutionary situation in Great Britain.

I would add two things only. The Communists are not alone in their awareness of these dangers; the leaders of the Labor Party are equally alive to their imminence, and, if they were not, they would be constantly reminded of them by their experience at the party conferences which go on every week-end. Preparation to deal with

these matters has long been in hand; and a strong team, under Mr. Greenwood, has just been appointed by the War Cabinet to lay down the general principles of post-war reconstruction. It is, no doubt, too early to say that we shall be able to carry through the task of reconstruction upon an agreed basis. It is not too early to say that the leaders of both great parties understand that without this agreed basis the dangers ahead will be enormous. Neither is it too early to insist that there has never been a time in our history when the whole people was so united in its recognition that large-scale experiment in matters of social constitution is imperative.

The second remark I would add is that no recognition of the difficulties we must face after the war can justify the risks the Communists are taking in their present policy. Were it to be successful, it would fasten the domination of Hitler upon Europe at least and possibly beyond. That is not a risk anyone is entitled to take who recognizes the meaning for the workers of a Hitler victory. It may be, of course, as one fellow-traveler has remarked to me, that the Communists have adopted this line because they know it will fail, but believe that, on this account, it will in the long run give them the best of both worlds. If this is indeed their view—as it may well be—it indicates a levity before the call of great events which is, I think, impossible to pardon. Men who can lie on the scale this attitude implies could not be charged with the destiny of any people without ultimately assisting in its betrayal.

Tax for Defense

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

NOW that the Lease-Lend bill is past the hearing stage and well on the way to passage, Congress must face the even greater problem of determining how the defense program shall be financed. Although the issues involved are perhaps not so spectacular as those growing out of the President's proposal to lend war supplies to the democracies, they affect our daily lives even more fundamentally. For the decision will affect not only our pocketbooks, but, to a large extent, the kind of society we shall live in after the emergency has passed.

The very immensity of the problem may cause it to get less attention than it deserves. For years we have been hearing that the government was facing bankruptcy because of annual deficits of from two to four billion dollars. The deficit for 1941-42 has been estimated at nine billion! Unless drastic steps are taken, it will be even greater the following year. An expenditure of seventeen and a half billion dollars was authorized last

year for defense. No one can foresee what the total will be this year, but domestic defense authorizations are expected to go above ten billions, and the cost of materials for Great Britain, Greece, and China may amount to half as much again. In the face of these amounts, lopping off a half billion dollars from the regular budget seems almost a futile gesture.

Congress has the choice of three ways of meeting the huge but necessary expenditures for defense. (1) It can decide to meet the defense costs primarily by borrowing. This would involve merely a continuation of the deficit financing used to pay the costs of recovery and relief during the past eight years. (2) It may permit some form of inflation and thus pay for defense by "new" money. (3) It may follow the President's injunction and, by increasing taxes, seek to put defense, so far as possible, on a pay-as-you-go basis. Or, as it not unlikely, it may adopt some combination of these methods.

One thing is clear. Whatever method is adopted, we cannot dodge the full costs of the defense program. These costs are approximately the same regardless of the way they are financed. But the method of financing will determine who pays the bill and the nature of the problems which will face us after the emergency has passed.

Present indications are that the greater part of the costs of defense will be met, as were the costs of the first World War, by borrowing. We have become so accustomed to large-scale deficit financing during the depression that the huge sums at present required seem to cause little concern. But it cannot be too strongly emphasized that deficit financing for recovery and relief is very different from supporting the defense program by borrowed money.

During the depression a large portion of our manpower, factories, mines, transport equipment, and capital resources were idle because of lack of consumer purchasing power. The money which was borrowed for recovery and relief was used to provide jobs in constructive undertakings. Roads were improved, schools erected, airports built, new bridges constructed, and other useful work was done that added to the country's wealth. Consumer purchasing power was raised both directly through relief grants and indirectly through the stimulation of the construction industries. This, in turn, stimulated the entire economic process, creating real wealth as it did so.

Having just learned, with great difficulty, the laws of an economy of abundance, it is hard to adjust ourselves once again to an economy of scarcity. But we must recognize that the situation has been completely reversed. Our factories, mines, and transport facilities are, with a few exceptions, being strained to the limit. We still have unemployment, but it has been substantially reduced; skilled workers are at a premium in the defense industries. The money which is being spent on tanks, aircraft, guns, and warships adds substantially to consumer purchasing power, but it does not add to the country's wealth. Except where necessities such as food and housing are in question, we dare not utilize our resources to increase the number of things which people will buy with their greater purchasing power. On the contrary, some of the resources now utilized in producing goods for consumption may soon have to be diverted to imperative defense needs. Our national output is bound to suffer when men are taken away from their present jobs and given unproductive work in either defense industries or the armed forces. Yet these men will continue to consume, in some cases more than before, thus placing an increasing drain on our resources.

The creation of new purchasing power without ■ corresponding increase in the amount of goods available for purchase must of necessity result in a rise in prices. The reason that a considerable increase in prices has not

already occurred is that we had huge unused resources when rearmament first got under way. During the first year of intense defense effort, we have done little more than take up the slack. But the pressure is beginning to be felt, and the coming months will see a tremendous stepping up of the defense effort.

The effect of large-scale government borrowing on this situation will depend largely on whether the money is predominantly obtained from individuals or, as is now the case, from banks. Money borrowed from individuals will have a much less inflationary effect than money borrowed from banks. For individuals have a choice between lending the money to the government or spending it on themselves. And every dollar they lend to the government will cut down the demand for consumers' goods, particularly luxuries. There is, however, a serious objection to financing the defense program primarily by borrowing from individuals, assuming that this could be done. Even a casual examination of the figures for accumulated savings by income classes will reveal that only the comparatively wealthy group can claim a substantial amount of savings. But if the wealthy buy most of the bonds, they will be in a favored position when the emergency is ended. The country as a whole will have to shoulder the burden of heavy taxation in order to repay them, and their descendants, for the "sacrifices" made for national defense. The British population has been laboring under just such a burden for the past twenty years because this method was chosen to finance the last war.

One of the gravest objections to financing defense by voluntary, interest-paying loans lies in the fact that it sets up a dual standard for wealth and human life. We do not hesitate to draft men for service in the armed forces, even though we know that some of them may be called upon to sacrifice their lives for their country. The draft board does attempt to invoke a doctrine of equality of sacrifice, or even of a proportionate sacrifice. It takes the strong, rejects the weak. The welfare of the nation comes before all other considerations. The dependence on voluntary loans invokes an altogether different standard, comparable to reliance on a voluntary, mercenary army enlisted on the promise of fat pensions for life. The existence of a double standard soon comes to be recognized by draftees and may seriously undermine morale.

To borrow from banks in order to avoid this danger is like jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire. The money provided by the banks would be largely new money and would increase the amount of available purchasing power. The danger is particularly great because we have, as a result of devaluation, some billions of dollars of excess bank reserves which not only may be transformed into effective purchasing power but may serve as the basis for an even larger expansion of credit.

Since this new money cannot be balanced by a corresponding amount of new consumers' goods, we should soon have an unmanageable inflation on our hands. An inflation is both dangerous and unfair. For while the increasing cost of living imposes a heavy burden on workers, white-collar employees, and all others dependent on a fixed income, a favored few may benefit substantially. Business in general flourishes in a period of rising prices. A disproportionate amount of the national income would go to business men and shareholders, already a favored group. Speculators would reap an even bigger harvest. But the gravest objection to inflation, from the standpoint of national defense, is that it would discourage thrift and encourage needless expenditures for luxuries. For once inflation gets under way, people cannot be blamed for seeking to spend their money as soon as possible. As a result, we might be forced to adopt priorities, rationing, and other restrictions in order to maintain defense production.

The only practical alternative to borrowing is, of course, some form of taxation. Since in any event defense must be paid for out of current income, there is much to be said for drafting the money needed to finance defense instead of enlisting it on a voluntary basis. Few would deny that placing defense on a pay-as-you-go basis would involve the fewest headaches for the future. But it is usually assumed that this is wholly impossible.

Perhaps it is. But if so, the obstacles are political rather than economic. Given a sound system of taxation, there is no purely economic reason why the United States should not defray the costs of the present arms program out of taxation. Dr. Harold G. Moulton of the Brookings Institution has estimated that if the federal, state, and local governments took 25 per cent of a national income of \$85,000,000,000, all our defense needs could be cared for. And he added that a 25-per-cent levy on a national income of \$85,000,000,000 would be less burdensome than the 22 per cent actually taken by the federal, state, and local governments during 1938 out of a national income that was then only about \$66,000,000,000.

Whether or not it is desirable to attempt to finance the defense program on a pay-as-you-go basis depends entirely on the kind of taxes levied. Obviously we do not want an increase of taxes that might impede the growth of defense industries or seriously undermine the health and strength of any part of our population. Taxes which increase business costs are dangerous because they are likely to be seized upon as a pretext for higher prices, and thus contribute to inflation.

Because no one likes to pay taxes, we may expect a sharp political controversy on the question of financing the defense program. Already the National Association of Manufacturers has indicated its advocacy of a general sales tax. Such a tax, it need hardly be said here, falls most heavily on those least able to pay. Families earning

less than \$1,500 usually spend their entire incomes, and therefore would bear the full brunt of it. The well-to-do, though spending more per family, relatively spend less, and, as a group, accumulate practically all of the country's savings. Although a sales tax would scarcely touch them, they would be caught by taxes on such luxuries as furs, liquor, new automobiles, and jewelry. Taxes of this type would also be useful in diverting to the defense industries labor and raw materials now expended in producing luxury goods.

But if we are to avoid injury to the health and efficiency of the low-income groups, it is evident that the bulk of the needed revenue will have to come from the so-called progressive taxes. The President has already indicated that the new taxation should be based on capacity to pay. And apart from some increase in inheritance taxes and a tightening in the gift-tax provisions, said to be recommended by the Treasury, the only important sources of new revenue available under this principle are the income tax and the excess-profits tax. Neither of these can be said in any sense to constitute a burden on production since they are levied only at the final stage, after a profit has been made. It is true that some economists have argued in recent years that these taxes discourage new investment. But since it is in the interest of national defense to discourage investment in non-essential enterprises during the emergency, this has become an argument for rather than against progressive taxation. Special measures have already been taken to offset the effect of such taxes on investment in defense industries.

The political considerations affecting taxation are extremely elastic. In recent years it has been difficult to achieve even moderate increases in the income tax. In an emergency such as we now face some increase is inevitable, although it is doubtful whether it will be large enough to make much of a contribution toward putting defense costs on a pay-as-you-go basis. Some idea of the margin of maneuverability may be had by comparing the federal government's 4.4 per cent basic tax rate with Great Britain's basic rate of 42.5 per cent. If the American income and excess profits levies were raised to the British level, virtually the entire cost of national defense could be met without the need for additional new taxation. This is assuming the retention of the present exemptions of \$800 for single persons and \$2,000 for families. Reduction of these exemptions to the British level of \$400 for single persons and \$680 for married couples would yield several billion more.

No such increase in taxes is, of course, within the bounds of political realism. But it is important to know that the money is there if we choose to draft it. And although it may be utopian to speak of financing the defense program on a complete pay-as-you-go basis, the further we go in that direction, the milder will be our post-war headaches.

Spain in Prison

[The author of this article is a woman who was prominent in the socialist movement of her country. After the Hitler invasion she fled to France and, when the Nazi armies entered Paris, tried to get to Lisbon. She was arrested on the Spanish border and thrown into prison. Well acquainted with Spanish as a former teacher of Romance literature, she was able to come close to the prisoners and to write this vivid report of the present spirit of the Spanish people. Although she is now in this country, her identity cannot be revealed.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

I FIRST conceived this article as one that might be called "Prisons in Spain," but as I thought about it I saw that it had to be "Spain in Prison." According to figures given me by the most cautious Spaniards, between two and three million people are in prisons, work-battalions, and prison camps. The strongest impressions one gets are of immense hatred of the government, of the total insecurity and inefficiency of the rulers, and of a suppressed population suffering from famine and police persecution.

"All decent people are in prison," is a frequent consolation offered to old-fashioned women who are upset or ashamed on their arrival there. Certainly I never saw any criminals among the hundreds and hundreds of women in the prisons I lived in, unless those like the half-witted girl and the *gitana* (gipsy), both of whom had been caught stealing field corn for their starving families, are to be counted as such.

"Where are the criminals?" I asked in one ward, talking with a group of completely non-political factory girls, shop-assistants, and dancers. "Why, outside, of course! They govern us," was the quick reply of seventeen-year-old Remedios, busy arranging the curls of her friend Pilar.

In one of the prisons Concepción, a nice, bright-eyed, black-haired young woman, whom I had been teaching to spell and write her name, had to interrupt her lesson to take the daily walk. I stayed inside as a punishment for not having raised my arm high enough during the singing of the Franco hymn. When she returned, she was in tears. "My husband has been in prison since the civil war," she sobbed. "When my brother came home from France he was sent to a concentration camp as a welcome. My father has been arrested on the same false political charge as I. And this moment I've found my brother-in-law's nightshirt on the water-tap, where we prisoners wash our things! So he, too, is in prison, and he was the

only one left to look after the children and the job." "But, my poor dear, perhaps it isn't his nightshirt; they all look alike, don't they"? "No, no. I recognized it; I embroidered his initials on it!"

Hay de todo (There are all sorts of people) can be said of prisoners too. All classes, all kinds, all types of Spaniards are represented within the grim walls. Well-to-do young women with smart frocks, embroidered lace-edged cushions, soft, warm blankets, and as much food as money can now provide in hungry Spain; stout middle-class women, bringing their own mattresses and stiff, old-fashioned white linen nightgowns; college instructors, schoolteachers, writers, physicians, midwives, people of high intellectual level and good political education; peasant women, illiterate and unwashed; ardent factory girls provided with bright lipsticks and even with small instruments for curling their eyelashes; dancers with high-heeled shoes, who never tire of responding to pleas for their wonderful jotás and tangos; young mothers with their babies. Yes, their babies. I saw a charming eighteen-months-old baby in one prison who had been born in another. The vagabonds of the *Lumpenproletariat* and the incomprehensible, curious tribe of the *gitanas* are represented too.

High or low, all of us were equal when it came to the prison soup. This is distributed at seven in the morning and seven at night, and is either too thick or too thin, and swimming with cooked peas and loathsome black noodles, or with rotten potatoes or a handful of rice, or a few green leaves, or, occasionally, cow bones. The women eat this disgusting dish out of their tin plates, as they walk slowly up and down a narrow corridor, not even stopping to sit on their cots: they are all hungry and want to get a second plateful the moment the last prisoner is served.

Most of the prison work—technical, administrative, and "cultural" is assigned to the prisoners themselves. They are made responsible for all office work except censorship—and in desperate cases even for that; they do the cooking and run the *Economato*, the "official" food store in which bad food is sold at high prices. They are also group-wardens (the outside watch is done by military guards), and, grossly hampered by lack of medicines, they are the physicians too, and must be careful not to insist on certain necessary medicines or diet food, lest they be put into the dark cell as nuisances. So they prefer to treat all diseases with cold water, hot water (when it is obtainable), and strong, cheap laxatives.

Spanish prisoners even write and edit a weekly, called

Redención (*Redemption*) because prisoners assigned to editorial work shorten their terms thereby. Certain privileges are granted to encourage subscriptions; for example, one more visiting day a month, if I remember rightly. But as every peseta is precious to those poor, even hungry people—it represents four sardines or four bananas or one hundred grams of almonds—not many copies to be found in the wards.

Redención is rather well written and edited; its articles and cartoons, though largely limited to sports subjects, are good; it is allowed to publish the British war communiqués (otherwise nobody would read it at all) after the German and Italian ones, but of course only as “freely” as the “free” papers in Spain. Naturally, it has space for official articles—an eight-column speech by the Señor General Prison Director, giving a rosy account of Spanish prison life, but insisting on the wholesome effect of capital punishment and warning his audience of prison officials not to be too tender toward the enemies of the state. In one copy I found a small news item: “Twenty prisoners have been shot in the presence of the whole prison population for planning (!) to escape by attacking prison guards.”

Yet even without a *Redención* coming sometimes two weeks late, you may be sure that prisoners would quickly learn the news of the world and the war, and of Spain, especially anti-fascist news, from visitors, office-holding prisoners, and perhaps from guards. From time to time they may have to swallow some gross lie but on the whole they are in touch with the world.

Passionate discussions, hatred of the axis, fervent vows for England, deep disdain for the Franco government and its clerical backers are heard daily in prison—even from the mouths of politically uneducated women. They don’t know that the Catholic Church in Spain, having given Franco full help, now feels cheated. In the prison churches (and perhaps in all churches), at the most solemn and mystical moment of the mass, when choirs and organ keep silent, the Franco hymn must be played; and at the end of the mass the prisoners must sing it—with outstretched arms.

Educated prisoners talk angrily of the schools the priests destroyed and of the spirit of hypocrisy they introduce everywhere; the factory girls indulge in fantastic dreams of vengeance. In a ward, where a picture of the crucified Christ hung on the wall, an old crumpled peasant woman walked up and down for hours in sullen silence, a kerchief drawn down low over her eyes. Suddenly she stopped in front of the picture and shook her bony fist threateningly at the Christ. A gloomy-looking, plump young woman stood up against the back wall on the evening she arrived in our overcrowded ward, took a rosary out of her pinafore pocket and summoned us all (we were already lying on our dirty mattresses) to pray with her or at least to give the responses. There were

growing murmurs, protests, grumbling, until finally a fellow-prisoner went to her and said that the others did not want to pray, and that if they did, they had better do it silently with only their God to hear them.

All this hatred, all this obstinacy and violence in the Spanish people is an answer to the hatred, based on fear, with which the weak tyrants persecute them. *The civil war is not ended*. Nearly two years after the final surrender the slightest, most absurd political denunciation from *anyone* is still sufficient cause for imprisonment. Catalina, a pretty young dancer, was denounced as having worked for the Service of Military Investigation. This primitive creature had a fit of hysterical screaming when her fingerprints were taken on her arrival in prison. She thought it a magic way of executing people. The *abuelita* (little grandmother) with her snow-white hair, quietly knitting the whole day long, was accused of having helped her son escape to France. Whether or not such cases are passed on to the military tribunal, depends on mere chance; any rate the thousands of accused people spend months and years in prison before trial. The political sentences are savage, between five and fifteen years for women, up to thirty years for men.

The rulers’ deep mistrust of the population shows everywhere, in prison and outside. Posters in all state offices tell everybody that it is as important to watch and disclose Free Masons, “the worst enemies of the state,” as to die for the country. Everything free is feared: Free Masons, freethinkers, “You give the fascist salute when I enter the ward, but you are still a freethinker, aren’t you?” shouted one prison officer to the sincere astonishment of the slender French girl he addressed. Is it not mistrust when a Spanish citizen cannot travel in Spain without a safe-conduct guaranteed by two members of the Falange? The Catalan language, for example, is strictly prohibited, not only in the schools, but everywhere. Grim posters face you in every public building: “This is a Spanish office. Speak Spanish!” And yet near these same posters you can very often overhear a conversation between two officers—in Catalan! The wonderful popular dances and songs of Catalonia have been banned—but wherever in Spain I met Catalan women, young or old, I saw them dance and sing their sardanas.

I come to the end of this tale of my prison experiences. Just two last glimpses. It was evening—the last signal had been given for lights out and silence. But now and then, in the big darkened room a beam of light passed across a beautiful Murillo Madonna. It came from a flashlight in the hand of a woman busy searching her chemise for lice. You simply cannot avoid them, so you must catch them—a difficult job as they are nearly invisible. The evening before my release I was in a cell with five young women, nearly all of them political prisoners. I casually pronounce Del Vayo’s name. I shall

never forget the excitement, the fear—for me and for themselves—the enthusiastic and burning remembrance.

Next morning I arrived in Madrid, free and eager to see "free Spain." First I went by subway from the station to the Puerta del Sol. The subway is decent, but in the staircase one can see, all along the steps, children sitting or lying in an incredible state of neglect, dirt, and indifference, wrapped up in filthy blankets, begging for *centavos*. Children are always the main victims of civil war, but in Spain you must add to prison and famine the incapacity of the government to deal with food distribution in an area which after all could be mastered if there were active interest and technical ability. In all the beautifully kept streets and avenues of Madrid are ragged small boys and girls selling useless little things, offering the latest lottery tickets, shouting at the top of their

shrill voices, besieging every foodstore, coffeehouse, tea-room, *chocolateria*, asking the customers for pennies. Misery, famine, and abandonment. Near the station a group of escorted prisoners walk along. People watch them with profound sadness and comprehension. Spain in prison.

But all of them hope and are convinced of a change to come. Every morning in prison, after the monotonous three stanzas of the Franco hymn, which we had to sing standing in line, with outstretched right arms, came the fascist watchwords. "*España!*" shouted the underwarden. "*Una!*" replied the prisoners' chorus. The warden again: "*España!*" "*Grande!*" came the response. "*España!*" for the last time. "*Libre!*" rang out the answer, and surprisingly full and loud it sounded. Not a forced reply, but a menace, a promise.

Missouri Has No Governor

BY IRVING DILLIARD

St. Louis, February 6

MISSOURI has a new Governor and it hasn't. Forrest C. Donnell, Republican, was elected over Lawrence McDaniel, Democrat, last November, but the Democratic majority in the legislature, acting under the whiplash of the Democratic politicians, has prevented Donnell from taking his seat. He should have been inaugurated January 13. Now there is no telling when that ceremony will take place.

This attempt to steal the governorship—for that is exactly what it is—has aroused Missouri as nothing else in state affairs in memory of the oldest political observers. Nothing Boss Pendergast ever did provoked anything like the indignant public reaction. The crudity as well as the stupidity of the Democratic bosses who are responsible is nothing short of incredible. Instead of contesting Donnell's election, which they might well have done on the basis of his thin majority of 3,616 votes, they hit on a plan to keep him out of his seat first and then sustain that action by a partisan presentation of evidence, not from all the ballot boxes, but from such ballot boxes as a controlled legislative committee would decide to investigate. The result is that Lloyd C. Stark is staying on as Governor although his constitutionally limited four-year term has expired.

The background of the present situation begins with Governor Stark's fight on Pendergast. Many Missourians felt that Stark should be continued in the public service and so he became a candidate for the Senate seat, held by Harry S. Truman, a hand-picked choice of the Kansas City boss in 1934. But United States District

Attorney Maurice M. Mulligan, who had prosecuted the Kansas City vote fraud cases so successfully, also wanted to be Senator. Ignoring pleas that he run for Governor and thus enable the Democratic ticket to present two boss killers, he ran against Stark and Truman in a three-cornered race for the senatorial nomination. The result was that Stark and Milligan divided the anti-machine vote and Truman was renominated in August and re-elected in November.

The Democratic nomination for Governor, which Milligan could have had, went to Lawrence McDaniel, a popular St. Louis lawyer. But honest doubts began to arise even before McDaniel was nominated. He was Excise Commissioner in St. Louis by appointment of the Democratic Mayor. He held the power of life and death over the liquor outlets. When he resolutely refused to resign as Excise Commissioner during his primary campaign, even after it was pointed out to him that his office had become relatively inactive against violators of liquor regulations, many people were convinced that the saloons and politics were tied up again.

McDaniel became the symbol of political bossism, transferred from Kansas City to St. Louis. His Republican opponent, on the other hand, was a symbol of precisely the opposite sort. An eminently respectable St. Louis lawyer, Donnell had not held public office before. In bar association activities he had been on the side of those seeking to improve professional standards and to better the name of the legal profession before the public. He sought to make the issue one of bossism, but in the excitement of the Roosevelt-Willkie campaign

not much attention was paid to the governorship race. Nevertheless, in county after county voters scratched their ballots to vote for Donnell. Conditions being what they were, Missourians felt that their combination of a New Deal President and a Republican governor was an altogether logical choice at the polls.

C. Marion Hulén, chairman of the Democratic State Committee, takes full responsibility for the plan to keep Donnell from his seat, but the fact remains that the state politicians by and large were apathetic until pressure was applied. Even then in many counties the committees failed to meet, let alone take action against Donnell. But when the legislature met early in January, its members were put through the paces by their bosses. St. Louis, for example, has twenty-five members in the two branches, and only one refused to go along with the plan to keep Donnell from the governorship.

The State Constitution makes the Speaker of the State House of Representatives the officer who must open and publish the returns on the governorship election before the legislature can proceed to other business. The Speaker, following Democratic orders, held up the returns, after which the Democratic majorities rammed through a joint resolution to "investigate" Donnell's election, meantime keeping him out of his seat.

A public outcry went up at once. St. Louis and Kansas City newspapers protested. As opinion came in from the rural press, it became clear that country editors, Democratic and Republican alike, were almost unanimously opposed.

Then came the bombshell that left the state stunned. Governor Stark appeared before the legislature to present his delayed valedictory, required by the constitution, and announced at the end, in a postscript, that he had vetoed the "investigation" resolution under his power to pass on all measures calling for the expenditure of state funds. Democratic Attorney General Roy McKittrick, who had already produced one opinion that the barring of Donnell was legal, forthwith ground out another saying Stark had no right to veto the resolution but that he had the power to pass on the appropriation of funds.

At this writing things are in a royal mess. The Democrats are trying to decide whether to start all over again or to go out and try to raise funds among themselves to carry on the "investigation" or to drop the whole business. Meantime, the legislature can't take up any appropriations out of the constitutional order, so that Missouri may soon be confronted with serious legislative questions involving payment of relief funds and the like. Governor Stark continues to sit and will until his constitutional successor takes over. Everyone agrees that nothing of importance in the way of state business can be transacted until the governorship tangle has been cleared away.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Heresy in High Places

IT IS hardly news when the president of a great corporation makes a speech upholding the system of free enterprise; but it is news when he tells his audience that, if the system is to survive, it must justify itself by providing "total security," and goes on to outline a program which contains much of the essence of the New Deal.

For this reason I propose to discuss an address recently given before the American Institute of Electrical Engineers which, although adequately reported in the *New York Times*, seems to me to have attracted less attention than it deserves. Its author is Charles E. Wilson who after forty years with General Electric—he started as office boy—succeeded Gerard Swope as president of that corporation a little more than a year ago.

To the average business man, private enterprise is more than an economic system; it is a part of the moral order which, he believes, should be accepted with blind faith. Such a devout believer is shocked by a request for proof that the system works. Sure, he growls, it would work all right if only "that man" in Washington would give it a chance, and then he gives the usual tirade against the New Deal. For somehow the average business man has conveniently forgotten that the people chose the New Deal just because private enterprise *had* broken down in so many directions. And he fails to understand that the only adequate defense for the economic system he cherishes is a demonstrated capacity to produce and distribute the goods. No free people will long tolerate poverty in the midst of plenty.

The refreshing thing about Mr. Wilson's speech was that it recognized and attempted to meet this challenge. Its whole stress was on the opportunity and the obligation of the controllers of private enterprise to show that this system could provide "total security." Better still, it ignored that easy refuge for the perplexed business man—complaint against the government—and thrust aside the defeatism which is almost epidemic among business spokesmen at the present time. This defeatism takes the form of an assumption that the defense boom must inevitably be followed by complete economic collapse and that there is really nothing that can be done about it.

Mr. Wilson, on the other hand, believes that intelligent planning can carry us through the economic perils of both the current emergency and its aftermath. His program recognizes four stages, each requiring a special strategy. At the present time, he suggests, we are in a recovery stage which is likely to continue until the Federal Reserve Board index of industrial production averages 140 over a two-month period. (In December it was about 136.) Until this milestone is passed we need to avoid restraints on employment and on expanding purchasing power. The development of new inventions and new products should be encouraged, rural electrification and industrialized farming should be promoted, and, finally, new sources of raw materials should be devel-

oped, by subsidy if necessary, in Latin American countries.

Next, according to Mr. Wilson, will come a "stabilization stage" during which we shall approach capacity production and must therefore take steps to keep a balance between the flow of purchasing power and the flow of goods and so avoid inflation. The maintenance of a full supply of non-durable goods must continue, but there should be credit controls to restrict long-term commitments on durable consumer goods and non-essential personal loans. At the same time modernization of all means of production, including utilities and transport, should be speeded up so as to make possible an increased supply of goods and services at less cost. At this stage, also, non-defense government activities should be gradually curtailed and a larger proportion of the budget covered by taxation. Economic development of Latin America should be extended, with efforts to promote industrial enterprise in the temperate zone.

After the Federal Reserve index has averaged 145 for two months Mr. Wilson thinks we shall have reached a "backlog-building stage" at which part of the demand for goods must be dammed up to provide a reservoir of unfilled non-essential wants ready to tap when diminished defense expenditure begins to check the rate of production. New restraints on consumer credit will now be required and, in addition, business investment for non-defense purposes should be checked. Personal and business savings should be encouraged and in this connection there should be increases in social security and unemployment insurance payments accompanied by extended coverage and benefits; medical and hospitalization insurance on a national scale should be provided for all unable to purchase such protection from private organizations; and, finally, there should again be increases in taxation and a drastic curtailment in government investments unconnected with defense.

To what heights he expects production to rise during this period Mr. Wilson does not say, but his fourth and last stage, during which "the free enterprise system will meet its most serious challenge," will be heralded by a *decline* in the industrial index to an average of 150 for two months. Now will be the time to promote consumption by every possible device. There must be more goods and more services for more people at less cost," and first of all there must be more and better housing. At the same time there must be intensified industrial modernization and conversion of surplus defense plants for the production of peacetime goods. Finally there must be permanent government public works.

The inclusion of this last item is an interesting tribute to the necessity for government intervention if a balanced economy is to be achieved, and I wish Mr. Wilson had been a little more expansive on this point. I should also like to see greater elaboration of his views on pricing policy. He appears to disagree with the theory held by most big industrialists that price maintenance is more important than production maintenance, but he does not tell us how, in a semi-monopolized economy, a more flexible price structure is to be established. Perhaps he should have included in his fourth stage a bigger appropriation for Thurman Arnold's sharpshooters.

However, the speech as a whole gives a forthright lead to business in looking forward instead of backward. And not

to be overlooked is Mr. Wilson's insistence that private enterprise must accommodate itself to the democratically expressed wishes of the people. "An eternal essential," he says, is "universal respect for the rules which the people, through their freely chosen representatives, establish for the protection of their rights; which is, of course, only another way of saying universal respect for the sanctity and spirit of the laws of our land." Detroit papers please copy!

In the Wind

IN A STORY filed from Montreal on February 4, Pertinax, the French journalist, reported Laval as admitting that 90 per cent of France was not behind him: The original version of that story is somewhat different. Laval, in a talk with Göring, is said to have told the Marshal that he had the support of most of France in his anti-British, anti-Pétain stand. "Don't be foolish," Göring replied, "we know that over 90 per cent of France hates you and wants Britain to win."

SOCIETY NOTE: Jasper McLevy, Socialist Mayor of Bridgeport, has been entertaining Prince Otto von Hapsburg.

PRESS NOTES: A new left-wing magazine, *U. S. Week*, will appear on April 1. Published in Milwaukee and financed by the William E. Dodd foundation, its contributors will include William E. Dodd, Jr., son of the former Ambassador to Germany, Leo Huberman, Richard O. Boyer, Sophie Boyer, Marian Bachrach, and Doris Berger, daughter of the former Socialist Congressman from Wisconsin. . . . *Modern Industry*, edited by Harwood Merrill, will make its appearance at about the same time. It is expected to be a serious rival to *Fortune*.

SEQUEL: As was reported in *The Nation* two weeks ago, Roy Howard has threatened to "break" Willkie because of his vigorous support of aid to Britain. When advertisers complained to Howard about his attacks on Willkie, Howard is reported to have telephoned the former Republican candidate and said, "I know you wouldn't want to injure me." He then suggested that he and Mrs. Howard should see Willkie off on the Clipper and have their pictures taken together. Willkie refused.

ACCORDING to the Communists, every isolationist who is not a party member or a fellow-traveler is a concealed interventionist. When Colonel Lindbergh testified recently in Washington, the *Daily Worker* headlined the story, "Lindbergh Claims He Is Against Lend-Lease Bill."

D'ARCY COOPER, president of Unilever, Ltd., the great soap and margarine trust, and organizer of the Anglo-German Fellowship, has been in this country on a secret financial mission.

[The \$5 prize for the best item in January goes to Mr. R. S. of New York City for his story about General Franco and the State Department, published on January 11.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Housing for Everyone

WHAT Mrs. Roosevelt said about the inadequacy of housing in the crowded defense towns made more impression on me, I think, because I read it on a rainy Sunday as the train moved in Alabama from Montgomery to Mobile. The fields were brown or gully-red. The ponds were alternately red and a rain-gray. But the cabins on the farms were all mule-brown, unpainted, and looked in the rain as if they were leaky and cracked for the wind.

As Mrs. Roosevelt told the Public Housing Conference, the situation is serious. The housing in many of the towns, where defense spending has congregated men eager for wages, is either wretched or a form of highway robbery in rents. These facts are not altered by the statement of Defense Housing Coordinator Charles Francis Palmer that sociology is not part of his job. They are not altered by the amusement of naval officers—broadcast from Norfolk by the Associated Press—over reports that many men in that area are sleeping three shifts to one bed, and that Hudson River steamers have been brought to Norfolk to provide living quarters for hundreds of families. There may have been cases of the "hot flop" bed rotation system, but not many, the officers thought. Negotiations to bring one Hudson River boat to Norfolk to house single men were under way but they had not yet brought the boat to town. It was needed, nevertheless.

Mrs. Roosevelt is right, as she so often is, but the tragic thing is that in so many of the crowded defense towns the housing is not much worse than normal housing the workers gladly left for the jobs and the pay. A queer thing, also, is that, in general, the housing seems the best in defense towns where there has been the most complaint and is certainly the worst where hardly any complaint has been heard at all. I know that some defense housing in industrial cities is bad. There has been crowding in them. Rents have gone up, and some of those who oppose defense housing projects are getting the higher rents. But such city housing is, at its worst, remarkably good beside that from which men in Mississippi and Maine, and other rural states, commute in jalopies to build new camps and new ships.

Defense has dramatically crowded the housing problem around its camps and essential plants. It is patriotically disturbing now to see such crowding. I wish all the winter travelers to increasingly pleasure-crowded Miami

were required to go by the little town of Stark, Florida, which the construction of Camp Blanding has packed like a sort of civic sardine can. The crowding there, I think, would impress even those who travel so far to be part of a costlier Coney Island crowding on Miami Beach. But even then, I'm afraid, they might fail to see that bad housing is not so much a new and important aspect of defense as it is an old and sad aspect of democracy.

People who are suddenly concerned about the housing situation around the building of destroyers in Bath, Maine, cannot have seen the old, long-occupied houses on Maine farms with roofs sagging like the backbones of starving horses. Conditions around camps and powder factories in the South are bad. They have been bad for a long time. In one representative Southern county a study of the shelter of little farmers showed that one-third of the cabins have no window sashes, one-half no window panes. Two-thirds of them have leaky roofs. Only two out of every hundred of them have fly-proof privies—and the majority of these were recently erected by the WPA. Even the crowding is not new; it does not even seem deeply disturbing to those who share it or see it. (Sometimes it is "quaint.") The biggest families live in the poorest shelters in America. Poverty can crowd people into too little space as effectually as a national effort to create military power. And the school and hospital facilities available to most people in such housing have for years been worse than any deficiencies that defense's quick crowding may be expected to create anywhere now.

Perhaps as we prepare to defend democracy we must recognize that there is an absolute difference between the housing of defense and the housing of democracy itself. Undoubtedly in a push for production there is a relationship between the condition of the workers and the quality and the pace of their work. The most essential housing may be that nearest the most essential jobs. All that makes sense. But it should be recognized as a sort of American choice between guns and butter, as it is a choice between arms-plant people and just people who produce the less exciting things like fibers and food. Of course, America needs defense housing, swiftly and in volume, but this does not mean that a nation preparing to defend democracy can forget it needs—and lacks—housing for democracy too. Even at a time of preparation for total war the concept of decent housing for all the people should not be discarded.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Friends of Dr. Johnson

JOHNSON WITHOUT BOSWELL. A Contemporary Portrait of Samuel Johnson. Edited by Hugh Kingsmill. Knopf. \$2.50.

MR. KINGSMILL, author a few years ago of an entertaining popular biography of Samuel Johnson, has here the happy idea of collecting into one volume the most illuminating and amusing anecdotes of the Doctor not recounted by Boswell. Little or none of the material is, to be sure, either new or even particularly inaccessible, but Mr. Kingsmill has arranged it well, in chronological order and with the briefest of annotations, to make a delightful book.

Much has of course been written concerning the extent to which Boswell's portrait is accurate and complete, and Boswell himself has been represented as everything from a transparent fool whose own nullity enabled him to transmit a perfectly literal image, to a consummate artist who created the accepted image of Johnson by skilfully synthesizing selected elements into a predetermined pattern. "Johnson Without Boswell" inevitably suggests again the questions at issue and confirms what has always seemed evident to me, namely, that there is little difficulty in harmonizing the various accounts of Johnson, provided only the bare minimum of allowance is made for differences in temperament between the various reporters. Mrs. Piozzi, Fanny Burney, Anna Seward, and the others naturally saw Johnson through their own temperaments; moreover, each made him a slightly different person by her very presence. But the differences are surprisingly slight rather than surprisingly great. He was a little gayer, a little more worldly with Mrs. Piozzi, a trifle kittenish when conversing with that devilishly clever little snob Fanny Burney. But he is recognizably the same man, and even the account of his conversation with the Quaker lady—given by the notoriously unfriendly Anna Seward and probably the most unattractive item in the whole long list of Johnsoniana—is not unbelievable.

Only one important element in the coloring which Boswell gives seems to me to have been perhaps insufficiently allowed for. Bozzy was a furious rake and an amateur of piquant personal relationships. Because he was tickled to think that he was a chosen intimate of The Great Moralizer he plays the situation up by emphasizing and perhaps overemphasizing the extent to which Johnson was most Johnson in moments of moralizing pontification, and he tends to underemphasize, not perhaps the great man's wit, but at least his superb sense of fun. Everybody knows the phrase from "Rasselas" which declares that "The remedy for the ills of life is palliative, rather than radical"; but it is a mistake not to realize that Johnson, who was no ascetic and no puritan, believed almost as much in the effectiveness of the palliatives as he did in the radical misery of life. Fun and food came high, next perhaps to literature, in the list of those things which made existence endurable.

Characteristically, it is in Mrs. Piozzi, not in Boswell, that

one finds the reply, reprinted by Mr. Kingsmill, which Johnson made to the friend who feared that confinement for a mental disorder would undermine the general health of Christopher Smart by depriving him of exercise: "Exercise! I never heard that he used any: he might, for aught I know, walk to the alehouse; but I believe he was always carried home again." And it was also Mrs. Piozzi who told the story of the new-rich young man who came to Johnson to ask how he might add a suitable amount of learning to his other accomplishments. The talk turned upon natural history and upon the distinction between oviparous and viviparous animals. "And the cat here, Sir," asked the young man about to devote himself to knowledge, "pray in which class is she?" "You would do well," replied the doctor, "to look for some person who would be always about you, Sir, who is capable of explaining such matters, and not come to us to know whether the cat lays eggs or not: get a discreet man to keep you company, there are many who would be glad of your table and fifty pounds a year."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Gladiatorial

ARENA. By Hallie Flanagan. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$3.

HALLIE FLANAGAN'S Federal Theater Project, as her scenario-record of it now makes a matter of exciting fact, was a central and dominant experience in modern theater history. It was the most extensive use ever made in this country—and possibly in the world—of the theater as an instrument of social therapy and public education. And by its free play through every existing kind of American theater, much of it on the most experimental fronts, the project pushed forward noticeably the development of theater forms and the rewelding of the theater arts.

The work-relief philosophy which fostered the project implied, of course, and aimed at just such a two-fold accomplishment. The primary tenet of that belief is that wages paid a man for doing his chosen work are a more economical expenditure than hand-outs of demoralizing home-dole. A close corollary is that the end-product of his work will be of value in itself. It was not too hard to find engineers and production experts who could do this two-horse riding: give first attention to employment-rehabilitation of workers and also manage to produce a good viaduct, housing unit, tin of beef, or quilt. But in this country where pioneer distrust and Puritan clucking do not yet see the theater as a normal part of life (and indeed finally would not accept the Theater Project as part of the Works Program) Hallie Flanagan's directorship seems like a miracle: a profound social sensibility running always beside an acute artistic consciousness, a double vision which was matched with a double ability to actualize. But then, such miracles occurred so frequently in the first years of the New Deal that they seemed almost to be a part of calculated government planning.

The Theater, along with the Music, Art, and Writers' Projects, came into being in the summer of 1935. Mrs. Flanagan's first arena was Washington during that torrid carnival of red-tape confetti. As I remember, it took Roman fortitude just to get through an order for an electric fan. But here she set up the United States government in show business, employed a cast of ten thousand in forty-eight states, put on a children's-Negro-Yiddish-religious-vaudeville-circus-puppet-dance-radio-drama, which ran for four years, entertained one-fifth of the country's whole population, and showed a profit. As a Guggenheim student of Europe's social theaters, she knew all the answers there were; but in this job you wrote, learned, taught the instruction-book as you went, each day, every day. Based on ■ belief in the rooted growth of regional theaters like Pennsylvania's Hedgerow, North Carolina's Playmakers, the Cleveland and Pasadena Playhouses, the WPA plan created a network of central theater projects throughout the country, each serving as a capital for its whole section or state. From time to time national productions—"It Can't Happen Here," "One-Third of a Nation"—cut across and united the work of these units. One indication of how well they worked, if such demonstration were needed, is that before their close in 1939, 2,600 theater workers had been returned to the commercial theater.

"Other colonists will come," writes Mrs. Flanagan in the face of that needless, gigantically wasteful, criminally ignorant Congressional action which terminated the Federal Theater. To such colonists—and that means all future American theater-people—she names as the project's greatest bequests: the discovery of a vast new audience who want theater; the decentralization, away from Broadway, into small indigenous units; the forging of a *means* of understanding and communication for almost every element in our population. "Such ■ theater," she says, "is the necessarily many-voiced speaking of democracy—an illustration and bulwark of it—this democracy which is never won but has always to be won."

The stage itself was Mrs. Flanagan's second arena. Here that taste which had distinguished the work of the Vassar Experimental Theater, again exercised its strength, though mostly from the wings and aisles. More than mere "good" taste, Mrs. Flanagan's is a perceptive intelligence of the "terrifying implications," the explosive change that touches every part of living now—and the conviction that the theater must grow up to reflect this or rightly dwindle into a museum piece. The Federal Project revived widely those matrices of theater energy—vaudeville, circus, and spectacle. Productions of the best classical and modern plays were "rethought rather than remembered"; and the still tentative poets', dancers', and radio dramas had more serious reading and frequent trial than ever before. Orson Welles worked out his streamline technique on a WPA Harlem "Macbeth," a "Faustus." That new montage of theater devices, the Living Newspaper, through various editions evolved a theater form which in Mrs. Flanagan's opinion and that of many critics is the most considerable discovery of this century, capable of a rich development.

Humorous and informed, "Arena" reads more like a play-script than a government report. In the deep sense of the words, the project was theater: mess of raw material; giant

obstacles of temperament, opposition, inertia; the slow, slow shaping to the action-line seen only in the director's imagination; and finally the running vehicle, the show, the thing—and its curtain. Through it all emerges Mrs. Flanagan as a figure active in every one of the forty-odd situations she quotes on the title-page as synonymous with "arena": platform, hippodrome, playground, battle-field, airport, no man's land, scene of action, theater. In 1921 Yeats wrote to Lady Gregory that he had given the Irish people a theater, but in so doing he had missed finding his own ideal poet's theater. For Mrs. Flanagan no such division exists. Her notion of the theater is the ancient one; theater and life make one, create and reflect each other. Because "Arena" shows this truth and this person, as well as for its bank of facts, it will become, surely, the first handbook of the national American theater.

SHERMAN CONRAD

Over the Burma Road

INTO CHINA. By Eileen Bigland. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

MRS. BIGLAND was the first Western woman to travel into free China over the Burma Road. If this does not sound like the basis for an absorbing book, it is only because no one who has not made the trip or read of it can imagine the primitive hardships, the danger, the sordid adventures encountered on the journey. Mrs. Bigland made it early in 1939. Not only was the road not really completed, but she traveled it in the middle of the rainy season which added not a little to her trials. As a result, a trip which is supposed to take three or four days took her more than a fortnight. Although she started in a brand-new bus, breakdowns were too numerous to count. On several occasions she and her party were detained three or four days in frontier villages, without accommodations and practically without food. They were delayed by landslides, by breakdowns, and by sickness. A number of the trucks and buses in her convoy never got through. Some were swallowed in the deep gorges along the edge of the slippery, muddy highway. The remainder simply broke down, and there were no tools to fix them.

A substantial part of the trip was through the fever belt. In some of the villages almost the entire population seemed to be down with malignant malaria. Along the road her party encountered twelve engineers who had lain for eight days in an open, broken-down truck. All twelve were desperately ill. They were taken aboard the bus, but only four of them survived the long trip over the mountains to the nearest hospital. Several other fever victims were picked up from time to time, but few survived. The dead were pushed overboard into the nearest ravine. Social and economic conditions in many of the villages were as wretched as health conditions. Few more poignant stories of human misery have been penned than this picture of the situation in these remote villages on the frontier of China—villages that combine all the horrors of ghost towns of an ancient civilization and of boom towns of a modern war.

Perhaps because of this abnormal introduction to China, Mrs. Bigland, throughout the book, pictures the country as a

never-ending series of contrasts between the sublime and the sordid. She is enthralled by its magnificent vistas, its architecture, and, above all, by the philosophy and basic humanity of the Chinese. But at the same time she records more ugliness, more cruelty, exploitation, and plain stupidity than any other writer on modern China. There can be no doubt of her sincerity or of the essential accuracy of her observation. But there are times when she seems to be using contrast as a somewhat artificial literary device to enhance, quite unnecessarily, the reader's interest. The result is not wholly fair to China.

Only a person who has made the trip on the Burma Road in the rainy season can testify as to the accuracy and balance of this part of her story, but it bears all the earmarks of authenticity and is as absorbing a tale as has ever been told by a modern traveler. But when it comes to China proper, where she remained only a few days, Mrs. Bigland is betrayed into making certain generalizations which are patently untrue. For example, she tells a lurid tale of a rat being tortured by a street entertainer while "the crowd swayed and shouted in ecstasy." She quotes an old-time foreign resident as saying that this "is the favorite street corner entertainment in China." This reviewer is not prepared to say that the incident did not occur, but in his own six years of experience in China, mostly in the interior, he encountered nothing of the sort. The same is true of other gruesome incidents which are presented as typical of China.

Shortcomings of this kind are to be expected in a travel book, and are more than offset by the vividness which can be contributed only by the newcomer to a country. And despite criticisms that at times seem unfair, there can be no doubt that Mrs. Bigland is intensely sympathetic with China in its life-and-death struggle against Japan. Her story is not a pretty one, but it is essentially a true one and is of absorbing interest.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

A Georgian Poet

POEMS 1930-1940. By Edmund Blunden. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

IT HAS been said of the Georgian poets that they turned to the countryside for subjects because, with their limited poetic equipment, there was nowhere else for them to go. But it might also be thought that by an unconscious premonition they went to find the one England they could love, before they were called on to defend all England. Of these, Edmund Blunden was one of the best, for he was, beyond any possibility of choice, a pastoral poet. His first poems appeared in 1914; his present poems are like a recollection of that time. Since then the English countryside has diminished and, if now threatened by another war, has never for the poet ceased to be haunted by the dead battalions of the last war. But if his poems are haunted, they are not haunting; they are mild and comforting, not exhilarating. They are well made, but the freshness that once pervaded them has somehow gone. The volume might very properly have been brought to a close by the elegy on King George V. For it is, even though only now published, Georgian poetry.

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Banking: Two Views

MONEY IN MOTION: THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF BANKING. By Arthur C. Holden. Harper & Brothers. \$2.50.

THE SEARCH FOR FINANCIAL SECURITY. By Robert B. Warren. Columbia University Press. \$1.25.

THESE two recent semi-popular works on banking cover different ground from different points of view. Mr. Holden, an architect by profession, is primarily interested in banking reform as a method of raising and stabilizing the level of economic activity; while Professor Warren has "undertaken to explain the recent changes in our money and banking system in terms of the word 'security'." It may be remarked parenthetically that some of Mr. Holden's comments about the present status and importance of the banker suffer from a failure to take adequate account of the very changes which Professor Warren places in the forefront of his analysis.

Mr. Holden appears to have no doubt that the root cause of our economic troubles is to be found in a faulty *mechanism* for financing long-term investments. If I understand his argument correctly, he believes that there are two chief weaknesses in this mechanism: (1) it maintains the cost of long-term capital at too high a level; and (2) it does not assure a strict relationship between repayment of principle

and the using up of physical assets. The result is that despite relatively high carrying charges, society's debt burden tends to grow cumulatively and in such a way as to constitute a chronic threat to economic stability. The remedy advocated envisages the establishment of a capital reserve system to occupy a position in the long-term field analagous to that now occupied by the federal reserve system in the short-term field. Its functions would be to bring down the level and reshape the structure of long-term interest rates on the one hand, and to introduce sound practices with respect to amortization on the other. The plan, as Mr. Holden recognizes, has a great deal in common with the proposal for a new system of capital credit banks which was laid before the Temporary National Economic Committee by A. A. Berle, Jr., and which enjoys considerable favor in certain quarters in Washington.

As this brief summary indicates, Mr. Holden confines his attention almost exclusively to the terms on which long-term capital is made available for investment purposes. Therein lies the weakness of both analysis and proposed remedy. When the economic problems of the last decade are considered in their true historical perspective, it seems pretty clear that the distinguishing feature of this period has been a serious dearth of opportunities for profitable investment, or, in other words, a stagnant *demand* for capital. There is unfortunately no reason to suppose that reform of our financial machinery would make a significant contribution to the solution of this problem. That Mr. Holden ignores this difficulty altogether is no accident. His economic theorizing never gets beyond the realm of the circulation of commodities and the technical role of money and credit therein. Nowhere does he press through to the underlying relations of production: the determinants of wages and profits, the relationship between aggregate consumption and aggregate investment, etc. Under the circumstances it is only to be expected that his proposals for reform, though interesting and intelligent in themselves, fail to touch upon the basic economic issues of modern society.

Professor Warren has performed a useful service in tracing the changing nature of the functions of the banking system in the period since 1914. Before the first World War the function of a bank was largely the financing of commercial transactions. Since then, however, the bank has become increasingly dependent, directly and indirectly, on bonds and stocks and hence on the security markets. With the virtual stoppage of new corporate issues in the 1930's, the banks have been obliged to turn more and more toward the federal government until today, as Professor Warren says, "the business of banking is the financing of the United States Treasury." This is an extremely interesting development with important implications for the whole structure of our economy. In the book before us, however, Professor Warren has limited himself to one small aspect of the problem, namely, its significance for the solvency of the banking system and the security of the depositor. In these two respects he seems to think, and probably correctly, that all foreseeable dangers have been fully guarded against. One may hope that in the future he will return to the more general issues which his treatment inevitably suggests.

PAUL M. SWEETZ

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Genghis Khan

THE EARTH IS THE LORD'S. By Taylor Caldwell. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75.

THE indefatigable author of "Dynasty of Death" and "The Eagles Gather" has written another long novel about ruthless schemers and conquerors, but for the munitions-making Bouchards she has substituted the Mongol scourge Temujin, who became Genghis Khan, and the semi-legendary Prester John, whom she depicts as a wily, cowardly, conscienceless scoundrel.

In spite of a needlessly lush style, a lot of pseudo-archaic dialogue that does not always ring true, and a great deal of melodramatic intrigue with motives that sound complex but are really oversimplified, the narrative has a barbaric rush and verve; and from its many unflinching accounts of gruesome battle scenes and murders you would never guess that the author is a woman. Furthermore, in Temujin's lust for power and conquest, and his worship of relentless force, you are obviously supposed to recognize the morbid psychology of the dictator-complex—though, as the writer protests in a coy little disclaimer, "any resemblance between the characters of this novel and personages living today is indignantly denied by the author! Ghost of Genghis Khan should notify author if such libelous rumor begins to circulate."

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Photographs of New York

ROBIN CARSON, part-English, part-Spanish photographer, is not one of your manufacturers of "stunning" prints, but a quick, bold, bitter observer whose camera records vivid personal perceptions. Some of his studies rank with the photography most alertly and trenchantly descriptive of New York. Their energetic lines, marks, shapes, and hues are wonderfully graphic; their caustic and incisive comment reveals, along with the appearance of the city, some of the very quality and nature of its life. Especially gratifying is his capacity to project inner states through movement, through well-articulated motions of heads. His pictures lack fine print quality and imaginativeness—certainly his black and white design at best is less than original and is sometimes neglected—yet one cannot refrain from thinking of them in connection with the outstanding camera studies of Manhattan types such as those of Baron de Meyer and the young Paul Strand. It's the decadent contemporary New York—coarse, shoddy, dull, half worn out in its very lubriciousness—that Carson mainly depicts. The feeling he most frequently projects is that of inadequacy, the outcrop of unemployment even more than of inefficiency. This is but to say that his experience is pretty much everyone's today. His little exhibition current at the New School for Social Research is a must: it includes, along with a half-dozen sculpturesque studies of artists' heads, some of his liveliest New York photographs—West Forty-second Street, elegant Fifth Avenue; Sixth Avenue of the employment agencies; side-walks of Little Puerto Rico and the East Side; theaters and night clubs, and their types and typical incidents.

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DRAMA

The Irish of It

AFTER the first three minutes it wouldn't be very hard to guess that "Tanyard Street" (Little Theater) comes to us by way of the Abbey in Dublin. Never having been, myself, any closer to Ireland than the harbor of Cobh, I don't know just how much stylization is involved in the making of the stage Irishman as the Abbey conceives him, but I do know that the characters of an Irish play have become almost as standardized as those of the *commedia del arte*.

There are usually three men and three women. First, there is the virile young man who distrusts priests and has an eye for the girls; second, the intense young man with a mystical turn and a love of his country; third, Mr. Barry Fitzgerald, a comic rapsallian well along in years. The three women are, respectively, a soubrette to flirt with the first man, an intense young girl to love the second, and, finally, a hard-working wife to support the third. Any others who may be introduced for the sake of variety are strictly minor and do not have much to do with the plot.

All this being true, such plays ought to be easy to deal with were it not for the fact that even rather inferior specimens of the genre so often manage to be flavorful and interesting. Even aside from its conventionality, there are several reasons why "Tanyard Street" is not really a very good play, at least for American audiences. It turns around the case of a wounded soldier who is cured by what looks like a miracle but possibly isn't, and one is never quite sure just what the point which the author seems trying to make really is. Even if one did know, all this talk about the Church and its priests is obviously a good deal more exciting in a country like Ireland, which is seething with religious disputation, than it is in New York or than, for that matter, it would be in a country where established Catholicism was not a storm center. And yet I must report that I followed the play with a good deal more interest than seemed to me wholly explicable at the time, and I recommend it at least to those whose prejudice is favorable rather than unfavorable to the Irish school.

All this is certainly in considerable measure due to the inevitable but grateful presence of Barry Fitzgerald who has walked right out of something by

Sean O'Casey and manages to be so funny as a hypochondriacal martyr to indigestion and soda bicarb that he very nearly steals the show. Yet he has so little to do with the plot that he wanders right out of the play again before it reaches its last big scene and leaves one ribald spectator wondering why the Virgin couldn't have paused a moment during her visitation to do something for his heartburn. Two other former Abbey players familiar to Broadway audiences, Arthur Shields and Aileen O'Connor, also do good work and so, for that matter, do the others, including Margo, who surprises everybody by turning up as a colleen.

But it isn't all the acting. Louis D'Alton, the author, has obviously picked up some useful hints from the works of other Abbey playwrights and he proves again that the Irish, at least as seen by Irish playwrights, are good dramatic subjects for a reason which also suggests why the English seem such bad ones in most contemporary English plays. To be too persistently concerned with good form and too afraid of any emphasis except that of understatement is likely to make one a rather dull protagonist. Your well-bred Englishman doesn't like to make a scene; but scenes are necessary to make a play. And that is where your stage Irishman comes in. He loves high talk and he loves a scene. Abbey plays are usually interesting, partly because everybody in them is so interested and so willing to show it.

"Liberty Jones" (Schubert Theater) resembles "Tanyard Street" in nothing at all except, perhaps, the fact that it too is somewhat more effective in the theater than any description is likely to suggest. Philip Barry, the author, has made rather a habit of going off deep ends whenever he gets tired of writing excellent polite comedy, but he has never thought of anything odder than this morality play with music. In the course of it Miss Liberty, sick unto death, is finally brought back to health and hope by a plain American named John Smith. Smith hates to commit himself, but finally decides not only that he is willing to marry and settle down but also that the proclamation "Give me liberty or give me death!" is not really old-fashioned. The method of the piece—a judicious compromise between the method of "Everyman" and that of the musical comedy—permits the author to scatter allegory so plentifully about that one is not always sure just how far one ought to exercise ingenuity in discovering meanings. The fact, for instance,

that Mr. Smith, the liberal, doesn't learn to dance until he becomes enamored of Miss Liberty seems easy enough to interpret—but is it? Then I am not quite sure whether Miss Liberty's nice red head means something or not, and I haven't the faintest idea what significance ought to be found in the circumstance that, though she has a good enough figure of the bean-pole sort, she repeatedly hankers after what the old-fashioned advertisements used to call "bust development."

I do not believe that anyone since Bunyan has ever written a really popular allegory, and in general I still hold that it is not a currently valid form. To treat solemnly a subject as serious as the present one is almost inevitably to be a little fatuous; to make it merely entertainment is to risk the sort of vulgarity involved in designing street clothes or teagowns on "themes" suggested by national defense. But I must admit that Mr. Barry steers as successfully as anyone could between the two dangers and that his handsomely produced allegory is both more entertaining and less fatuous than I would have been inclined to believe possible.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

FILMS

HOW to reconcile politics and entertainment? The Hollywood studios can hardly ignore the world situation and are scheduled to produce a number of films on controversial themes. Americanism and Pan-Americanism, as well as the democratic anti-Nazi issue, are going to get a liberal share of attention, heaven knows with what results.

The potentialities in the Pan-American field are enormous: the good-neighbor campaign could be considerably furthered by a series of films with a Latin American background, providing that the subjects were handled with tact and intelligence. The possibilities are certainly not being overlooked and audiences are due for a good dose of bright Latin American adventure, but, judging by past performance and current production, it is questionable whether it will be entirely to the taste of our neighbors. Unfortunately, once it has made up its mind on a subject, Hollywood is quixotically loyal, and its conception of the other Americas is, to say the least, regrettable. To someone who knew Latin America only from the average film it must seem a very odd place indeed—hopelessly addicted to the rumba, in-

habited by swarthy gigolos and torrid women who reply to any question put by their virile visiting cousins with shrill cries of *si si*, and are transported with delight by the brief and condescending visit of the white men from the U. S. A. who depart giving the impression that they will be back for another enjoyable romp when they can spare the time.

The reaction of the Latin American public to this type of film is expressed in terms that the industry should well be able to appreciate; box-office receipts from Latin American countries have recently shown a steady decline; no picture about them is even expected to make money there, and moreover visitors from the south have not hesitated to say that their countrymen would welcome a more courteous and accurate approach to the subject of their native lands. It is interesting to note in this connection that in Buenos Aires a local production, "Petroleo," concerned with the villainous activities of North American business men, is playing to packed houses. Germany and Italy are very active in the motion-picture field in Latin America, even financing production units in certain countries, and it seems that Hollywood would be well advised, both financially and politically, to produce pictures in which Latin Americans are treated as equals and not as a sub-race with amusing foibles.

Direct anti-Nazi propaganda also presents the industry with a slightly delicate problem. Again the question arises of the important Latin American market which is likely to be closed to any film that is too outspoken. For instance, both "The Great Dictator" and "The Mortal Storm" have encountered considerable difficulty in Latin America and they have been banned in certain places. Even the home market is becoming a little sated with the present anti-Nazi formula (sadistic storm-troopers, Jewish refugees with, of course, a liberal percentage of Aryan blood, and political persecution). All that has been done too many times and could readily be abandoned for something a little more constructive. What this might be is difficult to imagine, but in this connection as well as in many an other it is to be wished that the democracies would be a little clearer about their peace aims.

In dealing with Americanism the industry is on home ground. The historical approach may encounter a few snags, for historically just about the most American thing that ever happened is the War of Independence, but then of course the British can be conveniently divided into

Whigs and Tories; also it can be implied that they have changed a good deal since then. Stories about the draft, with toughs and misfits making the grade, and some fun and adventure in the navy will about complete the program in the field in which the industry is likely to be most successful.

Internally the consent decree and the increasing movement toward the individual touch in pictures may influence the trend of production. The consent decree operates under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act to abolish block booking. Up to now independent exhibitors have been forced to purchase from the studios their entire stock of pictures for the year in a package like the stamp-dealer's assorted envelope—two Gables, ■ Claudette Colbert, and a Ginger Rogers, guaranteed to leaven ■ somewhat doughy remainder. The consent decree provides for a new process of movie selling. Independent exhibitors are offered films by the major studios, at ■ fixed percentage of the gross takings, in packages of five, any one of which they may refuse if they do not consider it good box-office, while accepting the remainder. The industry claims that this will result in the production of higher quality material, and a gradual disappearance of the double feature. Some independent exhibitors seem to think that it will not make much difference either way. They suspect that the producers will have an effective reply to any attempt to separate the wheat from the chaff by offering a package of five, for example, at 40 per cent of the gross takings and in the event of, say, three being accepted by the exhibitor stepping the percentage up perhaps to 70 per cent of the takings, making it hardly worth while to refuse. In the meanwhile a special unit is being set up to supervise the working of the decree, and exhibitors are earnestly invited to air complaints before the unit. Also, a special watch is being kept on purchases of independent theaters by the major studios, which might be considered an attempt to circumvent the workings of the decree.

The industry's sudden emphasis on the value of the individual touch in movie production has been a strange development. The policy of employing as many heads as possible has been suddenly recognized as remarkably unproductive of originality, and the achievements of certain men who were left more or less to themselves have inclined the studios toward allowing men of talent to perform as many of the functions of director, writer, and producer as pos-

sible. Preston Sturges is continuing his writer-director activities on a larger scale; Frank Capra and Robert Riskin, a remarkably successful writer-director combination, are branching out into the production end at Warner's, and Orson Welles's debut as director, author, and actor is awaited with keen anticipation for more reasons than one.

Mr. Welles's activities since he arrived in Hollywood have attracted much attention, and he has lived up to every expectation concerning his first picture "Citizen Kane." Mr. Hearst has kindly cooperated in publicizing the film by claiming that the story is based most libellously on his life and fulminating away in his Bavarian village in Northern California. He has been most lately reported as intending to sue every exhibitor who shows the picture. Other courses Mr. Hearst is reported to be contemplating are the complete ignoring in his papers of the activities of the RKO studios and attempting to involve the whole industry by starting a campaign against the aliens employed in it, simultaneously slinging some mud at the morals of the film colony. The industry should be able to deliver ■ few broadsides in reply and is not in a very weak position even on the count of alien employment, since of the few aliens employed, a very large proportion are in any case British. RKO may of course shelve the film, or alter it, but more likely will eventually show it in its present form. It will be a fascinating battle if the issue with Mr. Hearst is ever joined, and it will be interesting to see if, when he takes the lid off Hollywood, there will as usual be nothing but a few puffs of steam.

The most outstanding film to be previewed recently is the David Loew-Albert Lewin production "So Ends Our Night," adapted from "Flotsam" by Erich Maria Remarque. It is an anti-Nazi film on the rather familiar lines mentioned above (refugees shuttled helplessly about from country to country, Gestapo agents, sadistic storm-troopers, etc.). Margaret Sullivan and Fredric March are very good, while Glenn Ford, a newcomer of great charm and talent, will probably, as a result of his performance in this picture, be groomed beyond recognition and shortly emerge a full-fledged standardized star. John Cromwell has directed it with an admirably light touch, though he has out-Hitchcocked Hitchcock in the choice of grotesque extra and bit players, with not altogether happy results.

ANTHONY BOWER

MUSIC

THOUGH I missed the League of Composers' program of music for documentary films I had previously seen "The City," with its Aaron Copland score most of which—except the music for the traffic jam sequence—I had thought poor for its purpose. And last summer I had attended a private showing of "Valley Town" arranged by the Educational Film Institute for the music critics, to get their reactions to controversial features of the score by Marc Blitzstein. On that occasion, waiting for the other critics, who did not show up, I mentioned to a couple of Film Institute members the question in my mind whether music was essential to films, since with the pictures by themselves one not only could convey the bare sense of any situation but—through use of pictorial values, of pace, of cutting, and so on—should be able to give this sense almost any desired emotional heightening and impact. My question was brushed aside with an impatient "Music has always been part of films—like opera." True, there has been drama with music; but there has also been drama without it; by analogy there

can be a film without music, which the resources of the medium should be able to make effective (and recently I had occasion to decide that parts of "Our Town" would have been more impressive alone than they were with Copland's music). Certainly I would expect that a documentary, which sets out to present a factual record of people and things as they are and as they function, would be such a film—would, that is, give only the music which happened to be part of the facts of a situation, like a song coming from a phonograph in a room. In a film like "Valley Town," then, I would expect shots of men working in a steel mill to be accompanied by the noises of the mill, not by "steel mill music" composed by Marc Blitzstein.

If, however, the shots of a steel mill are accompanied by music, this music must intensify the effect of the pictures in the way that music, if it is good for its purpose, intensifies the effect of the words and actions in an opera. And the first thing to say of Blitzstein's music for "Valley Town" is that it had no such value for its purpose. This was true of both the uncontroversial portions and the controversial ones, which I will now describe. The documentary film has its own conventions, most of which are derived from its very nature: one uses not actors but the people actually involved in the situation; one films only the things which these people actually do and say. An additional convention is the voice of the commentator, which, adding to what the film has recorded, may tell us what the people think. Now the man who made "Valley Town" went beyond these conventions when, filming an unemployed worker on his way home after a day's fruitless search for work, he did not have him say to another worker: "What am I goin' home for?" or did not have the commentator tell us of the despair in such men's minds, but had the worker himself think his thoughts aloud for us without moving his lips. This procedure Blitzstein carried a step further: at home the worker's wife sang her thoughts aloud. And this brings me to the second thing to say of Blitzstein's score—that while it did not offer any music with the significance and power that were required, it did offer a feature that was novel, daring, provocative of controversy.

I mention this because it is characteristic. Putting aside things like the burlesque torch song, I cannot conceive of sounds being feebler and flatter, sounds having less of the significance and effect

they were intended to have, than the sounds which I heard during the first act of "No For An Answer"; but the act had its "Fra-a-a-ancie, ta-ta-ta-ta" which was clever and amusing and covered Blitzstein's inability to write music for the emotions of a couple in love—or in fact for any serious emotions or situations whatever. And it was no less characteristic in Blitzstein's pre-proletarian period. Then as now he was a brilliantly gifted person, with the specifically musical gifts of a superb pianist, but—in my judgment—without the specific gift for composition, the ability not just to manipulate sounds but to manipulate them into designs that had artistic potency. Then as now he could not produce music of any importance but could think up something novel to claim attention with, like a string quartet with the three movements written *Largo, Largo, Largo*, and achieving differentiation through texture instead of pace.

At that time Blitzstein got the attention only of the few people interested in the novelty of a string quartet with the three movements written *Largo, Largo, Largo*; today he gets the attention of the larger number of people interested in dramatizations of the class struggle. Writing about Columbia's "Chain Gang" album last September, I pointed out that there were people who, because of what they felt about the cruelties inflicted on Negroes in chain gangs, would be moved by the songs in this album as they would not be if they heard the songs without the words or without any other knowledge of what they were about. Now, recalling the warmth of the Mecca Temple audience's response to Blitzstein's opera, I shiver a little at the thought of what this audience's response would have been to the music if it had been presented without the words or anything else to reveal its connection with unions and vigilantes. For I am sure the response would have been as frigid as the response of such an audience a few years ago to the quartet with the three movements written *Largo, Largo, Largo*.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Without Representation

Dear Sirs: Mr. Neuberger's article in your issue of February 1 calls attention to a problem affecting not only the states but also the federal House of Representatives. Many state governments have failed to redistrict for members of Congress as well as for state senators and assemblymen. As a result, a rotten-borough system of representation is growing up; New York State and Illinois are the chief offenders. In the former state the largest Congressional district has nearly nine times the population of the smallest; in the latter it has more than six times. But this inequality of representation is not between urban and rural as it usually is in state legislatures, for the largest and the smallest Congressional districts are in the one case in New York City and in the other in Chicago. The small districts are those out of which population has been drifting for years, as in lower Manhattan; the large districts those into which it has been flowing.

The evil is a growing one; the average percentage excess of the population of the largest Congressional district over that of the smallest in the same state was:

1900.... 41	1920.... 86
1910.... 54	1930.... 107

Mr. Neuberger is right in saying that only public opinion can force the state legislatures to restore an equitable representation. But cannot that public opinion work through a legal sanction more easily than through "an initiative petition" such as succeeded in the state of Washington?

The Congressional situation would be remedied if a provision included in all apportionment laws from 1872 on, until the law of 1929, should be reenacted with the addition of a sanction or penalty. The provision reads: "[Representatives] shall be elected by districts composed of contiguous territory and containing as nearly as practicable an equal number of inhabitants." This provision as it stood was merely advice ignored at pleasure by state legislatures; if a sanction were added, they would be forced to act. For example, the federal law might go on to say that if in any state the Congressional districts set up

do not, in the judgment of the highest state court, consist of contiguous territory, or if the population of the largest district exceeds that of the smallest by more than one-half, or some other specified proportion, the districting shall be invalid and until the requirement is met all Congressmen in that state shall be elected on a blanket ticket.

To remedy the situation in the state legislatures a similar provision might be incorporated in the state constitutions.

WALTER F. WILLCOX

Ithaca, N. Y., February 1

Washington and Gates

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of January 18 W. E. Woodward reviewed my book, "Washington and the Revolution: A Reappraisal—Gates, Conway, and the Continental Congress." Of the dozen or more reviews of the book I have seen, some favorable, others not so favorable, this is the only one that seems unfair.

Mr. Woodward states: "The title of this book is somewhat misleading. Mr. Knollenberg does not cover all of George Washington's activities during the Revolution, but only a small part of them." The latter sentence is true, but the limited scope of the book is indicated by the subtitle, Gates, Conway, and the Continental Congress, as well as by my statement on the first page of the book: "Without purporting to offer a complete restudy of the war, I have undertaken to present certain episodes and characters in what I believe to be a truer light."

Continuing, Mr. Woodward says: "The value of Mr. Knollenberg's book, as a convincing document, is greatly diminished by his obvious bias against Washington. He . . . gives a general impression—without saying so definitely—that he was a second-rate person." In describing certain of Washington's limitations, I not only expressed my recognition of the fact that "Washington's qualities of greatness . . . tower above his limitations," but proceeded for two pages to set forth in detail my grounds for this statement.

Mr. Woodward remarks:

Before Mr. Knollenberg became the librarian of Yale University he was a lawyer, and his book has all the earmarks of a corpora-

tion lawyer's argument in court. A brilliant lawyer, as you know, can take half a dozen minor facts and a few plausible assertions, and produce from them a document, with references and cross-references that will completely confuse both judge and jury.

Several of my critics complained that the flow of my narrative is impeded by an excess of evidence, and, while I did not wholly agree with these criticisms, I thought they were a fair expression of opinion. But Mr. Woodward's intimation that my book is built up on "half a dozen minor facts and a few plausible assertions" is the reverse of fairness and truth.

In my book I set forth evidence presenting Horatio Gates in a more favorable light as a general than is generally given. Mr. Woodward seeks to belittle Gates in his review by saying: "He was conceited, vain almost beyond belief." Mr. Woodward cast similar aspersions on Gates in his "George Washington: The Image and the Man." Neither in his book nor in his review of my book does he present any evidence in support of this statement, and I think the statement is incorrect.

It would be interesting to have Mr. Woodward produce his evidence.

BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG

New Haven, Conn., January 24

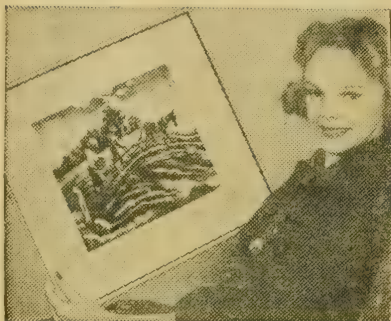
Beal's Defenders

Dear Sirs: Jonathan Daniels is safe in his Anthony pro Brutus defense of Fred Beal, for Fred Beal is in prison and cannot answer. Mr. Daniels perhaps intended to write a very kind article on Beal in the December 14 issue of *The Nation*. Why should the fat little ex-Communist who is doing laundry work in jail, whose work is forgotten by everybody, who is just a zero—why should he not get his freedom? Still, Fred Beal must have made quite an impression on several people. The Governor of North Carolina remembers well the Gastonia strike and considers Beal too dangerous to be released. And some other people remember him also. Mr. Daniels says: "Maybe he is even as some say, a rat, who snapped at the capitalists and ran out on the Communists."

The "some" to whom Mr. Daniels refers have certainly not forgotten Fred

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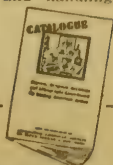
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Beal either. Who they are anyone can tell who knows that Fred Beal on his return from Russia wrote a book in which he exposed Stalinism.

ANTOINETTE F. KONIKOW

Boston, Mass., January 8

Dear Sirs: There was no intent on my part to slander Fred Beal; I simply wanted to draw a picture of him. I am sure that Beal himself understands and knows that nobody in the state where he is imprisoned is more anxious than I to see justice done him. I have been urging his pardon for some time. Those who prefer a prettier picture of him and his present state seems to me to be more concerned with appearances than with justice.

JONATHAN DANIELS

Raleigh, N. C., January 15

Beal Himself

Dear Sirs: Through you I would like to thank all my friends who, without monetary reward, are working quietly for my freedom.

I've been in prison now for three years. My sentence of twenty years was cut seven years by former Governor Clyde Hoey. I have grown to like the Southern people, especially my associates, who are sharecroppers, farmers, and textile workers.

I'm quite fat, weighing nearly two hundred pounds. Three years ago I weighed 227 pounds but I guess that it won't hurt me to toughen up a bit. Just now I'm working at building a dam. Four months ago I worked a while in the laundry, washing clothes for my convict associates. So far I have worked at over fifty different kinds of farm jobs. You know, I never worked on a farm before coming to prison.

I don't like Hitler, and I don't like Stalin. I hope the liberal brethren will not crack under the strain of the "democracy" that roars over my radio every night.

FRED E. BEAL

Halifax, N. C., January 21

Books for Southern Workers

Dear Sirs: More and more workers are using the facilities of the Southern Summer School library, and again we need more books or money to buy them with. This library is used for the resident section of the school at Asheville, North Carolina. Also throughout the entire year it lends collections of books to unions, clubs, and individual workers.

Although the chief need is for books in the field of the social sciences and for fiction, drama, and poetry with so-

cial import, volumes given need not be limited to those categories since an interested second-hand dealer gives the school a generous allowance of books not suitable for this library. Please send books to the Southern Summer School for Workers, 437 West Fifty-ninth Street, New York, or if in the city send a card asking that the books be called for.

RITA S. HILBORN,

Chairman, Library Committee
New York, December 15

CONTRIBUTORS

FRANZ HOELLERING was a journalist in Berlin until Hitler came to power. He is a native of Vienna, the locale of his recent novel, "The Defenders."

HAROLD J. LASKI, a leading member of the left wing of the British Labor Party, is professor of political science at the London School of Economics.

IRVING DILLIARD, who has been an editorial writer on the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* for the past ten years, was one of the first Nieman fellows in journalism at Harvard University.

SHERMAN CONRAD is an associate of the School of Letters at Iowa University.

PAUL M. SWEEZY is instructor in economics at Harvard University.

LOUIS B. SALOMON, a member of the English Department of Brooklyn College, reviews fiction regularly for *The Nation*.

ANTHONY BOWER begins in this issue a regularly fortnightly column from Hollywood. He was formerly film critic for the *New Statesman and Nation*.

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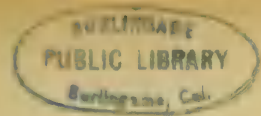
"De Gaulle at Dakar"

by JUAN S. VIDARTE

"Britain's Home Guard"

by PATRICIA STRAUSS

THE *Nation*



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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

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The Shape of Things

THE LEASE-LEND BILL HAS REACHED THE Senate floor with only minor amendments to the text approved by the House. It was voted out of the Foreign Affairs Committee by 15 to 8, a larger majority than at one time seemed likely. There is no longer any question that the measure will now pass substantially unchanged, but the isolationists can be counted on to delay action as much as possible, attempting to gain some weakening of the bill as the price of obduracy. One amendment for which they hope to rally support is a proposal sponsored by Senator Walsh, chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, to forbid the transfer of any portion of the navy. The Administration leaders expect to be able to defeat this amendment and they are also refusing to adopt the suggestion of Mr. Willkie that the bills should specifically limit aid to Britain, Greece, and China. In this connection it is pointed out that hope of American aid tends to stiffen the resistance of neutral countries, such as Turkey, which may soon face demands by the Axis.

✱

MEANWHILE SENATOR AUSTIN, A SUPPORTER of the bill, has raised the question of peace aims. Although he does not suggest making approval of the bill contingent on British pledges in respect of the post-war settlement, he thinks we may properly "express our views upon what are our peace aims and [to] ask Britain what are her peace aims." We agree with the Senator and it is disappointing to find Prime Minister Churchill once again fobbing off Parliamentary questions on the subject with the statement that there is in the United States "thorough comprehension of what we are fighting for and what we stand for." We know that Britain is fighting for survival and for the destruction of Nazism and we believe that these are very good reasons for fighting. Nevertheless it must be recognized that this war is being fought not only against Nazi arms but against Nazi ideology and that this must be met by positive democratic ideas. We do not ask for a detailed blueprint but we should like to know what kind of political and economic set-up the British government is hoping to establish in Europe. And particularly we should like to be

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assured that it is not thinking in terms of a revival of the pre-Hitler status quo. At the same time it is important for Americans to be thinking about the part this country must play in the post-war world if there is to be any hope of achieving stable peace. We cannot again irresponsibly withdraw into isolation. Our refusal after 1918 to accept a role in world affairs commensurate with our economic strength and political influence had much to do with the subsequent decay in international relations. This time we must be ready to share in the task of reconstruction and we should recognize now that uncertainty on that score is a major obstacle to the formulation of peace aims by Britain.

✱

MUSSOLINI SEEMS DESPERATELY ANXIOUS TO prevent news from Italy from reaching the outside world except through official channels. Foreign correspondents have been forbidden to leave Rome without permission and the same restriction has been put on American diplomats. No doubt it is felt that if allowed to move around freely they might learn too much about the state of Italian morale and the effect of British raids. Now the Italian government has asked the United States to close its consulates at Naples and Palermo. It has a right to make this request but there is supposed to be some degree of reciprocity about the number of consuls which two states maintain in each other's territory. We would suggest, therefore, that the State Department seize this opportunity to ask for the closing of two Italian consulates. That would mean two centers of Axis propaganda put out of action.

✱

TWO OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED GERMAN Social Democrats have been arrested in Southern France and handed over to the Gestapo, to be sent to Germany. Rudolf Breitscheid and Rudolf Hilferding, both prominent during the Weimar Republic, were forced into exile after Hitler came to power and later deprived of their German citizenship and stripped of their private property. Breitscheid was an expert on international affairs and a champion of the League of Nations, in whose assembly he sat as German delegate from 1926 to 1930. Hilferding was his party's leading financial authority. As Minister of Finance in 1923 he laid the foundations for the stabilization of the mark, although he was forced out of office before the consummation of the program and the credit for his work was filched by Dr. Schacht. These men are the bitter and irreconcilable enemies of Nazism and it is not hard to imagine the fate that awaits them in Germany. The action of the French government in surrendering them bodes ill for the hundreds of other anti-Nazis still trapped in unoccupied France. The Vichy authorities have protested that under the terms of the armistice they have no choice

but to deliver such political refugees as Hitler may demand. At best this excuse only shifts the crime. The very fact that the armistice contains a specific clause providing that enemies of the Nazi regime should be handed over on demand shows how unprecedented a violation of customary usage was this brutal condition. To have agreed to such a condition was more than a sign of helplessness; it was proof of the degradation of the officials who engineered France's surrender. Oswald Garrison Villard has urged in the *New York Times* that telegrams of protest should be sent immediately to the French Ambassador in Washington, Gaston Henry-Haye. We heartily endorse this suggestion. The Vichy government must be made aware that such acts of subservience to Hitler can only alienate American sympathy for France.

✱

MR. WENDELL WILLKIE'S SPEECH AT THE Lincoln Day dinner was in effect a reply to the Republican Old Guard who have been itching to disown him ever since the Philadelphia convention and saw an opportunity in his support of the Lease-Lend bill. Hitting back, he warned his listeners to beware the fate of the Whig party and avoid becoming "merely the party of negation, merely the party of opposition, merely those who find fault and who in one of the critical moments of history find nothing nobler to do than compromise." This sounds to us like an almost perfect description of the present state of the G. O. P., but it is one thing to recognize that an organization is sick and something else again to perceive the causes of that sickness and to know how to eradicate them. Mr. Willkie called on his party to preach a "positive doctrine" but he did no more than hint at his ideas for the substance of such a doctrine. Clearly he believes that isolation is as sterile as it is dangerous, and at one point it seemed to us, as we listened in on his speech, that he was heading toward advocacy of Union Now, of a federation composed of the United States and the British Commonwealth. That is a large and fertile idea which would connect the Republican Party with its almost forgotten roots and might start the sap rising again in its aged limbs. But such a revivification would require the lopping off of parasitic clusters of vested interests and vested prejudices, and we question whether Wendell Willkie, or any other outstanding Republican, is capable of such drastic surgery.

✱

THE PRESS AND THE RADIO APPEAR TO BE vying with each other to give the impression that the national defense program is being hamstrung by an unprecedented wave of strikes. Day after day the roll of strikes is called, none being too small or too short in duration to escape mention. And in each instance the total of defense contracts held by the firm is set forth,

irrespective of whether or not these are affected by the stoppage. Rarely are the legitimate grievances of the workers mentioned. Never, so far as we have been able to discover, have the firm's swollen profits from war orders been referred to in connection with labor's demand for increased wages. Yet the reports on 1940 profits now coming in show increases that far outstrip any wage gains that have been achieved. Reports from nine of the largest steel companies, for example, show aggregate net profits in 1940 of \$229,800,000, or more than double 1939's already large net profits of \$114,367,000. Contrary to what must be the popular impression, interference with production because of labor disputes has been slight. There were 160 fewer strikes in 1940 than in 1939, and these involved only half as many workers and caused only about one-third as much loss in man-days as the 1939 disputes. The number of men involved has been only half as large as in a similar period in 1918 when we were at war. As Sidney Hillman has pointed out, the time lost in strikes in 1940 was less than one-fourth that lost from industrial accidents. And as conditions stand in mid-February, not a single major strike has yet developed in 1941. Newspapers and radio commentators please note!

★

THE PLIGHT OF THE HUNGRY MILLIONS IN Nazi-occupied countries presents a horrible dilemma to humane people who recognize that unless Hitler is defeated all Europe is condemned to slavery. Is it possible to send help to these victims of aggression without at the same time helping to strengthen German resistance to the British blockade? Mr. Hoover believes that it is, and in his radio address on Sunday he outlined a plan for an initial experiment in Belgium which his Committee on Food for the Small Democracies has put before the British and German governments. This scheme follows a visit of inspection to the occupied areas by an American commission of three which found that Belgium was very close to famine. Mr. Hoover made a number of references to the report of this commission but it has not been published. It seems to us that, before the American public is asked to give further moral support to this cause, this report should be made available in full. We need to know whether these American investigators were able to find out to what extent shortages in the occupied countries are due to requisitions and forced exports to Germany. A report from Berlin in the *New York Times* of February 2 stated: "German troops occupying Belgium are approaching the point where they will be provided entirely from the Reich." This means that during the last eight months, while conditions in Belgium were steadily growing worse, the German army there was at least partly living off the land. Mr. Hoover says that his original stipulations stand: Germany must cooperate in

providing part of the necessary food and must end the drain on native supplies by the Nazi armies. The American commission has been in touch with the German authorities. What assurances has it received on these points?

★

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT HAS rejected the appeal of Earl Browder and there is little legal possibility left that the Communist leader will escape a four-year prison term for using a passport obtained by fraud. There has never seemed to us to be much doubt about the validity of the evidence in this case but at the same time the offense appears to be picayune and in no sense commensurate with so harsh a sentence. The government was out to "get" Browder and it resorted to precisely the tactics employed to "get" Al Capone, who after committing practically every crime on the calendar was finally imprisoned for cheating on his income tax returns. We heartily dislike this any-stick-to-beat-a-dog strategy and prefer the more direct approach adopted in the case of Harry Bridges. Here the charge is membership in the Communist Party, pure and simple. Under a recently enacted law, aliens are subject to deportation for membership in "subversive organizations" either at the time the accusation is made or at any time in the past. That law seems to us dangerous and altogether unjust, but the trial of Bridges will serve a highly useful purpose if it clears the air—air, we might add, that has been clouded no little by the Communists themselves. They have consistently refused to face in open court the issue of whether or not they believe in force and violence. A fair trial for Bridges should decide first whether he is a Communist second, whether the Communist Party is subversive as charged. If both counts are established we would still wish to have the Supreme Court's opinion whether or not the theoretical position of an organization legally compromises all its members. Finally, the Supreme Court should pass on the retroactive aspect of the law.

★

WE ARE NOT AS SURE AS THE WASHINGTON police seem to be that General Krivitsky committed suicide. Suicide has been made to look like murder before this, and by less trained killers than the GPU. There is no question that the GPU had compelling reasons for wanting Krivitsky out of the way. Aside from the fact that a bureaucracy of terror, like any other, is most vindictive toward one of its apostates, Krivitsky's past revelations and possible future exposures of the identity and activities of GPU agents in this country would provide more than sufficient motivation. His death would be useful too as an example to other, potential deserters. If Krivitsky did kill himself, his act may well have been forced. Those average spy-free Americans who scoff at the idea that he could be induced to kill himself, do not

take account of the hysterical psychology of the political underworld in which Krivitsky spent the greater part of his life. Whatever the true facts may be—and they will probably never be known—the career and death of General Krivitsky furnish one more terrible example of the fruits of totalitarianism, whether of the left or of the right.

Ben Stolberg's Revenge

IF hell has no fury like a woman scorned it certainly has nothing to match the wrath of a slighted radical. To this dismal conclusion we are moved by Benjamin Stolberg's most recent contribution to the *Saturday Evening Post*, called "Muddled Millions" (February 15). Here we have the unhappy sight of a man who used to speak glowingly of Leon Trotsky as "the revolutionary conscience of the European proletarian vanguard," a man who hailed the C. I. O. in the day of its greatest militancy as "the most progressive and vital force in American life today"—advising moonstruck millionaires to keep their money in their pockets or the Communists will get it if they don't watch out.

We are more than willing to leave it to the psychoanalysts to explain why Stolbergs behave as they do and we don't care if we never see their report. Our mild interest in "Muddled Millions" is twofold: we feel in duty bound to point it out to our readers as a beautiful example of the technique commonly known as the smear; and we feel warranted in clearing up a few inferences with regard to ourselves.

In his warning to capitalist angels against using their wealth "to undermine the system which produced it," Stolberg pretty thoroughly goes over the ground covered by the genuine Communist product—from the *Daily Worker* through *Science and Society*. But lumped in with these citations, and apparently held up to Stolberg's "revolutionary millionaire playboys" as equally horrible examples of what not to do with their money, we find the *Partisan Review*, the *Freeman* and the *New Freeman*, the *Socialist Leader*, the *New Republic*, and *The Nation*. These journals are socialist, liberal, or dead. Mr. Stolberg does not say all of them are or ever were under Stalinist control, but why does he include them at all in a discussion of this sort? Is he deliberately trying to lump together in the minds of his unsophisticated readers everything to the left of Wendell Willkie, to whom incidentally he gave his support in the presidential campaign?

Other organs and groups unfairly attacked by Mr. Stolberg should have no difficulty in defending themselves if his comments concerning them are as inaccurate as those about *The Nation*. In the first place no millionaire playboys have chosen to subsidize *The Nation*.

When Oswald Garrison Villard put money into this journal it was his own journal and not even Stolberg argues that it was "fellow traveler" under his editorship. Mr. Stolberg tells his readers, without any apparent pertinence, since *The Nation* is not among the recipients of capitalist largesse, that when Freda Kirchwey bought the magazine she was "confused and timid, and she could not buck the Stalinist fashion in the liberal world." Proof? She made a former editor of the *New Masses* managing editor and put "fellow-travelers" on the staff. The "pro-Stalinist" foreign correspondents Mr. Stolberg cites as examples of the Kirchwey susceptibility to Communist pressure were contributors to the magazine years before she took over control, and Mr. Stolberg knows well that the managing editor to whom he refers was not taken directly from the staff of the *New Masses* but had left that publication six months earlier in thorough disagreement with its policies and those of the Communist Party. The other "fellow-travelers" mentioned in his article were similarly disposed when they were appointed.

If *The Nation* had been a genuinely fellow-traveler organ it would have gone along with the party "line" and would today be supporting the Soviet-German pact and the isolationist position of the *Daily Worker*—and the *Saturday Evening Post*.

We strongly suspect that lurking somewhere in the Stolberg subconscious is the memory of *The Nation's* refusal to print his series of articles on the C. I. O., which we felt attacked that organization unfairly, and which he subsequently sold to the Scripps-Howard press.

The Far East

LAST week's Far Eastern war scare seems to have been the result of war-of-nerves tactics by the democratic powers aimed partly at opinion in Japan but also intended to promote greater unity in Australia which has been disturbed by political dissension. Simultaneous moves by Britain, Australia, and the United States served to warn Japan that its push towards the south would not be facilitated by further appeasement. The result was a flood of pacific protestations from Tokyo and a lessened bellicosity in the Nipponese press.

This of course does not mean that there has been any radical revision in Japanese objectives. The preparations for an attempt on the Dutch East Indies are going forward. Taking advantage of the Thailand-Indo-China armistice, the Japanese appear to have established the nucleus of a military air base at Saigon—which is only four hours' flight in a modern bomber from Singapore. There are reports, so far unconfirmed, that Japanese battleships are patrolling the waters south of Saigon. And the Japanese are said to have concentrated 150,000

men at Hainan Island and Formosa, ready for a southward adventure. At the same time negotiations for a pact with the Soviets are being pushed and reports from Moscow suggest that there are good auguries for their successful conclusion.

Thus though Tokyo may be anxious to lull the Western powers into a sense of security, the danger of war remains. The mining of the waters around Singapore, though precautionary, would hardly be undertaken without cause. Equally ominous is the evacuation of Japanese civilians from the East Indies and occupied China, and the withdrawal of Britons from Thailand. Washington is similarly hastening the evacuation of Americans from the Far East. The Japanese Diet is rushing bills to place the country on a war footing by the end of the current week. Netherlands East Indies has announced its intention of resisting attack, and the Australian War Council has issued a special warning which was echoed by the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

It is evident that Japan is poised to launch its long-expected southward drive at the first favorable opportunity. Doubtless it is the intention that this drive should be coordinated with a major Axis offensive in Europe, presumably the invasion of England. When this drive will come, it is impossible, of course, to say. But if we are to judge by Japanese behavior during the last six or even months, it seems safe to assume that Japan is not going to launch a major offensive against either British or Dutch possessions unless it feels reasonably certain that the United States is not going to intervene, or that British defeat is assured. Since it can hardly feel safe on either of these points at the present moment, we may assume that Japan's immediate steps will be restricted to strengthening its position in the southern part of Indo-China and Thailand as a pointed threat to Singapore and Burma.

In its drive to the South, Japan has one considerable advantage which did not exist in its attack on China. It is dealing with subject colonial peoples for whom the Japanese yoke may seem hardly more onerous than the one they have been wearing. Observers of the Japanese penetration into northern Indo-China report that the natives, in many instances, actually welcomed the Japanese as deliverers. In no case was there mass opposition such as the Japanese have encountered in China. A somewhat similar situation is likely to prevail in the event of a Japanese attack on the British colonies, including India, Burma, and Singapore, and on the Dutch East Indies.

Offsetting the lack of opposition by the colonial peoples is the danger, for Japan, of war with the United States. The Japanese leaders are fully aware of the catastrophe that such a conflict would involve. No attack on Singapore or the East Indies could possibly succeed with the Philippines in the hands of a hostile power. Such an

attack would be doubly hazardous if the American battle fleet were in the Pacific. And an effective shutting off of American supplies would soon seriously impair Japanese military efficiency. The chief threat of war, then, would seem to lie in a miscalculation on the part of the Japanese militarists of the point at which America will fight. It is here that the activities of our isolationists are most dangerous. For they tend to give the Japanese militarists a false impression of the temper of the American people. A firm uncompromising policy is the best security against further Japanese adventures and, for that reason, the best insurance against our being drawn into war.

Hitler Moves East

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

IN Eastern Europe events are moving too fast for the mind and too slowly for the emotions. Only a week ago Bulgaria was still denying newspaper reports of the infiltration of Germans; less than a week ago Yugoslavia dismissed as "not probable" the rumor that Premier Dragisha Cvetkovitch and Foreign Minister Alexander Cincar-Markovitch would go to Germany to "confer" with Hitler. Today Nazi forces in Bulgaria have reached such proportions that their presence is admitted in semi-official quarters and their distribution and activities have been fully reported by the correspondents, while the Yugoslav ministers have traveled the long road to Berchtesgaden and returned, saying nothing and looking "tired." These are only two samples. The world has been fed on a full menu of confusion and nerve-wracking rumors.

But the events of the past week are deceptively complicated. The realities behind them are fairly clear. Hitler's procedure in the Balkans, as in southwestern Europe, is systematic and according to precedent—and it includes the dissemination of disturbing rumors. He is methodically clearing the road to the East by conquering Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, as he recently conquered Rumania. He is not engaging in a campaign—à la Mussolini—in bitter weather on mountainous and hostile terrain. He is using his other, preliminary weapons—weapons which are denied to the weak. Promises, threats, internal demoralization, "peaceful" penetration, the encouragement of national antagonisms—with a powerful military machine on the border ready to move if the strategy of terror should fail: such is the well-tested technique applied in turn to each small nation that blocks his way. Why attack when one can filter through to victory?

The two important obstacles that remain are British armed force and the magnificent resistance of the Greeks. The victories of Britain's armies in North Africa have undoubtedly slowed up the progress of Hitler's cold war

in Europe; the reluctance of his predestined victims to lay themselves under the wheels of his war-machine, which has been manifest in Vichy and Madrid as well as in the Balkans, is the direct product of British success. But that success has also provided the final reason why Hitler could not accept delay. He must accomplish his major purposes quickly before British victories in North Africa release large numbers of troops and ships and planes for use in the Greek campaign or in Turkey. He must threaten the Greeks on the Thracian frontier, and try to turn Fascist defeat into Nazi victory. He must protect the Rumanian oil fields against bombing raids. The signing of a Bulgarian-Turkish "non-aggression pact" is a clear announcement that German occupation of Bulgaria has been accepted as an accomplished fact; that Greece has been abandoned by both Turkey and Bulgaria; that Russia will neither resist nor encourage resistance to Nazi domination of the Balkan peninsula. The big brother of all the Slavic nations is sunk in silence and immobility while Hitler moves his forces to the borders of Turkey. As long as Greece holds out Britain will control important bases on the European continent. But it is difficult to see how even Greek courage and tenacity will be able to withstand the pressures that today threaten the country.

I am not suggesting that Hitler will be able to proceed indefinitely without being forced to fight. He most certainly expects to fight. But he is jockeying himself into position for an armed struggle under the best circumstances: against the fewest enemies, at the most favorable season, and after snatching as much as possible without cost. He may even complete the conquest of Eastern Europe without extending the area of struggle. He will not be able to dislodge the British from Italy's African empire but if he controls the European shores of the Mediterranean he can force Britain to maintain great concentrations of men and ships in that sea, thus hampering the defense of England and of the Atlantic sea lanes and diminishing the value of the victories in Africa.

But even the collapse of Greek resistance and Nazi domination of the whole Balkan area would not spell the end of this phase of the war. Hitler is fighting England, and his chief objectives in the Eastern Mediterranean are the Dardanelles and Suez. Turkey, it may still be assumed, will fight rather than accept Nazi control of the Dardanelles (even if Russia is willing to see this treasured gateway to the West fall into Nazi hands), while the far longer road to Suez, by land or by sea, would be defended every league of the way by the British. In this campaign, Britain's present mastery of the Mediterranean gives it a mighty superiority, and it is evident that Hitler's inescapable task is to challenge that mastery before he attempts any such hazardous major operation.

Franco Pays a Call

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THOUGH General Franco's interview with Mussolini and his subsequent talk with General Pétain were quickly pushed from the front pages by more ominous developments in the Balkans and the Far East, the three protagonists of the Latin bloc and their absent chief, Adolf Hitler, undoubtedly laid the groundwork for important future action. In the *Giornale d'Italia*, Virginio Gayda expressed confidence that the "absolute similarity in the viewpoints of the two dictators" would soon be apparent. His prediction will doubtless turn out to be correct. The fact that no startling action has followed the Franco-Mussolini interview does not mean that the danger of Spanish participation in the next assault against Britain has been eliminated. First visits of neutral premiers and foreign ministers to Berlin or Rome or Berchtesgaden are seldom followed by immediate sensational developments; but the final outcome is the acceptance of Hitler's orders without even a show of resistance. These state visits are merely planned prologues to a climax clearly foreseen and prepared by Hitler, whose strategy of "appeasement" consists, not of wheat loans and bribes, but of skilfully deployed motorized divisions or contingents of German "tourist" soldiers. (Eighty thousand are reliably reported to be in Spain today.)

Franco has undoubtedly and in sufficient time been informed by Hitler, through Mussolini, what will be expected of him when the decisive moment comes. So far, secrecy conceals the exact form that Franco's collaboration is to take. The best indications are that, instead of the expected German attack on Gibraltar, the next Nazi move will be toward the Balearic Islands. In the transfer of the war to the Western Mediterranean, a German-Italian lease of the Balearics for the use of their submarines and airplanes would prove far more attractive to the Nazis than an attempt to capture Gibraltar. The conquest of the Rock will not be easy, despite the powerful guns mounted on Sierra Carbonera and at Ceuta during the war in Spain—mounted there with the permission of the British government, against the warnings of the Spanish Republicans. Those guns will enable Germany to place under fire all traffic through the Straits even if Gibraltar remains in British hands.

Some influential people in England and the United States assume that Franco cannot go into the war with a discontented and hungry people behind him. Seldom, it is true, has modern Europe witnessed such a shambles as the Franco regime. The famine which grips the country today is the result of two policies: shipments to Germany of goods needed in Spain, and the imprisonment, and the withdrawal from production, of more than a million workers, many of them peasants. These prisoners form

the nucleus of the opposition to Franco, but that opposition is slowly embracing the whole population.

The government has failed in its demagogic attempts to entice workers into the "vertical unions"—formed by workers and owners, but with a voice only for the latter. Minimum wages and hours exist now only on paper. The worker is forced to labor ten to twelve hours a day and his pay falls as the costs of living rise—costs increased by the tremendous speculation in foodstuffs and the lack of staple foods. The middle class suffers with the workers; the little merchant has been all but wiped out. Industry is weak from lack of raw materials, the bulk of which are being sent to Germany.

The government is eternally issuing decrees for the reconstruction of the country and for the repair of property damaged during the war. But American travelers who have recently passed through Spain assure me that all along the route from Figueras to the Portuguese border, the ruined towns remain much as they were on the day the war ended. Aside from mass executions, little or no "reconstruction" has been accomplished. The inefficiency of the government surpasses its cruelty. Of the Franco slogan, "Spain, United, Great, and Free," only the words "Spain United" correspond to the truth. Franco has united Spain—against him and his government.

Corruption is widespread; there have been frequent scandals in the administration of *Auxilio Social*—that division of the fascist Falange which the American Red Cross has selected to distribute America's food gift to

Spain!—and some of its leaders have had to be imprisoned. Three times since the end of the war internal dissensions have forced a change of leadership in the all-important Madrid Falange.

This dismal picture may encourage the delusion in England as well as in this country that Franco can be persuaded or bribed into real neutrality. Clearly it would be to his immediate interest to resist the pressure of Berlin even though he well knows that a Hitler defeat means the downfall of his own regime. But the one essential fact to be remembered is that Franco is not a free agent. The day that Hitler asks Franco to act, Franco will act. Should Hitler need him for his plans, he will, after some simulated resistance, allow a Nazi march through Spain, or lease the Balearics to the Axis. The appeasers may argue that the immediate necessity is to gain time, to postpone the hour when Franco is forced to move. But the only time that really can be gained is the time Hitler is willing to grant.

During the first European war, King Alfonso used to say to his French friends: "In Spain only the *canaille* and I are for the Allies." This statement was correct, except with reference to the King. In Spain today, as yesterday, only the "*canaille*," the common people, are on the side of democracy. This is a distressing fact for the diehards of the democratic countries who would prefer to have as allies the other diehards everywhere. But without the final aid of the *canaille* of all Europe, Hitler cannot be beaten. Now is the time to choose sides.

The Frankfurter Injunction

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 15

YOUR correspondent knows little of labor injunctions beyond what he once read in a book about them. Though written by Felix Frankfurter and Nathan Greene, it turns out to have been poor preparation for an understanding of Justice Frankfurter's decision in the Chicago Milk Vendors' case. The book protests "the vague inclusiveness of the blanket injunction." The decision upholds an injunction so sweeping as to cover not only lawless activities but peaceful picketing.

It is every man's right to puzzle his friends. Justice Frankfurter did it once before when he held, with only Justice Stone dissenting, that nothing in the Bill of Rights protects school children whose religious scruples will not permit them to salute the flag. Both decisions purport to embody a special deference to democratic processes. "If the people of Illinois," Justice Frankfurter

wrote in the Milk Vendors' case, "desire to withdraw the use of the injunction in labor controversies, the democratic process for legislative reform is at their disposal."

This is a rhetorical flourish, not a realistic appraisal. The people of Illinois have expressed their desire to withdraw the use of the injunction in labor controversies. In 1925 the Illinois legislature passed an anti-injunction law for which Illinois labor had been campaigning since 1899. It was carefully written to avoid the loopholes that judicial interpretation had already opened in the anti-injunction provisions of the Clayton Act. It forbade the issuance of injunctions against peaceful picketing and it was designed to cover the secondary boycott as well as the strike. Unfortunately this statute, as Earl R. Beckner reports in his "History of Labor Legislation in Illinois," "has caused very little change in the practice of issuing injunctions against picketing." If the reader wants higher

authority, I refer him to page 181 of Frankfurter and Greene's "The Labor Injunction."

What are the people of Illinois supposed to do now? Reenacting the law won't solve the problem of getting the courts to obey it. One way for the United States Supreme Court to show its concern for democratic processes is to do what it can to make the lower courts comport themselves in accordance with the law. It is doing so in the case of peaceful picketing. It has already held that peaceful picketing is a form of free speech, and as such is protected by the Constitution. The Bill of Rights may not be repealed by any count of heads, and



Justice Frankfurter

"democratic processes" have their limitations. When a majority of the legislators of Alabama passed a law against peaceful picketing, the United States Supreme Court held it unconstitutional. Why should a majority of the judges on the Supreme Court of Illinois now be permitted to do

by injunction what a majority of the legislators of Alabama are not permitted to do by law?

Deference to democratic processes is one of those general considerations which Justice Holmes said do not decide concrete cases. The day that Justice Frankfurter handed down the decision in the Milk Vendors' case, he also ruled upon another Illinois labor injunction. Both were issued in secondary boycotts and both involved violence, but the majority chose to consider them as involving two distinct questions. The former was regarded as raising the question of whether an injunction might be issued against peaceful picketing because there had been considerable violence in the dispute. The latter was regarded as raising the question of whether peaceful picketing might be enjoined because it occurred in a secondary boycott. Both questions seem to call for the same answer, whether under the federal Constitution or under the anti-injunction law of Illinois. The Illinois law says peaceful picketing may not be enjoined. Period. It does not say that peaceful picketing may be enjoined in a secondary boycott or that it may be enjoined if violence has occurred.

By giving a different answer to each question, with a different majority in support of him each time, Justice Frankfurter makes it hard to believe that his impelling motive was to teach the people to rely on their ballots rather than on their judges. With the Chief Justice and

Justice Roberts dissenting, he held that peaceful picketing may not be enjoined in secondary boycotts. With Justices Black, Douglas, and Reed dissenting, he held that peaceful picketing might be enjoined when it is "set in a background of violence." This, as Beckner shows in his history of labor legislation in the state, is not far distant from an old Illinois custom. "Drastic injunctions," he writes, were issued despite the anti-injunction law on the excuse that "some more or less inconsequential unlawful act was committed by the union or its members." The violence in the case of the Milk Vendors was not inconsequential; their \$15-a-week average earnings were taking jobs from \$45-a-week union milk-wagon drivers. But the answer is twofold. First, as shown by Justice Black's analysis of the facts, most of the violence occurred months before the picketing began. Union members were prosecuted and sent to jail for participation in violence. But both sides agreed on appeal that the pickets themselves were peaceful, that they had made no threats, tried to stop no customers. The second answer is that to let judges decide how much violence permits an injunction against non-violent union methods, is to give the anti-labor judge a free hand and pray that on appeal the Supreme Court will reverse him. We are left more dependent on judges than ever.

Democratic processes, i. e., legislative processes, resort to which is suggested by Justice Frankfurter, can work in only one direction in this particular situation. The people of Illinois have already demonstrated their desire "to withdraw the use of the injunction in labor controversies." The United States Supreme Court has now created a generous loophole in the case of violence. This loophole can hardly be closed short of abolishing the injunction altogether, a move so drastic as to be of doubtful constitutionality. For though the injunction may be abused in labor cases, it serves a vital purpose in others and it should be possible to use it against labor lawlessness without interfering with legitimate labor activities.

Democratic processes are given new leeway, however, in the other direction. In an attempt to distinguish between the Milk Vendors' decision and last year's decisions against anti-picketing laws, Justice Frankfurter throws out a suggestion. The anti-picketing laws were held unconstitutional as "an unlimited ban on free communication. . . . We would not strike down a statute which authorized the courts of Illinois to prohibit picketing when they should find that violence had given to the picketing a coercive effect whereby it would operate destructively as force and intimidation." Though this dictum be the fruit of a desperate attempt at consistency, it may haunt Justice Frankfurter and the labor movement for some time. "Judges need not be so innocent of the actualities of . . . industrial conflict," to quote Justice Frankfurter, as not to know that this invites employers to qualify for an injunction by hiring a few provocateurs.

De Gaulle at Dakar

BY JUAN S. VIDARTE

SINCE my arrival in the United States a few weeks ago, I have repeatedly been asked about the events which I witnessed in Dakar last September. Most of my questioners want to know why General De Gaulle chose to attack when he had no one in Dakar to help him, and they usually imply that he must have been either mad or drunk to handle the expedition as he did. Neither supposition is true, nor was De Gaulle without friends; but he was unbelievably ill-informed about the whole situation in Dakar.

The De Gaulle campaign against the capital of French West Africa is a chronicle of errors: during the weeks when Dakar would have fallen to a launchful of brave Frenchmen armed with rifles, no move was made against the town; when De Gaulle decided to attack, the indecisiveness of his aides there betrayed all his supporters; and finally when the Vichy men in Dakar were at the point of surrender, the British squadron sailed away.

De Gaulle was right in assuming that his stand against the Men of Vichy would find warm support in the French colonies. When I arrived in Dakar early in July, after an overland trip from French Morocco, I at once noticed there the atmosphere I had observed in Gao, Niamey, Bamako, and other French colonial cities south of the Sahara. All French officers were convinced that at any moment the colonies would rise. News had already reached Dakar about the arrival in North Africa of the ship *Massilia* with Daladier, Mandel, Campinchi, Delbos, and other war-time French officials, and everybody expected to hear soon of the establishment of a government of Free France in North Africa. Later, when news came of the betrayals, of the differences between Daladier and Mandel, of the Meknes plot, of Mandel's desperate play, ended by his imprisonment, those who believed in fighting to the finish were not discouraged. They merely transferred their hopes to the movement begun by De Gaulle. Already England had recognized him as the leader of Free France.

At that time Dakar's defenses, besides the coast batteries, were only a few aviation squadrons and the great 35,000-ton battleship *Richelieu*, the best and most modern unit in the French navy. Though Dakar is the largest city in Senegal, few Senegalese troops were there, most of them having been sent to Casablanca or to France. On July 8 the British navy gave to the authorities of Dakar the same ultimatum it had given to the French at Alexandria and Mers-el-Kebir just a few days before. Receiving no satisfactory answer, the British caused a

series of explosions near the stern of the *Richelieu* that damaged the giant's propellers. The British then departed, leaving the *Richelieu* still watchman over the port, but condemned to inaction as well as immobility, because, as we were later informed, it had no shells for its long-range guns.

A few weeks later an Italo-German armistice sub-commission arrived at the town. Its avowed purpose was to investigate a concentration camp for Italian and German prisoners caught in Senegal at the outbreak of the fighting. In reality, these sub-commissioners were Himmler agents and acted accordingly. In airplanes loaded with the ex-prisoners and the propellers of all military airplanes in Dakar, they soon returned to Germany.

With the departure of the Germans, Dakar was left with a ship that could not move or shoot and several squadrons of planes without propellers. Moreover, as the fascist pattern of Pétain's decrees was daily strengthening the Free French cause, supporters of De Gaulle were probably a majority in the armed forces and certainly were in the civilian population of some three thousand Europeans. If anyone wanted to take the port without noise or bloodshed, now was the time to do so.

Late in August, Colonel Larminat, Governor of Chad, declared himself for De Gaulle, as did most of the rest of French Equatorial Africa, except Libreville, the capital of Gabon. Though Boisson, Governor-General of French West Africa, came out against De Gaulle and began to organize an army unit to attack British Gambia, an enclave in the French possessions, he soon abandoned the project because of its poor reception in Dakar. Unfortunately his attitude caused many pro-De Gaulle Frenchmen in Senegal, the Ivory Coast, and elsewhere to join the British in Gambia, the Gold Coast, etc. This cut down the number of De Gaulle sympathizers remaining in Dakar.

In September De Gaulle's friends in Dakar were unpleasantly surprised when three French battleships arrived at the port from Toulon. They had passed Gibraltar without challenge from the British. One of the ships, the *Georges Leygues*, was bringing not only shells for herself, but also a good supply of shells (380) for the batteries of the *Richelieu*, and it also brought back the airplane propellers which the Germans had taken away a month before. The naval arm was further strengthened by the arrival of several torpedo boats and submarines from Casablanca. De Gaulle's friends, still numerous in both land and air forces, were far from

discouraged, but Dakar was again fortified and the odds were against its capture.

Yet De Gaulle decided to move. On Sunday, September 22, the news spread through Dakar that his agents, headed by a Lieutenant Boislambert, were already in town. Rumor said that Boislambert would personally lead the rebellion, that even the coastal batteries were *De Gaulliste* now. The De Gaulle men in Dakar spent that night sleeplessly making plans; tracing strategy on maps; capturing, if not airports, air castles; waiting. The



General De Gaulle

optimists were certain that within twenty-four hours all of French West Africa would be in their leader's hands. The revolt would spread north. Free Frenchmen would attack the Italians and make them pay for their treachery in stabbing France in the back. Italy would find her defeat in Africa.

The first sound next morning was the firing of anti-aircraft guns at De Gaulle's planes

which were flying low to drop leaflets inviting land, air, and naval forces to join Free France and its powerful allies. In the office of a friend, a supporter of De Gaulle, I waited for news. We knew that two planes carrying seven French officers had landed at the large airport of Ouakan, imprisoned the commandant, and now held the landing field. Communication with Thiel airport was cut off and a squadron flying both the tricolor and the white flag of truce was cruising off Dakar. De Gaulle, who was on one of the ships, had requested the Governor's consent to the landing of Free French troops.

While everyone was asking: "Will Frenchmen fire on Frenchmen?" the coastal batteries opened fire on the Sarvognan de Brazza as it approached with De Gaulle's official emissaries. Then deafening detonations from the long-range guns of the Richelieu shook the town's poorly constructed buildings. De Gaulle did not answer this fire, but continued to give ultimatums for surrender of the post. By eleven o'clock that morning his patience was at end; he ordered his men to return the fire. For two hours they bombarded the town, the shells whistling over our heads. Then De Gaulle gave the order to cease firing, and at three o'clock that afternoon addressed the people by radio:

"Frenchmen of Dakar, a fellow-countryman, a French officer, addresses you. How long are you going to allow this tragic situation to continue? We bring you freedom, food, and arms for your defense. We come to you as

brothers, with open arms, but those people who wish to impose on you their own dishonor receive us as enemies. Frenchmen of Dakar, be not deceived. Do you know where the enemies of France are? They are in Paris, in Brest, in Lille, and in Strasbourg. Their accomplices wait for the time to invade Corsica and Tunis. Will you allow them to come to Dakar? There is still time. We can free you from these chiefs who are leading you to ruin and dishonor. With our aid you can choose the path of honor and victory. Have courage! Join with the forces of General De Gaulle."

De Gaulle, who had two 30,000-ton warships, two cruisers of 10,000 tons, and two destroyers, was maneuvering to land his troops, but the powerful guns of the Richelieu blocked the way. Attempts to disembark at Rufisque Beach, some twenty miles from Dakar, were repulsed, though De Gaulle was able to sink the submarine *Persée* and the destroyer *Audacieux*, and to damage a cruiser.

Not until nightfall did I learn what had happened earlier that day to contribute further to the disaster. At five in the morning Lieutenant Boislambert had drawn his revolver on the colonel in command of the coast batteries and taken charge, to await De Gaulle; then reinforcements sent by the Governor forced him to flee. The assault on the Ouakan airport had failed because of the willingness of De Gaulle's friends to talk instead of act, which gave time for reinforcements to arrive and take them prisoners. One of the captured had a list of the De Gaulle sympathizers in Dakar and of the objectives of the attack. The Governor thereupon at once arrested the mayor, the members of the city council, the president of the chamber of commerce, the secretary of the Socialist Party, and many soldiers. There was now no chance that De Gaulle's friends in Dakar could give him any effective aid.

On the next morning (September 24,) I learned of the note which the admiral in command of the British fleet had addressed to Governor Boisson on the previous evening. It stated that De Gaulle was retiring in order to prevent Frenchmen from fighting Frenchmen and that he was leaving the battle in the hands of the British. Boisson replied: "France has entrusted Dakar to my care and I shall defend it to the end!" In expectation of a renewal of the British attack, orders were given to evacuate the civilian population.

At eight o'clock that morning firing began again. English planes were dropping bombs on the ships anchored in the port. Some of them struck the Richelieu and the merchant ships *Tamara* and *Takoma*. The English squadron sent shells flying all over the harbor.

About eleven o'clock a truce was declared and people left the city in an exodus of biblical proportions. At noon British air and naval forces renewed the attack. The

Richelieu was struck again, as was the French warship *Porthos*. That night the *Takoma*, a floating bonfire, lighted up the port and the town.

The British had lost two airplanes in the attack on the port and I learned the next morning that three more had been lost in the attack on Thiel airport, inland from Dakar.

On the third day of the bombardment the British ships opened up early, setting fire to several buildings in the port area. In a daring rally, the French submarine *Bevesiers* torpedoed the British battleship *Resolution*. At eleven De Gaulle, in words of anger and disappointment, broadcast his last appeal. To this the *Richelieu* replied with steady firing, and the British ships drew away.

Colonel Boisson's forces, completely demoralized, were amazed at this retreat. Had the British pressed the attack a few hours longer, increasing the use of the air force, Dakar's resistance would have ended.

It is, of course, possible that London-Vichy relations would have been strained to the breaking point, even to the fighting point, if the British had pressed their advantage. But if Dakar was not worth that risk, the expedition should never have sailed. Its net result was a number of killed and wounded and a complete victory of the Vichy forces over the *De Gaullistes* in the Senegalese capital of Dakar. I myself, a known Spanish Republican, was forced to flee, within twenty-four hours, overland through the African jungle to Liberia.

Britain's Citizen Defenders

BY PATRICIA STRAUSS

THE British are once again discussing the possibility of invasion. The subject creeps into conversation, flits across men's minds as they work. The small flame of fear evoked last summer has changed to a cold confidence based on the unpaid, unprofessional 1,750,000 men of the Home Guard. During the day they are ordinary civilians earning their living. In their leisure hours they are home guards preparing to meet an invasion. Their text is Churchill's now famous phrase, "We shall fight in the fields and streets and in the hills." They plan seriously the best technique for defense of their own village. Every possibility is considered. If cut off from outside help with a force of mechanized troops coming from the west, would it be better to hold them at the bridge, or fall back on the crossroads? By their determination they have found their own unofficial way to answer such a question.

On Tuesday, May 14, 1940, at nine p.m., when all conversation in Britain had ceased by common consent because it was time for the news broadcast, and even farm laborers were staying up to hear it, Anthony Eden's smooth voice came over the radio asking for men between the ages of seventeen and sixty-five to form an organization to be known as the Local Defense Volunteers. They would not be paid, but would receive uniform and arms. They would be asked to give their spare time to learning how to defend their homes. The period of service would be for the duration of the war. It was preferably, but not essential, that they should know how to handle guns. The scheme was to apply particularly to villages, small towns, and remote districts where the danger of invasion by parachute troops was greatest.

While Eden was still speaking police stations in coun-

try areas were swamped with telephone calls. The first recruit signed on in Newcastle exactly four minutes after Eden had finished his appeal. Next day, all over Britain, men left home earlier than usual to sign on before going to work. Country men tramped into the nearest town to register. In the first twenty-four hours a quarter of a million men volunteered. All that day and the following days, the lines outside the recruiting depots were like cinema crowds waiting to see a smash-hit film. From now on these men would have no free evenings. The only reason there are not more than 1,750,000 men in the Home Guard is that the government decided that was enough and closed the lists.

The volunteers are of all classes and professions— butchers, farmers, bank clerks, railwaymen, scientists, engineers. The House of Commons has its own unit of members of Parliament, waiters, peers, and officials. It was surprising how many of the volunteers knew how to handle guns, until one remembered the men who had been in the last war, the middle class who had had rudimentary military training at school, the farmers and agricultural workers for whom shooting is part of their daily lives, the wealthier classes who shoot for sport.

Soon the volunteers were to be seen drilling in civilian clothes on the village green, instructed either by a regular army sergeant or by a local ex-officer of the last war. In the cities the drilling was done in parks. They learned to form fours and shoulder arms, and spent their nights watching the moorlands and downs for an enemy attempt to land parachute troops. The public dubbed them parashots. They were an enthusiastic and serious group of civilians. But they soon began to realize that something was wrong. They argued among themselves that

while they recognized the need for discipline, forming fours and shouldering arms in front of an oncoming tank would not help—unless the tank crew died of shock at the sight—and they wanted to do more than simply report plane-landings of enemy troops. They wanted to learn how to deal with the situation between the time of making the report and the arrival of reinforcements. Remembering the Nazi sweep through the Lowlands they realized that transport and communication were likely to be disrupted, and that, unless they had the knowledge to deal with the situation, their village might be captured before the regular army could get there. Being civilians, their critical faculties had not been drilled out of them, so they began to ask questions. They continued to guard bridges, railway lines, and crossroads, but their demand for real training grew.

It was too critical a time to wait for the War Office to develop an understanding of contemporary military tactics. After the fall of France the public was skeptical of the high command's "expert" knowledge. A few men with no official status came to the people's rescue. As a result of their work the government now has in the Home Guard not a body of men who watch and report but a military organization of civilian soldiers. The demand for this came from the people. They found unofficial means to satisfy it, and authority is finally recognizing and accepting their work. It is one of the many examples of democracy working in a country at war.

While the government was changing the name from Local Defense Volunteers to Home Guard, and uniforms and equipment were slowly dribbling to the units, Tom Wintringham, who fought in France from 1916 to 1918 and was the first commander of the British battalion of the International Brigade in the Spanish War, began to devise means of passing on to his fellow-countrymen the lessons he had learned in Spain. *Picture Post*, the English equivalent of *Life*, published a series of articles in which he explained in simple language, with diagrams, charts, and photographs, how the population of an ordinary village can impede the progress of tanks, break up formations of motorcycle corps, and use beer bottles filled with gasoline as deadly weapons. There was much laughter among certain people at the idea of a blacksmith engaging a tank with a pick-axe, but the men of the Home Guard recognized this as the kind of instruction they wanted. In Home Guard units from the highlands of Scotland to the Welsh valleys those articles were studied, pasted on walls, the tactics practiced and earnestly discussed. The Home Guard was having a correspondence course. In the East End of London and the Slums of Glasgow men practiced making and throwing hand grenades. Men who had never seen a tank knew exactly within how many yards of it they could safely come. The old soldiers scratched their heads in

bewilderment, the War Office remained coldly aloof, the Home Guard carried on.

Meanwhile Wintringham, determined that the Home Guard should have personal instruction, accepted from Lord Jersey his large house and grounds at Osterley Park, near London. Edward Hulton, owner of *Picture Post*, gave the money; Tom Wintringham and the finest faculty of experts you could hope to find under one roof gave their services; and Osterley was opened as a school where home guards could learn the technique worked out in the horror of Spain. Home guards came from all over Britain for two days' training, many voluntarily losing two days' pay from work, and went back to teach to the rest of their unit the things they had learned. But the school was unofficial. A request came from "very high up" that the school be closed. It was considered unnecessary that home guards should do "any of this crawling round; all they have to do is to sit in a pill-box and shoot straight." A circular was sent to units of the Home Guard pointing out that Osterley had not been approved. But it only served to make Osterley better known, and the applications to attend it increased.

Men at Osterley are not taught the drilling, signaling, or musketry which they can learn from their regular army instructors but methods of warfare not yet incorporated into military textbooks. Roland Penrose, the surrealist painter, is the Osterley camouflage expert. He teaches the Home Guard the principles of breaking sunlight with shadow, decorating a man with branches of trees, even dyeing his face, so that he will be invisible to a low-flying plane. Hugh Slater, the painter and journalist, who learned street-fighting with the International Brigade in Spain, shows on large-scale models how civilians with a minimum of equipment can defend a typical village. Anti-tank experts from the International Brigade teach the Home Guard how to blow up tanks with simple land mines. Wilfred Vernon, who was a technical officer and an aircraft designer in the last war, teaches the vulnerability of the dive-bomber and how to tackle it from the ground. There are also lessons in the great art of quickly and silently moving upon a man under cover of darkness; the use of smoke screens when there is no natural cover for attack; snapshooting with a revolver that fires through the holster; guerrilla warfare in territory occupied by the enemy; defense against troop-carrying aircraft, parachutists, and motorcycle corps; improvisation and use of hand grenades. Improvisation is stressed at Osterley because invasion does not take place under peacetime conditions, and the aim of the enemy is to disrupt transport and communications. In case supplies are cut off, it is essential for men to know that many household tools can be effective weapons.

The aim of the instructors at Osterley is to have the Home Guards so well trained in defense that the army may be freed for offensive operations, and the Home

Guard be truly what its name implies. If every man in a village knows the position in which an armchair in a second floor window best affords cover and best enables him to command the street with a machine-gun, the Home Guard can deal with sporadic landings of airborne troops, while the army repels coastal attacks. It is psychologically better that a village should be defended by its own people. A retreat in someone else's village is just a retreat. But in your own village a retreat of 150 yards is a retreat from the sweetshop where you bought peppermints as a child to the baker's shop where your brother works. It is literally defending your own home.

The War Office also benefited from the experiment. In September, 1940, Osterley at last received official approval. The Army Council thanked the school and the War Office decided to take it over. Now the Home Guard is to have military status. Lord Gort, Inspector General, is responsible for its training. Officers of the Home Guard will assume the King's Commission and bear the usual titles of military rank.

In the morning they are civilians—the bank manager at his desk, the laborer in the field, the worker in the factory. In the evening social position gives place to the common determination to become skilled defenders. The men not scheduled to guard strategic points practice at the rifle range or discuss the practical application of the lessons of Osterley.

The churchbells of Britain have been silent since the fall of France. They will ring only to warn of invasion. All over Britain civilians will respond to the bells, not by leaving their villages in panic streams of refugees, but with well-ordered, well-disciplined, well-informed resistance. No town in Britain could be taken by a few motorcyclists, as was Abbeville in France. The vanguards of mechanized troops will not be able to sweep through villages impeded only by the limitations of their engines. Each village will be defended by its villagers with stubbornness and skill.

A commonly heard remark in Britain today is, "I wish Hitler would try to invade us. We'd show him!"

America's Food Problem

BY T. SWANN HARDING

AMERICAN agriculture is in serious difficulties, and not all of them caused by the war. Most, in fact, are of pre-war and domestic origin. For forty years the trend of American agricultural exports has been downward and the trend of agricultural production elsewhere in the world has been upward. The war of 1914-18 temporarily interrupted this movement. After Versailles we made loans to Europe to enable it to buy our produce and later found that these loans were gifts. We thereupon decided to give no more products away. So we bought Europe's gold and Europeans used some of their dollar exchange here to purchase agricultural products. The second World War ended that, and it could not have continued indefinitely anyway. Our tariffs being what they were and our exchange being built upon gold, we could not indefinitely continue that sort of thing, nor could we engage in barter, like Germany.

There are enormous agricultural surpluses all over the world today. While it would be mechanically possible for us to meet all normal domestic and foreign demands upon our agriculture with 1,600,000 fewer farm laborers than we had in 1930, we have many more on farms than we had in 1930. There are also two bales of cotton in the world today for every bale that will probably be used in the current marketing year, and there are two billion bushels of wheat for which no market exists, not to mention fresh fruits, lard, and tobacco.

In short, since the use of modern technology results in glutted markets and unemployment, we must stop overproducing staple commercial crops, and use the same ingenuity and foresight in putting technological developments to work that we used to discover them. A basic essential in national preparedness is a well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed rural population and, as Secretary of Agriculture Wickard has said, "With twenty million people living on an average of five cents per meal, we can hardly say that the American people are free from want now."

Although Great Britain at war manages to feed her people scientifically, we in America have largely prostituted the newer techniques of nutrition. We have permitted all sorts of commercial quacks and charlatans to exploit them and have been reluctant to safeguard the public for fear of diminishing profits. A few years ago certain communities congratulated themselves on having perfected diets that made it possible to feed relievers for the incredibly small sum of six or seven cents a day.

More recently we have done better. We now permit our twenty million underprivileged the huge sum of five cents per meal. Not only that; the food-stamp plan enables a certain proportion of them—not enough by any means—to increase this sum by two and one-half cents. This aristocracy among those on relief can spend seven and one-half cents per person per meal on food.

The application of the newer knowledge of nutrition has been restricted to the upper classes in the United States. In 1934 a survey made in New York City disclosed that 70 per cent of the children in East Side schools were backward in their studies because they were undernourished. The Bureau of Home Economics in 1939 cited deficient diet in low-salary city families not on relief and earning between \$500 and \$2,000 a year. Only about a third of these people, for instance, got enough vitamin A for good vision in semi-darkness, and bad vision in semi-darkness causes many an automobile accident attributed to carelessness. These people had only about two-thirds the vegetables and fruits and from one-half to one-third the milk they needed.

Surveys of various workers shortly prior to 1939 showed widespread undernourishment among the low-income classes in general. Here 21 per cent had diets with average energy values one-fourth below accepted standards; there only 29 per cent of a group had grade A diets; 45 per cent had grade B; and 26 per cent grade C, which failed even to meet average minimum dietetic requirements. At least ten studies in the five years before 1939 demonstrated the beneficial effects of supplementing children's ordinary diets.

One expert estimated that an average of 22.3 per cent of school children throughout the country suffered from malnutrition. Studies in New York City indicated that one-third of them there were poorly nourished. Four thousand people died annually of pellagra, a disease easily prevented by dietetic means, and thousands upon thousands more suffered disability and economic loss from the disease in milder, non-fatal forms—a 35-per-cent loss in work efficiency being the average.

In December, 1940, a survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion indicated that President Roosevelt was well within the mark when, in his second inaugural address, he said one-third of the nation was ill-fed. For the survey indicated that foods retarding health were eaten by 40 per cent of American families. Only 20 per cent of the families earning \$20 a week or more found their diets deficient, but 70 per cent of those earning less than that were conscious of dietary lacks.

These representatives of twenty million underprivileged were asked what they would buy to eat if they had more money to buy with. They replied they would buy more meat, vegetables, fruits, and dairy products. Confirmation of this came in January, 1941, when it was found that selling milk at a cent a bottle to children in New York City schools increased sales by 477 per cent!

Our market for agricultural commodities is right here at home. Science and technology have taught us how to produce foods and fabrics in such abundance that we always threaten to glut the market. We know how men, women, and children should be fed to maintain health. Yet we have among us twenty million people trying to

make five cents per person per meal do them for food.

Here is a problem in social engineering, a purely functional problem of putting knowledge to work. We must link knowledge and power. We must implement science and technology. The food-stamp, school-lunch, and cotton-mattress plans dimly show the way, but far, far more must be done. The food-stamp plan enables a few hundred thousand people who spend but a dollar a week for food to spend \$1.50 a week. By May 1, 1940, a little more than ten million dollars' worth of butter, eggs, flour, cornmeal, rice, vegetables, fruits, pork, lard, and a few other foods had been distributed by this plan. Only 1,300,000 people had benefited.

If all people now eligible for relief could participate in this plan, it would cost about \$400,000,000 a year. An additional \$200,000,000 or \$240,000,000 would take care of all employed people who make less than \$1,000 per family annually. Even if all eligible for relief were included, the farmers would gain from \$240,000,000 to \$440,000,000 per year.

Underconsumption of food by low-income families is so common that if all our families had nutritionally good diets, consumers would require from 15 to 20 per cent more dairy products, about 35 per cent more eggs, and from 70 to 100 per cent more of certain fresh fruits and vegetables. Indeed, farmers themselves, to be properly nourished, should consume a half a billion gallons more milk, nearly a billion pounds more tomatoes and citrus fruits, and two and one-half billion pounds more vegetables. There is our potential market for diversified crops.

Communal kitchens could be introduced to feed those who need to have full meals at regular hours. Here the food would be better selected, better prepared, and more economical than at home. There could also be cook-houses to supply not only mobile canteens but people who brought dishes in which to take cooked food to their homes. Canteens could function as communal kitchens for those who needed light meals irregularly. Mobile canteens supplied from central cookhouses could service scattered populations and those unable to leave their posts. The British found that excellent meals could be prepared for fifty people at eightpence each, a sum that dropped to sixpence when the number was larger.

If all American families now on relief and all with incomes of less than \$1,000 a year could be given incomes of \$1,250 a year the results would be stupendous. They would buy \$1,247,000,000 worth more food, adding over half a billion dollars to the farm income. They would also purchase more non-food farm commodities.

The first step is to regard our entire production and distribution of basic farm commodities as requiring intensive application of scientific knowledge to every phase of the problem from preparing the soil and sowing the seed to the serving of food and the distribution and consumption of farm commodities by those who need them.

Bulgaria on the Eve

BY PETER STEVENS

Sofia, Bulgaria, January 15

I HAVE been spending the early winter in Sofia, the toyland capital of Bulgaria, the last of the capitals of Europe in the gay operetta tradition of "The Merry Widow," with its brilliant uniforms and a real czar living in a miniature, gingerbread palace. In happier days it was a grand place to relax in, eat caviar at a microscopic price, and attend the earnest little state opera.

During the Christmas season just passed the sleighs and fur hats, singing in the cafés, gaiety and champagne were all missing. The little city is still as lovely in its way; the opera and the caviar remain. But over all hangs a desperate shadow of fear. Fear today in Europe means fear of Hitler's army and Goering's *Luftwaffe*, but even more of the dreaded Blackshirts and the Gestapo. The Gestapo is already in Sofia, and every day rumors fly about that *this* is the day—the day that the Gestapo cease masquerading as tourists and that the hordes fly and walk in to take possession. "Will they come tonight?" "I have on good authority that two hundred and fifty members of the *Luftwaffe* will take over the Plovdiv Airport tomorrow morning." "The Turks will attack us then." "What can we do?"

My hotel, and others as well, are full of German "tourists," men of military age who say little and mix with the Bulgarians not at all. In the café and dining room of the Grand Hotel Bulgaria, next to the little palace, they sit in small groups, stiff and self-conscious, sipping their bitter black Bulgarian beer. They converse in low tones and read the latest issues of the German papers. The Bulgarians eye them with much the same awe that a Mississippi Negro must have eyed his prospective buyer in a slave market.

Twice a week the Bulgarians learn who is boss in the New Europe. They have two meatless days in a country which used to be an exporter of surplus meat. Three times every day the inferior quality of the dry, dusty bread reminds them their government is already doing as it is told. In return, the Germans send manufactured goods in

small quantities at high prices, but not enough to pay for the foodstuffs taken; the rest is paid in promises.

Of course the Bulgarians are bitter and hopeless. The pictures of Warsaw and Rotterdam are constantly before them in the German and Italian propaganda magazines. They remember all the other states. "If the French could not resist, how can we?" ". . . and the Germans say that four divisions will break the Greeks' back in the spring."

Even the gift of Dobrudja, forced from Rumania, has not made the Bulgarians love the Germans. No gift can make the Bulgarians forget that they were for five hundred years the economic, social, and political slaves of the Turkish "New Order" in the Balkans. Most of them know that as Slavs they are considered an "inferior race," doomed to become serfs of the Nordic overlords when a German order is established. Bulgarians are proud of being Slavs but do not cherish another half-thousand years of being slaves. "But what can we do?"

As Slavs, Bulgarians until recently had faith that Russia would protect them from all comers. That faith has gone. Russia, too, they believe is afraid of Germany. The great equestrian statue of the czar who sent Russian help in the war of independence against the Turks was formerly a symbol of the Big Brother up there who would shelter and protect. Now he is just another statue.

"Our choice," said a prosperous workman in a café one evening, "is to resist, be destroyed, and made slaves, or to be made slaves willingly." So thorough is the Axis propaganda of invincibility that no third possibility occurred to him. Under his hat was a toy horse, a present for his son. "I had to come back, but I wish I'd left the



REOPENING OF GERMAN TOURIST SEASON IN THE BALKANS

wife and kid in Detroit." He looked rather sadly at the horse. "We'll never get out now. I didn't take out no papers."

I left the café and walked back to the hotel. Tomorrow, like every other day, would bring its crop of rumors, high strategy in the war of terror, to frighten these poor people further. The King would be called to Germany again; more troops would pour into Rumania across the Danube; more "tourists" would arrive quietly from Berlin and Munich. Someone would say in a whisper, "There are 250,000 in Rumania and they say that up on the Danube they are preparing to cross." "They report that the Greeks cannot keep it up any longer." "What will be the end?"

In the hotel the elevator man said, "Do they say in Stamboul that the Turks will attack us if we let the Germans in?" I told them that I thought so. "My family live in Thrace," he said. "Good night, sir."

Early one morning I found myself standing beside my bed, wide awake and listening. Martial music! The Germans had come! I rushed to my window, threw it open, stepped out on the balcony. It was only the guards changing at the palace across the street. The sentries in their high astrakan hats stood at attention outside their little peppermint-striped sentry boxes. The snow fell gently on the gold turnip-like towers of the Russian Church. Nothing could have looked more peaceful! But rumor had gathered so much strength with repetition that a little martial music could awaken me from a sound sleep. Peace and the Goebbels rumor-terror cannot exist side by side.

In the Wind

AMBASSADOR DODD'S diary has been used by both sides on the war question. The President used it against Senator Wheeler, and the isolationists have been using it to get at William Bullitt, whom Dodd disliked, and others in the diplomatic corps. Now, Jay Franklin, former State Department man and Administration confidant, has written to *PM* that Dodd's memoirs are unreliable so far as American officials are concerned. The diary, he said, makes "entertaining reading, but can scarcely be considered the final authority in judging men or institutions."

THE NAZI "Workers Challenge" radio station sent out a broadcast before the recent People's Convention in London, saying that the Reich officials were "keenly interested" in the isolationist, anti-British affair. A week later the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, where the convention was to have been held, was bombed.

THE GOVERNMENT is putting a stop to some of the superlatives in advertising. A brand of canned peas now car-

ries on its label a boxed statement saying "Below Standard in Quality: Artificially Colored." Below that appear the words, "Above Legend Mandatory: Peas Actually Very High Quality."

RECENTLY Mrs. Roosevelt spoke against the poll tax at a meeting of Southern liberals in Richmond. The next day a local newspaper referred to the First Lady's "strange faith in universal suffrage."

THE MUNICIPAL government of Grand Rapids, Mich., recently announced that it was developing a special arm of the police force to protect strikebreakers.

SEVERAL DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN women wrote to the Spanish Embassy in Washington to inquire about and ask justice for Victoria Kent, the famous woman lawyer who was sent back to Spain from her refuge in France and is now in a Spanish prison. They specifically requested that their letter be forwarded to Franco. In reply they received a highly courteous note which had nothing to say of their request but which included the following passage: "... there is really little we can say except to give you the assurance that the courts of justice in Spain act with perfect regularity and justice for everyone. So, if, as you assert, Victoria Kent is not guilty of any transgression of the law, there is nothing to fear for her."

HARVARD LIBERALS now refer to the Communists as the Russia First Committee.

AT THE RECENT Youth Congress meeting Joseph P. Lash, formerly one of its top leaders but now in active disagreement with the Congress line, asked for a point of order. Lash stood for fifteen minutes waiting to be heard. Two minutes after he began speaking, Congress enthusiasts tried to knock him off his feet. No sooner had he stopped speaking than some high-school students appeared with a great banner inscribed: "Lash: \$4,000 a year man"—referring to the salary he receives as one of the officers of the International Student Service.

A RESIDENT OF HAMBURG wrote to an American friend about the friend's brother: "I set out yesterday to call on your brother, and just imagine how forgetful and absent-minded I am becoming! I walked up and down the whole length of the street twice without finding the house." The American thereby knew that his brother's house had been destroyed by a British bomb.

AT A MASSACHUSETTS town meeting a candidate for selectman was asked if he had ever been a Communist. He admitted that he had. "Well, I can't hold that against you," said the questioner. "I used to be a Kluxer myself."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Dictators and Poll Taxes

LYNN M. RANGER, of Lynn, Massachusetts, sells anthracite and bituminous stokers (110 different models) throughout New England. Like the rest of us he is interested not only in coal-burning comfort at home but in what is going to happen to us in the world. He sent me a question. He had been watching the figures in various polls which showed that among the American regions the South was readiest to risk aid to England even with the chance of war.

"Why?" he asked me.

With a portable typewriter on my knees in a Texas and Pacific railway station in Alexandria, Louisiana—a station full of lonely, dirty, sleepy army-camp construction-workers, I tried to tell him. I do not think I was entirely successful. As a Southerner I wanted to take pride in the statistical evidence of the South's special militancy against totalitarianism. But in that railway station, among tired men, I kept coming back to the fact that the region which is the most anxious to risk the most aid in this battle for democracy over Britain is also the one in which eight states have poll-tax laws effectively denying the right of thousands of poor men, white and black, to any part in government by the people.

Like so many other American questions, the poll tax seems a good deal less important than it did before Hitler marched through the low countries to the coast opposite England. But if democracy is as much more important in the world as the increased use of the word indicates, it should still be important in America—certainly important in the region of America where sentiment is greatest for aid in a war in which democracy is supposed to be the leading issue that binds the cause of England to our hearts.

I want to know, even more than Mr. Ranger does, what is the meaning of the South's strong sentiment for aid. Democracy is loudly loved out of some strange mouths in the United States today, and not only in the South. But in the South as well as in the Senate, sometimes Senator Carter Glass of Virginia has seemed almost the most insistent of all democracy's rescuers and redeemers. Out of the side of his famous twisted mouth, he has spoken his meaning as clearly as a man can speak. He is not afraid of the risk of war, or, his manner suggests, of high water, hell fire, Hitler, or damnation. He is for kicking at this Hitler, immediately and directly.

And the diminutive, fragile-looking, rough-talking old man seems dramatic in his righteous anger. He is dramatic. And also at least a little depressing.

He is the man who, when he was younger, shouted, to the echoing cheers of Virginians, in support of the adoption of the poll tax he still upholds at home. It would keep the "darkies" out of politics, he told them, and would "not necessarily deprive a single white man of the ballot." Not necessarily! Actually, it not only disfranchised practically all of the Negroes in Virginia; it also denied—and still denies—the ballot to thousands of white Virginians who do not have a dollar and a half extra in their pockets six months before election day. In one year Virginia's representatives in Congress were elected by only 17.9 per cent of the potential voting strength, but in West Virginia, which has no such poll tax, the representatives were chosen by 76.9 per cent of the possible electorate. In the Presidential election of 1936, the average vote of the nation as a whole was 62 per cent of those of voting age, but in Virginia only 31 per cent of that group cast ballots. In 1940 Virginia ranked sixteenth among the states in population but twenty-ninth in the number of votes cast in the general election.

Thomas Jefferson's old Virginia is not alone in having poll taxes which effectually deny poor men, white and black, the right to vote. Seven other states in the South have such laws, and in them only one out of four persons normally casts a ballot; in other states almost three out of four of the adult population vote. It may be only coincidence that in the region where poor men are prevented by poll taxes from voting there are 11,000,000 people who are members of families with gross cash incomes of \$250 a year or less. For people with such incomes a poll tax is not a tax but a barrier to the ballot. It is still a sad coincidence that the South, which leads the whole land in the wish to aid in the war of democracy against totalitarianism, is alone in the use of such devices to prevent democracy at home.

I couldn't explain that to Mr. Ranger. I cannot satisfactorily explain it even to myself. But I do have the feeling, which I wish I could make convincing, that if we cannot trust democracy below the Potomac River, we are fools to hope to save it along the English Channel. And that is a truth, I think, Mr. Ranger, which applies to more things than poll taxes and to more places than the South.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Idea-Ida

I READ anything. I also read anywhere. My wife says. You read anything. Isabel, that is her name, also says, you read anywhere. But I do not read anything anywhere. Mostly at home I read novels. And oh yes poems. Many poems and some novels.

Of course that is what I do, in my office I read letters and reports and, I am a teacher, theses and dissertations. There is a difference. But you just are not a teacher.

Sometimes very often I forget where I am. Always it is not my fault.

My wife says.

What are you reading.

I say. Something I have to read.

In the subway and in elevators I read too. Not elevators there are no more. Going vertical I gradually read faster then.

Sometimes people read over my shoulder. It does not often matter. Pretty soon mostly they get a shock.

I just do not read aloud.

Inside and outside I read to myself. Very gradually I earn a living reading to myself. Yes.

I met Ida on the subway. It looked as if it was sudden. Not really Ida, I met just Idea-Ida.

Other people met her also. They did not always recognize her. I could not help it. I said nothing.

That was in New York. I was married then but I would not go to live in Texas. Maybe in Idaho. Ida has lived in almost every state and only once I think in the state of sin.

Once upon a time Ida was a mountain in Asia Minor. Regularly from its top the Gods watched the Trojan War. This was not, was not altogether a bad idea. Only Gods can be isolationists. Gracefully. At the same once upon a time another Ida was a mountain in Crete. Idea-Ida.

Ida did not only not come from Asia Minor but she was always resting. Pretty soon she thought of the mountains of Montana. But she did not ever think of the mountains of Nebraska. And they were mostly twins.

Everybody was reading the same words. Not their words. Not always Ida's words. Sometimes they were Ida's words, sometimes they were Winnie's words. But always they were Gertrude's words.

Little words and easy words. Ten-year-old words like Helen Button used to use. Before she became Lady Helen Button. Nickel words was what the officer said. He was not wearing his uniform but he was an officer. Mostly very often the sentences were a different matter. They were easy at first like your first champagne. Later you pick up other sentences and the first ones hit you on the back of the head. My wife said once. You must not mix sentences. You know what happened the last time.

There we were reading all three of us. There were there I and two more. One got off, he was not an officer I do not

think. At least it would be a funny army. We two rested and read.

And then it happened, quite by accident, she did sit down next to me. I did not see her but I knew we were three again. That is the way my wife met Ida.

She got on at forty-second street.

Dear Ida.

Never again will I not be with Ida. Of course that is not what happened, I did not meet my wife through Ida. I knew her already. Well she did not know she was meeting me, neither did I. It is easy to make everybody see this. Only Ida knew. She always knew. Ida only smiled.

When I got home, she walks faster than I do, my wife was there already. Not then but later.

We were having tea and Isabel was telling me about Ida. She had met her on the subway. Already she felt better.

She asked, I always know about such things, when did Ida come out. I said, she is not old enough to come out yet.

Once upon a time in Matthew Mark Luke and John four was a woman of Samaria who had had five husbands and the one she had then was not her husband,

Maybe she was dear Ida. Only Ida had more. Ida is a book and a book well a book is well it is a book. Ida was one. Ida is at her best.

When she does not rest.

It got to be kind of a song. And when she talks about dogs. That is best of all.

Ida is the funniest girl I know. Ida is much funnier than my wife.

Thank you.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

Mystery of War Morale

REPORT ON ENGLAND. By Ralph Ingersoll. Simon and Schuster. \$1.50.

WAR LETTERS FROM BRITAIN. Edited by Diana Forbes-Robertson and Roger W. Straus, Jr. Putnam. \$2.

ENGLAND'S HOUR. By Vera Brittain. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

OF the three books listed above the most important as news, as information likely to help Americans make decisions about policy, is Ralph Ingersoll's "Report on England." The publisher tells us that Mr. Ingersoll gathered the material and wrote the book in less than five weeks, and that it was printed and published in less than three. Such reporting does not allow much time for philosophizing and drawing conclusions, but is none the less indispensable in the kind of world we live in. The material is all useful, all interesting, and much of it extremely important.

As Mr. Sheean in his foreword points out, "War Letters from Britain" is a collection of letters representative of many types and classes, and written at all stages of the war, including its early inactive phase. Most, as he says, are the

unfeigned and unvarnished expressions of what their writers felt as the bombs fell around them. Though most are anonymous, names of many are given. The writers include Lady Diana Cooper, Alec Waugh, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, Edith Lytton, Helen Kirkpatrick, Leslie Banks, Sir Barry Jackson, Constance Spry, Leslie Stokes, John Carter, Ivor Brown, Anthony Guthrie, Joyce Reynolds, Rebecca West, John Gielgud, Stanley Lupino, to say nothing of commanders of cruisers, R. A. F. officers, women teachers, R. A. F. pilots, housekeepers, schoolboys, vicars, rectors, hotel managers, a clergyman's wife, business men, A. R. P. wardens, doctors . . .

Vera Brittain's book, "England's Hour," is much more ambitious than the other two and is described by the author herself as an attempt at a wartime variation of Priestley's "English Journey." The *Blitz*, however, compelled her to confine her observations for the most part to London. Into the observation of the external world about her is interjected the reflections of the pacifist, or mainly pacifist, author of "Testament of Youth."

Those whose nerves register even in the tiniest degree the rumbling of the earthquake which may transform the life of man upon the earth, read a book these days with one question at the back of their heads. How will it help to stir men to do the right thing; how far clear up the confusions of contrary counsel, help us to see the right path and, having chosen it, to stick to it?

None of these books leaves any doubt as to the dogged courage of the common people of Britain in this, their great ordeal. The testimony is so unanimous as to have become almost hackneyed. It is not for an English reviewer to enlarge upon it.

But certain questions arise. These books reveal an incredibly courageous people facing the risk of death and, what is much worse, of pain and mutilation; enduring long drawn-out discomfort, helplessness, and illness nightly in horrible surroundings, in caves and cellars and shelters; enduring all this not merely with patience, but with humor and good nature. In his foreword to "War Letters," Vincent Sheean tells how every day men and women go to their work at the accustomed hour, although they can be sure neither of arriving at their destination nor of finding it intact when they get there. "It is difficult to believe that any other people in Europe could endure what they are enduring," he says.

What conviction has sustained them through these fires of purgatory? In the years which preceded the war and even in the first months of the war, they did not seem to have any very passionate convictions for which they would be prepared to suffer martyrdom. Yet from the evidence of these books (confirmed recently by Mr. Willkie's testimony after his visit to Britain), and from the order of the events which brought Britain into the war, it is quite clear that this is a people's war. The impulse to end appeasement and resist Hitler's aggression came from below. Large conservative elements in the country were willing enough to continue making deals with Hitler. It is indeed this fact which renders the charge that this is an imperialist war absurd. It was the imperialist elements that for years avoided all risk of war, and the popular elements that forced resistance, that would have accepted the risks earlier, and by so doing might have

prevented actual war. In the past few years much literature of the Left has given the impression that the British people feel themselves oppressed and downtrodden. But the behavior described in these books belies this. We have been told that sound morale depends upon a revolutionary mood, upon giving the people a vision of a "new order." Yet the most revolutionary elements in England—the Communists—are precisely those who would join hands with the imperialists and make a peace of surrender.

It is curious in this connection to compare the British morale with the French and the German. In France a revolutionary attitude had been in some quarters assiduously cultivated for many years. (When the House of Commons had one Communist, the Chamber of Deputies had seventy-five.) But its effect was to deepen the rifts which split the country from top to bottom and make it impossible for a trade unionist to collaborate with a Conservative aristocrat, as in England, where a Churchill joins hands with a Bevin. As to morale in Germany—in no other country have promises of a new order been so lavishly made to the people; pushed with the cunning of an all-pervading propaganda machine; served up with the strong wine of conquests and victories without end. Yet, by the testimony of many good witnesses (Sebastian Haffner, among others, has recently analyzed the evidence most carefully), the Germans are gloomy while the British are cheerful, and, outside the Nazi party, seem not only unimpressed by the victories their leaders announce but burdened, despite the appearances of the moment, by a sense of ultimate defeat and disaster.

Most of the explanations offered for these contrasts seem inadequate; and this aspect of the war situation is worth more study than it seems to be getting. NORMAN ANGELL

China in Travail

THE BATTLE FOR ASIA. By Edgar Snow. Random House. \$3.75.

THIS book of Edgar Snow's is in many respects more notable than his "Red Star Over China." It presents not only the birth of a dynamic, new political movement but also the rebirth of a great and ancient people. Though it deals at length and in great detail with China's resistance to Japanese aggression and explains the nature of this resistance better, perhaps, than any other volume on China, it is concerned primarily with the struggle *within* China, with the birth-pangs of an emerging democracy, and is the first of the war volumes to give insight into the accentuated political strife that has continued despite the necessity for unity.

The book's revelations regarding internal conditions in China are of special interest in view of the recent conflict between Kuomintang troops and the New Fourth Route Army which ended in the destruction of the latter. Mr. Snow has two chapters on the New Fourth, and a great deal of his material on the political divisions within the Kuomintang provides background for the conflict.

The story of the finding of the "lost" Red Army—the one that had stayed behind in Kiangsi to cover the retreat of the main units at the beginning of the long march to the Northwest—is a dramatic one. The book goes on to describe how

this remnant of not more than five thousand hardened and experienced warriors became the nucleus of a "peoples' army" of forty thousand that was a constant trial to the Japanese. The phenomenal success of the New Fourth, like that of the Eighth Route Army, was the result of the effective organization of the entire population for resistance. Lacking supplies or an industrial base for the creation of supplies, the New Fourth had to organize mobile industry throughout the area—an industry that could be quickly picked up and moved in case of a Japanese attack. Although possessing no medical service at all and receiving no aid from the Central Government, it developed "what was probably the best army medical organization in China," used alike by the army and civilians in the area. This helped in enlisting the sympathy and support of the local population, a task that proved particularly difficult for the New Fourth because, in contrast to the Eighth, it could not disturb the political organization of the countryside and was thus precluded from winning the peasants by political and agrarian reforms.

The achievement of the New Fourth in mobilizing the masses and achieving the beginnings of democracy, in face of great obstacles, is contrasted sharply with the backwardness, lack of military efficiency, and political backbiting that characterized the areas under Kuomintang control. The government, Snow declares, "wavered between wanting to be known as a democracy and wanting to be a dictatorship." Little or nothing was done to train or mobilize the tens of millions of farmers in the heart of the nation. Workers were denied the right to organize. Relations between the soldiers

and the village population were often bad. As a result of the failure to enlist the masses, an appalling amount of machinery and raw materials was allowed to fall into the hands of the Japanese when the coastal areas were evacuated. And in the political area traitors were permitted to "maneuver quite openly for the betrayal of a whole nation" while Chinese Communists, the backbone of resistance to Japan, were denied all except the most nominal political influence.

Not content with throttling the Communist armies by failure to provide arms, medical supplies, or material support, right-wing Kuomintang leaders formed a War Areas Party and Political Affairs Commission to eradicate the anti-Japanese movement led by the Communists behind the enemy lines. Long before the recent outbreaks, factions in the Central Army and the Kuomintang sabotaged the Eighth Route and New Fourth Route Armies in ways which, according to Snow, would be called fifth columnism elsewhere. Incidents multiplied so rapidly during 1940 "that progressive people everywhere half feared that the Kuomintang might abandon the effort against Japan and concentrate on what appeared to be its main interest: a renewed civil war against 'the Reds.'" In all this Chiang Kai-shek seemed powerless. For contrary to the common impression, Chiang's dictatorship is shown to be of a different type from Hitler's or Il Duce's. He does not have as much authority as the American President but holds power "by focusing in himself a combination of loyalties from disparate political groups."

Further evidence of the fear of democracy among the ruling clique is shown in the history of the Chinese industrial cooperatives with which Mr. and Mrs. Snow have been closely identified from the beginning. At first, proposals for the formation of cooperatives to utilize refugee labor and provide mobile industry in the interior sections of the country met with almost universal skepticism or opposition. And had it not been for the active sponsorship of the British Ambassador, Sir Archibald Kerr Clark-Kerr, who introduced the idea to Chiang Kai-shek, it is probable that the government never would have taken up what has proved one of the really great constructive ideas of recent history.

Yet with all its blunders China has managed to stave off the powerful Japanese war machine. That this has been done in spite of the ruling bureaucracy is shown in scores of illustrations scattered through the book. The Japanese attack has forged unity against the will of the warlords and politicians who thrive on disunity. But as yet, Snow estimates, not a third of the human and material resources of China have been mobilized. He asserts that with full democratic mobilization it would be possible to release at least another million rifles for use on the front line that are now being used to enforce property and money rights. And he fears that the slowness with which China has adopted necessary basic reforms may still, even now, permit a Japanese victory.

Fortunately Japan is rent with its own internal weaknesses, and it has committed even greater blunders of strategy and tactics. And with the signing of the tripartite alliance the struggle ceased to be confined, even chiefly, to China and Japan. The primary attention of the Japanese has already been turned against the outposts of the West in the Pacific. America may be drawn in. The chief question is whether it will be involved in the defense of the undemocratic concepts

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VERSAILLES 20 YEARS AFTER

By PAUL BIRDSALL

Professor of History, Williams College

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of empire, or whether it will take its stand with those who, in China and elsewhere, are seeking to build a truer democracy than any which now exists. If this book receives half the attention it deserves, it should help us greatly in recognizing our true interests in Asia. **MAXWELL S. STEWART**

Religious Humorist

THE CASTLE. By Franz Kafka. Translated by Edwin and Willa Muir. Preface by Thomas Mann. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

A FRANZ KAFKA MISCELLANY. Twice a Year Press. \$2.

FEW reviewers were able to gauge the true worth of "The Castle"—the novel that ranks highest in the Kafka canon—when it was first brought out in this country some ten years ago. At the time, and even as late as 1937, when "The Trial" was published, it was primarily Kafka's mystifications rather than his pattern of meaning and basic motives that aroused interest. Readers were astonished by him but not quite convinced. Since then his has become a name to conjure with; a number of closely reasoned and elaborate studies of his work have appeared both here and abroad; and everywhere the more sensitive younger writers, conscious of the static condition of the prevailing naturalistic techniques and seeking a creative renewal through mythic and symbolic conceptions, have taken his example to heart. There seems no longer any doubt of Kafka's importance as a metaphysical novelist or, from the standpoint of method, of his originality as an innovator. It can be said that he succeeded in demonstrating the power of reality precisely by exposing its unreality. By combining within one framework a conscientiously empirical reproduction of the recognizable world and a dreamlike and magical dissolution of it, he achieved a new mutation in the art of prose fiction.

In its lucidity and uncommon penetration into the Kafka problem, Thomas Mann's preface to the new edition of "The Castle" more than meets the occasion. Characterizing its author as a religious humorist, he writes of this novel that "never has the divine, the superhuman, been observed and experienced with stranger, more daring, more comic expedients, with more inexhaustible psychological riches, both sacrilegious and devout, than in this story of an incorrigible believer, so needing grace . . . that he even tries to encompass it by stratagems and wiles." He rightly notes that like his own Tonio Kröger, K., Kafka's hero, yearns for the "blisses of the commonplace." Yet it should be remarked that K.'s estrangement from humanity is of a nature radically different from the artist-loneliness of Mann's patrician character, whom the high cultural differentiation of modern society has raised to a plane so remote from the normal and the average that he cannot but fear the peculiar dangers and temptations of his isolated state. This is alienation from above, whereas the alienation of K. is from below. K.'s extremity is absolute; he belongs nowhere; he is recognized neither by the human community nor by the divine law. The protagonists of Mann's fictions still move within the world of assured place and privilege; they are people who have the capacity to grow and change, and their behavior can still be accounted for in terms of their individual traits and par-

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ticular social background. In K., on the other hand, one can already see the end of the long development of the hero in the European novel. He personifies the transformation of the idea of the hero into the idea of the victim, whose fate no longer issues from his own self-assertive acts but from the abstract, enigmatic relations that bend him to their impersonal will.

Precisely because the Hegelian-Marxist concept of alienation illuminates so much that is puzzling in one's initial encounter with Kafka, it is a pity that Harry Slochower should have seen fit to turn it into small change—in the usual manner of the mechanical and vulgar Marxists—by introducing all kinds of political references and associations, topical and otherwise, into his essay in the "Franz Kafka Miscellany." He describes the author of "The Castle" as a "pre-fascist exile," and the editors of this collection of writings by and on Kafka have obviously thought so much of Mr. Slochower's meaningless phrase that they have reproduced it as a secondary title on the cover of the book, where it passes as a statement of fact instead of as the mere notion that it really is. Mr. Slochower is so intent on a class analysis that he reads into K.'s conduct non-existent revolutionary motives and into Kafka's work as a whole a variety of responses to the political situation of his time. To my mind, this interpretation is as fatuous as it is blind to the actual qualities of Kafka's temper and vision.

As for the rest, this volume makes available excerpts from Kafka's diaries and letters, as well as the last three chapters of "The Castle," which are not included in either the first or the second English edition. Unfortunately, the translations from the German by Miss Sophie Prombaum are far from adequate. She lacks the sure touch of the Muirs, who have rendered an invaluable service to letters by their impeccable versions of Kafka's subtle, judicious, and ironically conservative style.

PHILIP RAHV

African Cocktail

BEHIND GOD'S BACK. By Negley Farson. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.50.

NEGLEY FARSON has shaken a bumper cocktail which ought to stimulate his numerous admirers without causing them mental indigestion. Its well-blended ingredients include almost everything you might expect to find in a book about Africa. There are descriptions of scenery—the dessicated lands of South West Africa, the lakes of the Great Rift Valley and their attendant mountains, the Congo jungle. The trials and triumphs of a journey in a Ford along the line of the equator are interspersed with a modest amount of big-game hunting. Mr. Farson shows a commendable restraint in tipping the Darkest Africa bottle but he does include a few pages on native sex customs and a brief account of the gruesome activities of the Leopard Men.

All these things add to the color and flavor of the book, but its real kick, for one reviewer at any rate, comes from the political reporting that is the basis of the mixture. To be sure, it is reporting of an impressionistic kind, omitting much significant detail and lacking documentation. Nevertheless, it does throw light on many of the problems which any

scheme of post-war reconstruction must attempt to solve. And it should serve the useful purpose of discouraging glib generalizations about Africa both by those who sum up the whole continent in the phrase "imperialist exploitation" and by those who think in terms of "the white man's burden."

In the course of his extensive wanderings in Africa shortly before the war broke out, Mr. Farson covered four of the former German colonies now under mandates. In all he found evidence of a good deal of effort by the governing authorities to meet the terms of their trusts. In South West Africa and Tanganyika he saw few signs of discrimination against the German settlers even though they were completely organized by the Nazis and barely concealed the fact that they were working for a return to the Fatherland. He reports a number of illuminating conversations with German officials and planters and gives an interesting account of the way in which Berlin controlled the export sales of its nationals.

In Tanganyika the chief complaints against the rule of the British mandatory authorities came from British settlers who asserted that practically nothing had been done to open up the country. Everywhere Mr. Farson met criticism of the official native policy. "Every man jack in this government is a Negrophile," one disgruntled British settler told him. "They love the natives; they resent the white man. They want to keep us away."

This seems to me good evidence that the Colonial Office is not dispensing pious eyewash when it talks of the paramountcy of native interests in Tanganyika. It refuses to permit alienation of the land by Europeans. It seeks to preserve tribal organization, leaving local administration largely in the hands of the chiefs. This is the method of "indirect rule" which Mr. Farson found in a still more highly developed form in Uganda. As a way of government it does not consort with rapid progress—in the western sense—or with efficient exploitation of resources. But from the native point of view there is much to be said for British "lack of initiative." Any attempt to modernize Africa in a hurry must lead to a proletarianization of the Negroes such as can be witnessed in its bitterest form in the Union of South Africa. Hitler might bring efficiency to Africa but the Africans know that they would be the victims and not the beneficiaries. They have not forgotten the wholesale massacres of the Herreros in South West Africa and of the coastal tribes in Tanganyika. Everywhere, Mr. Farson reports, "the educated African is frightened of Germany. Hitler's constant ranting about racial superiority has chilled the Africans with the fear . . . of what he would do to them."

In the Belgian Congo, Mr. Farson found big business and government cooperating in a kind of totalitarian colonial rule mitigated only by absence of strong racial feelings and by an enlightened selfishness in matters of health and housing. The ugly head of monopoly also appears in his account of the Gold Coast where the natives left in possession of the land have industriously built up a great cocoa export industry. Control of their market, however, is in the hands of a European combine of buyers whose attempt to beat down prices led to a prolonged strike by native planters shortly before Mr. Farson arrived on the scene.

This is a long book and it is only possible in the course of a review to touch on a few of the topics with which it

deals. But I should like to mention some of Mr. Farson's gallery of African portraits: Major Hahn, who guides 117,000 Ovamboes under "indirect rule" without the aid or need of one policeman or soldier; Kennedy, the taciturn Scotch fighter of the tsetse fly; Commandant Hubert, the intolerably fearless Belgian who threw mud at a hippo to make him move out of the way; Sir Arnold Hodson, Governor of the Gold Coast, who represents the British colonial service at its best. They are among the highlights of a piece of reporting which can be recommended as both entertaining and informative.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Search for the Past

RANDOM HARVEST. By James Hilton. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.50.

MR. HILTON makes his bid for the winter trade with another bang-up story, headed straight for the public's heart and doubtless for the movies. Though it boasts no glittering Shangri-La or ivied preparatory school, it placates the scenery men with a palatial old English country seat, for which the producers might well use the set they so short-sightedly burned down in the last scene of "Rebecca."

Charles Rainier, whom we first see as a distinguished and graying member of Parliament, lost his memory in the first World War and regains it at the beginning of the present conflict—or rather, he suffers two separate lapses: first, his recovery from shell shock leaves him with complete amnesia and, since his identification has been lost, no clue as to who he is; then, a year later, a minor street accident restores his memory of everything that led up to a certain disastrous moment in a shell-crater in France but blots out all the happenings of the year immediately preceding. In other words, Rainier, who except for this unfortunate inability to account for all of his life is something of an admirable Crichton, finds his recollections divided into three airtight compartments, only two of which are open to him at any given time; and the chief burden of the novel is his attempt, with the assistance of his secretary, who is the narrator, to break down the walls between these compartments. A fascinating problem with infinite possibilities for complications, it is worked out ingeniously, if a little too facilely, and to the accompaniment of England's 1939 declaration of war (the directors will love that!) all the pieces of the puzzle fall into their proper places in a happy and not altogether unexpected denouement.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Aesthetics as Science

THE STRUCTURE OF ART. By Carl Thurston. The University of Chicago Press. \$2.50.

THIS book might serve as a text on the typical biases of the American mind: its positivism, its unwillingness to speculate, its eagerness for quick results, and its optimism. Mr. Thurston proposes that aesthetics be treated as a science rather than as a branch of philosophy, and its theories as working hypotheses of which the most that can be hoped is a high degree of probability instead of final certainty. Re-



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(Signed) J. B. Priestley

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Edna Blue—Executive Chairman, American Committee.

The following is an extract from a letter from Eric G. Muggeridge, Director of our work in England:

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stricting himself to the investigation of the "spatial" arts which do not involve actual movement, he illustrates a possible scientific method for the use of æsthetics in general. He begins by assuming that the basic "ingredients" of the spatial arts are visual units, empty space, and the human being who perceives them. These "generate" four sets of relationships, which in turn form the "elements" of the spatial arts: "(1) . . . between visible shapes, (2) between such shapes and the space within and around them, (3) between such shapes and whatever space falls within their spheres of influence and the human observer and (4) relationships developed within the personality of this observer by contact with a work of art." Using these relationships as his working hypothesis and as far as possible analyzing his material in their terms, the author attempts to extract the norms of successful practice and appreciation in the arts of decoration, architecture, sculpture, and painting. He animadverts constantly upon the philosophizers of æsthetics who try to explain everything by deduction from a single theory, and is quite willing, when he comes upon something which resists analysis in his terms, to resort to a plurality of hypotheses. This confuses the reader at times and seriously weakens the coherence of Mr. Thurston's arguments. On the other hand, the author's attention to the concrete contexts in which the artist and the observer work, his respect for the minutiae of art, are refreshing and illuminating. His statement of the "variables" and "invariables" with which the artist must operate points out a path for much rewarding inquiry in the future. And he resolves with far more success than I have seen elsewhere the problem of balance in the

graphic arts, restating it as a matter of spheres of attraction emanating from visual points governed by the two "variables" of distance and inherent interest.

But even in an elementary way, Mr. Thurston does not clear up as much as he promises. It is not only that his treatment of theoretical questions is sketchy: some of his unobtrusive generalizations are rash without being imaginative. In fact, they are rashly academic; for example, that "fuzziness of outline" in woodcuts is as a "general style of treatment . . . fatal." Mr. Thurston is practical above all else, and he is interested in results. That which has worked in the past, he implies, must work always. But art can get away with anything. Lord help it if it is ever deterred by statistical norms of success such as those Mr. Thurston comes dangerously close at times to establishing. His book would have been much more valuable if he had shown himself more aware of what a ticklish question norms in art is.

Nor does the application of Mr. Thurston's hypothetical method serve greatly to resolve the focal problem with which the philosophizers of æsthetics have occupied themselves so far: Why does art affect us as it does? In his conclusion, where he faces the question formally and more frankly, his answers are borrowed from philosophers.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

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Lars Moën's "Under the Iron Heel"

Reviewed by Pierre Van Paassen

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An uncondemned tour by the author of "Love in the Western World." *By Denis de Rougemont*

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An indictment of the "black-white" thinking popular with some liberals. *By Quincy Howe*

THE LADIES WHO WANT HELL

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.....N2

THE BROKEN SPAN. By William Carlos Williams. New Directions. Norfolk, Conn. \$1.

A poem of great length which has been highly praised by some critics who have been, I think, taken in by its pretentiousness. It has good lines, which seem better than they are when detached from the poems in which they appear. To make his text the author has unfortunately combined the emotional disorder of dithyrambic prophecy with the logical disorder of free association. There is a structure of sorts; a not-too-close analogy is maintained between the author's contemporary thoughts and the contents of some of the books of the

If you are sleeping too well these nights in spite of the war and all, try this novel about what happened to a young servant girl in a Scottish insane asylum, whither she had been driven by the self-righteous nagging of her Calvinist grandfather. Told in the first person by the naive, not-too-bright girl, it is a highbrow horror story convincing enough to turn your blood to butter-milk. In fact, it sounds like any one of a dozen recent stories about Nazi concentration camps, simply transferred to a new setting.

The author will be remembered as responsible for "Another Language," one of the big hits of the season nine years ago, and her manner has not essentially changed. Though her action moves rather slowly and rather carefully after the fashion of the conventionally well-made play it is managed skilfully, and the dialogue—indisputably Miss Franken's strong point—is easy, graceful, and genuinely amusing. Probably there is no reason why she could not, if she really tried, write drawing-room comedy of the usual sort. But she seems definitely to prefer a story and a theme which will involve a pathetic situation to be solved by everybody's being

It seems, however, quite unnecessary to bring any big critical guns into action against so pleasant and unpretentious a little play as "Claudia" turns out to be. I enjoyed it myself and I suspect that it will be given a substantial run by others who will enjoy it even more. This effect will be produced, I imagine, by three almost equally significant fac-

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tors: (1) the play's virtues; (2) its defects; (3) an excellently directed performance by a uniformly good cast which includes Frances Starr as the mother and, as the child-wife, Dorothy McGuire, a very young ingenue not well known to Broadway but of unmistakable charm.

"Out of the Frying Pan" (Windsor Theater) is described as "a new comedy" but is actually a wild and woolly farce about a group of young would-be actors living together (but not in sin) while rehearsing a play. Part of the intention is evidently to achieve something of the speed and recklessness of a George Abbott farce but there are moments which, on the contrary, suggest merely the class-day comedy. The very guilelessness of the writing and the youthful enthusiasm of the action are somehow ingratiating and the whole thing is amusing enough if one is willing to take it in the right spirit.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MUSIC

THE artistic resources of voice, of personal emotion, of specifically musical feeling that Lotte Lehmann brought to the singing of Schubert's "Winterreise" cycle for the New Friends of Music were, as always, deeply affecting—and this, as always, whether what she did with a song seemed right or wrong. Right and wrong, in this matter, have to do with scale—the scale on which emotion is embodied in form in a sonnet of Shakespeare as compared with his dramatic blank verse, in a song of Schubert as compared with an operatic aria. It is wrong to speak the sonnet as though it were the blank verse; and Lehmann often loads emotion on the song to the point where its physical shape is distorted. One is, then, moved by the intensity that communicates itself through her singing of the last phrases of "Die Krähe"; but at the same time one is aware that this intensity is distorting the phrases almost grotesquely; and one is aware also that the voice is being forced into unlovely sounds. It is to quiet songs like "Das Wirtshaus" and "Die Nebensonnen" that her emotion gives forms which are unforgettable musical experiences.

There was a similar but better controlled intensity of feeling and expression, utilizing a voice that is still powerful and rich, in Kipnis's singing of Schumann's "Dichterliebe" cycle at his recent recital. And a little of this in-

tensity was something one wished for in Marian Anderson's singing of Gluck, Handel, and Schubert, to liven up phrasing that was in placid good taste (what little life there was in the music was put there by Franz Rupp at the piano). The voice, one noted, was lovely in soft high notes and superb in powerful low notes, but threadbare and afflicted with tremolo in between.

To get back to the New Friends concerts: Roger Sessions's String Quartet conveyed to me nothing beyond command of the medium. The work was played by the reconstituted Gordon Quartet with better tone and phrasing than I ever heard from the old group. The Primrose Quartet and Benar Heifetz gave a polished performance of Schubert's Quintet Op. 163 that stayed pretty much on the surface of the work; and I arrived in time for only the last of the Schubert songs sung by Mack Harrell, whose fine voice sounded constricted. Pinza's voice and phrasing were not such as to make Brahms's Four Serious Songs appear more impressive than they are; and the Metropolitan Trio did not measure up to Schubert's Trio Op. 99.

A seat on the extreme side behind the drums and brass and chorus did not permit me to get an extensive notion of the Metropolitan's production of Gluck's "Alceste" beyond the fact that Rose Bampton, who sang the title role on this occasion, sang it with beauty of voice and phrasing. The music is beautiful, expressive, noble, but even-paced to a degree that must make it monotonous and boring to many hearers. Of Donizetti's "Don Pasquale," however, I can report that the production is one huge romp by Salvatore Baccaloni, the company's new basso buffo. This is hardly a way of doing justice to the work; but it is a way of covering up the fact that justice is not being done to it; and in a situation where the music is given with none of the lightness and sharpness that would make it count for something one is glad to have even Signor Baccaloni romping hugely throughout the evening. On the other hand the Metropolitan's production of Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro" is something put together out of less than perfect elements, but with care; something achieved, moreover, with precision and finish; something that gives a large measure of effect to the unending wonders of the greatest work in the Metropolitan's repertory.

Having heard Mitropoulos with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony I

am inclined to believe that in the newly issued Columbia set of Franck's Symphony which he made with the Minneapolis Orchestra (Set 436, \$5.50) the excessive loudness of the English horn in the second-movement solo is due to the same poor recording-technique that gives us things like the marked step-up in volume and brilliance from the second side of the set to the third. On the other hand the introductory passage for plucked strings and harp, in the second movement, is marked *p* with a swell in the fifth measure; and it is Mitropoulos who converts this into *pp* with an explosion to *f* that is excessive for the degree of emotional intensification implied in the upward curve of the theme in the fifth measure. And it is Mitropoulos who pauses for an extra quarter at the end of the first measure of the first movement, and again at the end of the second measure, chopping off from each other the parts of what is, when allowed to take its course, a continuous sequence. But to allow music to take its course is precisely the thing Mitropoulos cannot do: there is in his performance a constant interference with the course of the music, a constant manipulation; and not only is there no sense for anything in the music beyond physical sound to be manipulated, but there is no sense for plastic proportion and continuity—in sonority and pace—in the mere sound.

What Mitropoulos does is an exaggeration to the point of caricature of what Furtwängler does, with the further differences that come from the fact that Furtwängler is a far more gifted conductor and musician. In his performances the plastic disproportions and discontinuities are mainly those of pace: for example, in the new Victor set of Tchaikovsky's "Pathétique" Symphony that he made with the Berlin Philharmonic (Set 553, \$6.50) one hears in the first movement characteristically over-deliberate tempos followed characteristically by disproportionate accelerations; and in that respect the more straightforward Ormandy version is preferable. But in that respect, I must add, this Furtwängler performance offends only a little; and it offers examples of sensitive phrasing and beautiful finish that are the measure of his superiority to Ormandy: in the third movement, for example, one hears a clarity and refinement of texture that one does not hear on the Ormandy record. And this, I think, is one of the instances where Furtwängler benefits by superior recording

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Bergson and Vichy

Dear Sirs: A belated Paris dispatch to the New York Times mentions that at the funeral of the French philosopher Henri Bergson (he died January 4), Ambassador de Brinon represented the Vichy government, Paul Valéry the French Academy, and adds that the Vichy Ministry of Education was also represented. Previous dispatches reported a tribute paid to the late Henri Bergson by his pupil Jacques Chevalier, professor of philosophy of the Grenoble University, who was recently appointed General Secretary of the French Ministry of Education in Vichy.

Whatever grudge one may bear against Vichy for its endeavors gradually to direct French thought toward the orbit of the "new order" expounded in Berlin, fairness to France demands unbiased comment on these dispatches.

Bergson was unquestionably the greatest French philosopher of the last fifty years. A Jew, he was in principle affected by the new anti-Jewish laws of the Vichy government. Nevertheless, Jacques Chevalier, a member of the Administration, stressed at the time of Bergson's death, Bergson's wide contribution to the renaissance of French thought. The presence, at the funeral, of François de Brinon, who as Vichy ambassador to occupied France has the sad duty of being agreeable to the invader, is even more encouraging. And the sending, by the French Education Ministry, of a representative to the ceremony further indicates Vichy's intention to continue honoring Bergson as one of France's spiritual leaders.

Edmund Husserl's position in Germany was analogous to that of Bergson in France. They were of the same age. Their teaching covered the same period, and Husserl's influence on German philosophy was as great as that of Bergson on French. Husserl was the father of phenomenological philosophy, on which all contemporary German philosophers, including the Nazis, have been reared. Like Henri Bergson, he was a Jew. But post-1933 Germans did not treat him as the Vichy authorities are now treating Bergson.

At the *Congrès Descartes* (International Congress of Philosophy held in Paris in 1937), of which Henry Bergson was honorary president, the German delegation of Nazi philosophers

demanding the exclusion of Husserl (who was not present) from the Committee of International Congresses of Philosophy, of which he had been a member for many years. The demand aroused such scorn that it was not even considered.

Husserl, who fled to Czechoslovakia after Hitler came into power, died there obscurely in 1938. Though his death was mourned outside Germany, within the Reich not a voice was raised to pay tribute to his philosophy. And a few weeks before the German invasion of Belgium, his eighty-year-old widow arrived in Brussels bringing, as her only earthly belongings, her late husband's treasured papers and manuscripts.

All this makes one thoughtful, illustrating as it does the gulf which divides, and always will divide, Latin civilization and German Kultur. France may be crushed materially, politically, and even morally. But the love of the spirit for the spirit's sake, will live there forever—a love of the spirit still shown by the very French government that is at the same time ousting Jews from places of learning.

Two more recent dispatches from Vichy give further weight to my claim that German pressure is in no way affecting French culture. The first, dated January 19, states that in both occupied and unoccupied France newspapers continue to publish long articles on Bergson, hailing him as "a great Frenchman." The dispatch adds that even anti-Semitic papers, such as *Candide*, are joining in the chorus of praise. The second, dated January 23, relates that the first January meeting of the *Académie Française* was held in honor of Bergson's memory. Paul Valéry delivered a eulogy.

BETTY BARZIN

New York, February 17

'76 and H.R. 1776

Dear Sirs: The undersigned members of the Descendants of the American Revolution have resigned from the organization, because of the undemocratic procedure of its National Executive Committee. This body has passed a resolution calling for the defeat of the Lease-Lend bill (H.R. 1776) in the name of the organization, without polling the members to learn their attitude toward this important measure, which directly affects our foreign as well as our do-

mestic policy. The signers of this letter have varying opinions on the Lease-Lend bill, but are at one in regarding the action of the National Executive Committee as an infringement on the rights of the entire membership.

HELENA I. T. BAILIE, *National Treasurer*; HELEN TUFTS BAILIE, *member, National Council, Samuel Adams Chapter, Boston*; MRS. J. ANTON DE HAAS, *Samuel Adams Chapter, Boston*; REV. E. TALLMADGE ROOT, *Samuel Adams Chapter, Boston*; ELIZABETH HULING, *member National Council, Nathan Hale Chapter, New York*; MRS. SHERWOOD ANDERSON, BRUCE BLIVEN, BRUCE BLIVEN, JR., JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, MARY WARE DENNETT, FRED A. KIRCHWEY, HARRY A. OVERSTREET, ELIOT D. PRATT.

New York, February 18

Is Waller Guilty?

Dear Sirs: Mr. Virginus Dabney, writing on the Odell Waller case in your issue of February 8, says "there is nothing anywhere therein (in the defense literature) to inform the public that Waller shot Davis twice in the back, when Davis, according to uncontradicted witnesses, was unarmed."

It is true the medical testimony shows that Davis had two wounds in the back. It also shows that he had one wound on the right side of the head and one in the arm. The only reasonable deduction from other testimony and the physical facts is that Waller first shot Davis while Davis was facing him, hitting him in the right side of the head and in the arm; that either the shock of these bullets whirled Davis around, or Davis turned in attempting to escape, and was then shot twice in the back. The only testimony that Waller first fired at Oscar Davis when Davis's back was turned is the testimony of an eighteen-year-old colored boy, Henry Davis, then employed by Oscar Davis and still employed by his family, and who, prior to the trial, refused to talk to the defense at all. His entire testimony is incredible and gives every appearance of being coached.

Likewise, the testimony of "uncontradicted witnesses" that Oscar Davis was unarmed, is open to suspicion. This testimony is that of the same Henry Davis, and of Oscar Davis's wife and

two sons. These obviously were not impartial witnesses, and even the judge expressed his doubts as to the testimony of the two sons in other respects. Furthermore, the question is not whether Oscar Davis was actually armed, but whether Waller had reasonable grounds for believing him to be armed. Waller's testimony shows that he had every reason so to believe.

No one can read the record in the Waller case, unsatisfactory as it is, without coming to the conclusion that the same poll tax jury which sentenced Waller, a Negro sharecropper, to the electric chair, would, on the same evidence, have either found a white landowner not guilty on the ground he shot in self-defense, or would, at most, have found him guilty of manslaughter.

JOHN F. FINERTY

New York, February 10

Workers in White

Dear Sirs: The problems of the white-collar class of workers have received considerable attention but somehow the particular grievances of hospital laboratory workers have been overlooked. My position is that of a laboratory technician. I have always been fortunate in securing work and in retaining my job. However, the wage-and-hour scale in this kind of work is unsatisfactory.

The requirements for members of our profession are high. Generally, it is necessary to have a degree, or at least three years of college education, plus a year of specialized hospital training. Yet our wage scale, as a rule, begins at \$50 a month with partial maintenance, and goes up to a maximum of \$125 a month, which is rarely exceeded.

Dismissing the wage grievance for a moment, let us consider the question of the number of hours employees are required to work. In many cases the laboratory worker has a minimum-maximum hour scale of fifty-two to sixty hours per week. This may include a "split shift" or may require Sunday work. Often both the split shift and the Sunday work are required. Twenty-four-hour service in this field may well be necessary, but a sufficient number of employees should be engaged so that the burden is distributed.

When men and women who accept responsibility for human lives are pushed around and broken in spirit, the efficiency of a hospital is reduced. How can there be maximum cooperation when the employees work with the knowledge that their maximum efforts

will not give them sufficient security to maintain a home and family? Why should so important a sector of our modern scheme be stripped of the right to a normal existence?

The Wagner Act does not extend to our group, and but few states have a "Baby Wagner Act" which protects workers not engaged in interstate commerce. Since we are therefore unable to organize effectively, our sole hope is to acquaint the public with the actual salaries and living conditions of hospital employees.

F. LOUIS

Chicago, February 15

Catholic Laborites

Dear Sirs: While the members of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists who read Richard H. Rovere's article (Labor's Catholic Bloc) in *The Nation* for January 4 were naturally pleased by your contributor's commendation of work done by the A. C. T. U., they were surprised at his sinister implications.

Mr. Rovere implied that information from Protestant and Jewish unionists led him to believe that non-Catholic unionists were planning to organize their own religious groups as a defense against a "Catholic bloc" in unionism. Never in our four years' activity in New York and sixteen other cities have we heard of any such development. On the contrary, both Jewish and Protestant unionists, after being aided by us, or working with us in reforming some union, expressed the wish that they had a similar association for unionists of their own religion. Their attitude was one of admiration, not suspicion.

Secondly, Mr. Rovere makes it appear that A. C. T. U. members in the Newspaper Guild played both ends against the middle in the battle over "party-line" following. A. C. T. U. members in the Guild have consistently supported organization drives, and just as consistently, as soon as the Communist issue was brought into the open, opposed Communist maneuvers. There were Catholics in the Guild administration camp, but these were not active A. C. T. U. members and did not join active A. C. T. U. members in the fight to check Communist operations.

NORMAN MCKENNA,

Publicity Director, Association of Catholic Trade Unionists

New York, February 14

Dear Sirs: Although I wrote that certain aspects of the A. C. T. U. worried many labor leaders, I did not say their

fears were necessarily justified. That they are worried is a simple fact. It is also a fact that an organization for Protestant unionists is being seriously considered.

As for the Newspaper Guild, there have been several members of the A. C. T. U. who supported, and were supported by, the Guild administration. I understand that a movement is under way to expel them from the A. C. T. U.; but at the time my article appeared their names were still to be found in the A. C. T. U. publications.

RICHARD H. ROVERE

New York, February 18

CONTRIBUTORS

ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, before he became Spain's war-time Foreign Minister, was one of Europe's outstanding newspapermen.

JUAN S. VIDARTE was consul general at Tangier before the fall of Republican Spain. He made a spectacular flight from Dakar to Libya, where he was granted a visa to this country.

PATRICIA STRAUSS, wife of G. R. Strauss, Labor member of Parliament, has contributed articles to *Harper's* and *The Nation* since her arrival in New York some months ago.

T. SWANN HARDING is the author of "The Popular Practice of Fraud" and other books.

PETER STEVENS is the pseudonym of an American writer now residing in Istanbul.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN is assistant professor of French at Columbia University.

NORMAN ANGELL won the Nobel peace prize in 1933. He is the author of "The Great Illusion," "Why Freedom Matters," and many other books.

LOUIS B. SALOMON, a member of the English Department of Brooklyn College, reviews fiction regularly for *The Nation*.

CLEMENT GREENBERG contributes critical articles on literature and art to *Partisan Review*.

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The Shape of Things

225

ANOTHER WEEK HAS PASSED WITHOUT THE opening of the long-heralded Axis spring campaign but from Munich, Rome, and Tokyo an oratorical barrage has been let loose upon the world. At the same time, the diplomatic miners and sappers have increased their activities in the Balkans, in Spain, in Vichy, in Saigon, and in Bangkok. All signs point to a new attempt to knock Britain out but we have yet to learn the direction of the main blow. In his latest speech Hitler declared that the war was entering its final phase and dwelt lovingly on the greatly intensified submarine campaign that he was about to launch. If this is indeed his intention it may mean that he hopes to soften up Britain by an all-out attack on its supply lines before he attempts the risky expedient of invasion. Again, he may be aiming at a reduction of British naval strength in the Mediterranean in order to give his Italian partner a much-needed breathing spell and to smooth the way for the completion of his plans for a bloodless conquest of the Balkans. If Japan could be induced simultaneously to move against Singapore, Hitler might feel he had the British cornered, but Tokyo, not anxious to take undue risks for the benefit of its allies, has apparently decided on a policy of watchful waiting. It is perfectly clear that the reinforcement of Singapore, and the very unappealing nature of both American and British reactions to the latest Japanese threats, has had a sobering effect on Foreign Minister Matsuoka and his colleagues. They have tried to cover their confusion with a diverting exhibition of double-talk, one day protesting their complete innocence of aggressive designs and the next calling on "the white race" to surrender a large area of the South Pacific vaguely termed "Oceania."

★

MUSSOLINI'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE AXIS chorus was almost pathetic in its defensiveness. Making a virtue of brave candor, Il Duce admitted that the Italian army in Libya had suffered a terrific defeat. But he was less frank about the drubbing administered by the Greeks, presumably because he hopes that in Albania Hitler will still save his hide if not his honor. Replying to Graziani's complaint that his forces had been insuffi-

ciently supplied, Mussolini gave detailed figures of the men and material sent to North Africa which, if true, make the British victory still more notable since they placed Italian strength far above previous estimates. Seeking to boost the morale of his people he assured them that Italy was playing a notable part in the war by pinning down a large proportion of Britain's land, sea, and air forces. But perhaps he sensed the inadequacy of this consolation for he went on to glorify Nazi might, indicating that, no matter how low Italy's fortunes might fall, it could count on final rescue by Germany. Thus once again an upstart Caesar calls in the barbarians to save his throne. To those versed in Mussolini's circumlocutions, the speech offered several hints of his concern about the state of Italian morale. For instance, he repudiated "the libel" that there was lack of solidarity between Germans and Italians, asserting that the behavior of the Nazis in Sicily and Libya was "perfect." This suggests that these honored guests have made themselves thoroughly unpopular. Again Il Duce gave special praise to the Italian workers for their patriotism and skill, declaring they would be rewarded for their sacrifices after the war was over, and differentiating them from "the minority of well-known poltroons." To our suspicious mind this confirms rumors of unrest in the industrial cities.

✱

HITLER'S STRANGLEHOLD ON THE BALKANS appears to have tightened during the past week, yet Berlin's rejoicings over the Turkish-Bulgarian pact may prove a trifle premature. Taking it simply at face value this treaty is a mutual undertaking against aggression, which has no bearing on Turkish action in the event of German occupation of Bulgaria and subsequent invasion of Greece. But in this country, as well as in the Axis states, it was interpreted as a guarantee of Turkish neutrality under all circumstances, except actual invasion of Turkish soil, and a resounding defeat for British diplomacy. The Turks themselves did little to clarify the situation when they insisted that their policy remained unchanged and that they would resist all threats to their security zone. London gave out nothing officially, but various "spokesmen" were allowed to express conflicting opinions. Meanwhile Greece declared vehemently that it had no intention of capitulating to the German ultimatum which, it was said, would quickly follow the occupation of Bulgaria. The total effect of these reactions was to produce a mental fog about the Balkan situation. Is it possible that the British have been taking another leaf out of Hitler's book, and that all this mystification is connected with the next move of Wavell's seasoned and triumphant army, which has suddenly faded out of the news? Meanwhile, it may be noted that the Germans have exhibited one of their "*Blitz*" films to a distinguished Bulgarian audience. This suggests that the march

may begin any day. But it will be some weeks yet before the weather becomes really propitious for Balkan campaigning. There is only one moderately good road connecting Bulgaria and Greece and the terrain is far from ideal for mechanized troops. Thus, while Greece is no doubt being subjected to the usual war of nerves, an interval is likely before threats give way to actions.

✱

EXTENSION OF THE THAILAND-INDO-CHINA armistice for ten days has delayed a showdown on the Japanese demands against the French colony. But the situation remains acute. Last week's rejection of Japan's terms by Vichy was undoubtedly a by-product of the stiffening of British and American policy as shown by the reinforcement of Singapore and the House passage of the bill authorizing the fortification of Guam. Barring British, American, or Chinese aid, the French are obviously in no position to resist Japan by force of arms. Although the Japanese may hesitate to attack either Singapore or the East Indies because of the risk of American intervention, they might proceed on the assumption that such aid would not be forthcoming for the protection of Indo-China or Thailand. If this tactic proved successful, they might, on the same theory, make Burma their next objective, thus avoiding a frontal attack on Singapore. The democratic world has become so accustomed to thinking in terms of *Blitzkriegs* that it has neglected the nibbling tactics responsible for most Axis victories.

✱

THE REMOVAL OF MAXIM LITVINOV FROM the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee is a matter of routine. By tradition, the Commissar of Foreign Affairs is automatically a member of the Central Committee. Litvinov is no longer Commissar. Therefore the first party conference that met after his dismissal from government office also ousted him from the Central Committee. The reason given is somewhat mysterious—"inability to discharge obligations." Since Molotov, the present Foreign Commissar, is already on the Central Committee of the party, the membership relinquished by Litvinov goes to V. G. Dekanozov, Soviet Ambassador in Berlin and one of the chief negotiators of the Nazi-Soviet pact. Dekanozov is thus unofficially designated as second to Molotov in the Soviet foreign service. This has political significance and suggests that Moscow has no intention of marring its present "good-neighborly" and subservient relationship to the Nazis. In the same shake-up, Molotov's wife, Paulina Zhemchuzhina, was demoted. She has been ousted as alternate member of the Central Committee. Either she is no longer Madame Molotov or this is a faint hint to Molotov that the purge may get him too. The turnover of Soviet bureaucrats continues at top speed. The party conference expelled several high gov-

ernment officials and reprimanded others for inefficiency in economic posts of supreme importance. Apparently, commissars go on doing a bad job even though Trotsky is dead and Hitler and Hess are friends of the Soviet Union.

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THE RATHER LUDICROUS ATTEMPT OF THE National Association of Manufacturers to dissociate itself from Ralph Robey's broadside against "subversive" textbooks should fool no one. The N. A. M. does not deny that it requested and paid for the examination of 536 textbooks on which Mr. Robey's report was based. But apparently the N. A. M. would like to dodge the violent criticism which the Robey report has brought forth not only from educators but from manufacturers—of textbooks. Mr. Robey, a conservative economist, declared in his "personal" report that a substantial proportion of the textbooks now used in the high schools criticize our form of government and hold in derision or contempt the system of private enterprise. In support of this charge, passages are listed from the abstracts of seven books which are cited as being derogatory to the American form of government and critical of free business enterprise. A careful reading of these passages, which are torn from their context, reveals nothing that could even be called derogatory to our form of government, but a great deal that might be taken as criticism of our system of "free" enterprise. The textbooks written by Harold Rugg of Teachers' College, which have been under special fire from reactionary groups in recent months, emerged from the survey with significantly few demerits. The worst that Mr. Robey was able to find in Rugg's writings was a section indicating that there was a difference of opinion among the framers of the Constitution as to the amount of democracy it would be safe to give the common people. The N. A. M. has a right to investigate textbooks; but it can't expect to escape the public consequences of its red-baiting excursion.

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THE ST. LOUIS *POST-DISPATCH* WHICH HAS been fighting enactment of what it terms the new model state "anti-criminal-syndicalism and sabotage law" has elicited a remarkable disavowal from the Department of Justice. Its Washington correspondent, Richard L. Stokes, obtained an interview in which an unnamed but high spokesman for the department disclaimed all responsibility for the bill and suggested that "revisions should be made if it is found that the rights of labor are inadequately safeguarded." The *Post-Dispatch*, opposing the bill in Missouri, feels that the job of combatting sabotage on defense had best be left in the hands of Washington. We already have a federal anti-sabotage law that covers all work done on defense. State laws against the destruction of property supply additional protection. In

the last war most injustices were traceable to local and state authorities who inflamed local juries and used local prosecutions in a way which the Federal authorities would never have dared use them. The *Post-Dispatch* says: "The energy and good sense of the American people are severely taxed these days by the double job of keeping their government safe from overt attacks and themselves, as individuals, safe from the impact of war-borne violence and hysteria. We must never forget that in Washington we have agencies best equipped to deal with this delicate equation." The supporters of this dangerously worded model bill have yet to prove that it is necessary in the interests of defense.

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THERE ARE ALSO EARMARKS OF HYSTERIA about current attempts in Congress to legalize wire-tapping, although Congress forbade the practice during the last war and again in 1934. An effort to railroad bills through the House Judiciary Committee with "shotgun" hearings was blocked at the last moment by labor pressure but the fight is still on to keep them open long enough to consider available evidence on the dangers involved. The committee has so far heard but little of the relevant evidence. Alexander Holtzoff, attorney for the F. B. I., has been doing his best to bulldoze opposition witnesses at the hearings, and his strategy seems to lie in a readiness to accept any kind of a bill as an entering wedge restoring a practice now forbidden by law. J. Edgar Hoover, on record many times in the past as being opposed to wire-tapping, has so far declined the request of committee members that he appear personally to explain why he has changed his mind. The C. I. O., the A. F. of L., and the railroad brotherhoods have all gone on record as strongly opposing the legalization of the "dirty business," Justice Holmes's term for wire-tapping. Joseph A. Padway, general counsel of the A. F. of L., has submitted an opinion on the "vast possibilities of abuse" in wire-tapping. "Those who advance the argument that wire-tapping is necessary for national defense," A. F. Whitney of the Railroad Trainmen wrote Chairman Hatton W. Summers of the House Judiciary Committee, "are merely using the national defense as an excuse to forge another weapon against labor. The saboteur or spy or criminal will know how to overcome the proposed method of surveillance, but the innocent man or woman who desires to communicate with a labor organizer will feel restrained from doing so."

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WILLIAM S. KNUDSEN DESERVES CREDIT FOR his forthright testimony before the House Judiciary Committee against legislation designed to curb strikes in the defense industries. Mr. Knudsen is as interested as anyone in the country in seeing the defense industries swing

quickly into maximum production. But he declared quite unequivocally that he did not consider the strike situation serious and suggested that the amount of industrial strife would decline when union leaders gain more experience and "management decides to accept the laws on the statute books." In testifying before the same committee on the following day, Sidney Hillman, Associate Director of OPM, went even further. He declared that strikes were a rare exception in defense industries, and that anything which undermined the present spirit of voluntary cooperation would be a basic threat to production. In face of this uncompromising stand by the two men directly responsible for defense production, we trust that the demand for anti-strike laws will be quietly shelved.

Communists and Unions

THERE was a time when trade unionism seemed a fairly simple proposition. Fair wages and decent working conditions were the objectives; what deep strategies were planned and what bitterness arose were directed against bull-headed employers. Then, early in the 1930's, the Communists, abandoning their own backyard, dissolved their exclusively Communist unions and plunged into the organizations they had long been fighting. In those unions where they made a dent the simple pattern of other years has been buried beneath sticky layers of caucuses, lines, progressive wings, committees to preserve the union from disrupters, committees to preserve the union from the preservers, and in general such a compound of maneuvering, scheming, and parliamentary tricks that a simple trade unionist is glad to pay his dues and leave the field of operations to the politicians. That means to the Communists, because they are the Tammany Hall of the labor movement. They have the discipline, the zeal, the central boards of strategy, and above all the political axes to grind. They do whatever hard work of the organization they can lay their hands on and by the time their fellow-unionists discover that these willing and efficient brothers have been working through the union rather than for it, it is usually too late. The union is in their hands and has become one more organism for carrying out the policies of the Communist Party.

Until two weeks ago this blight was treated pretty much in the spirit of Mark Twain's remark on the weather. Everybody talked about it but nobody did anything. And for good reasons. Aside from the effective work they do, the Communists' chief source of strength in the unions has been their contention that opposition to Communist policy, known in the trade as "red-baiting," is a divisive force in the union and hence a boon to the union's enemies. Though that contention is true, by and large, it obviously passes a point of diminishing

returns when unity can be had only at the price of Communist domination. Nevertheless, red-baiting has been a major "don't" in the labor movement and few have relished violating the taboo. Even more important, there seemed no effective way of doing so that would not be as full of danger to the union as the activities of the Communists themselves.

On February 17 the executive council of the American Federation of Teachers took the bull by the horns: it recommended to its membership the expulsion of three Communist-controlled locals on the charge that their activities are "detrimental to the development of democracy in education." If a majority of the members of the union sustain the council, the A. F. of L. will with one sweeping gesture have rid itself of a growth that has been sapping it internally and exposing it to attack from without. It will also have suggested to other unions that the problem created by the Communists is by no means insoluble.

The method chosen by the A. F. of L. council, however, is far from definitive for the labor movement as a whole. A sharp distinction must be made between those unions, like the teachers' and the various civil-service unions, for which the closed shop is a relatively meaningless phrase, and those that either enjoy or actively strive for closed or preferential shop arrangements. We do not believe in setting up political qualifications of any sort in unions which are in a position to make it impossible for a man to earn his living unless he holds a union card. For such organizations, the A. F. of L.'s approach to the Communist problem is not a just solution. Frankly, we don't know what would be. But we see no reason at all why Communist mischief should be tolerated in unions which are purely voluntary.

The course chosen by the Federation's council admittedly involves dangers and painful precedents. Presumably new locals will be formed to replace the ousted groups. How will the union determine the eligibility of applicants? If no qualifications are set up there is nothing to prevent the Communists from rushing right back into control. And what kind of qualifications can be imposed? Certainly membership in the Communist Party would be a futile prohibition since the comrades are more than reticent about admitting membership, and the fellow-traveler, moreover, is often more orthodox than the holder of a party card. Perhaps the union will create a membership committee to pass arbitrarily on applications on the principle that a voluntary association is free to judge the qualifications of its members. A committee of political sophisticates would know from experience how to spot the party-liners. It is perfectly clear that this precedent might lead to abuse should the committee fall under the control of the wrong people, but machinery could be set up to provide for appeal to the executive council or even to the convention. Rejected applicants

would not be barred from working, since no closed shop is involved, and they would be free to form another union if they so desired. The only liberty to be infringed would be the liberty they now enjoy to use other workers for their own purposes.

The number of unions in a position to take action of this sort is not great but their housecleaning would have a wholesome effect and might serve as a check to Communist arrogance throughout the labor movement.

What Russia Wants

The author of the statement which appears below is an important official of a Balkan country whose name must be withheld for obvious reasons. We have, however, every reason to believe that he is a competent and truthful observer who in the course of many visits to Russia, the latest only a few months ago, has had exceptional opportunities for contact with leading members of the Soviet government. His remarks seem to us to throw a good deal of light on the negative attitude of Moscow with regard to Nazi expansion in the Balkans. It is also noteworthy that his report on the internal situation in Russia is borne out by the sweeping attacks on industrial waste and inefficiency made by official speakers at the Communist Party conference in Moscow.—EDITORS THE NATION.

I AM convinced that Russia will do everything to avoid being drawn into conflict with Germany. Generals and Foreign Office officials with whom I talked obviously held the German army and *Luftwaffe* in tremendous awe. Furthermore, the internal position is such that Stalin would not dare enter into a war. The economic situation in the big cities has become worse since my previous visit in 1937. Everything is concentrated on rearmament, but I was told it would be at least three years before this work was completed. Russia is building up gigantic reserves of raw materials and foodstuffs for military purposes. On the other hand, there is still a shortage of food for civilian consumption, partly due to the fact that distribution and freight problems remain unsolved. Hundreds of people stand day and night in front of the stores. The pace in the factories is just as slow as in 1937, but I found some progress in agriculture. Many farms have been modernized and new schools and better clothing provided for village children.

In spite of all denials, Russia wants a pact with Japan. Voroshilov, whom I have known for twenty years and whose importance is often underestimated abroad, was very frank on this point. In his opinion an agreement with Japan would balance the Soviet-German pact. Japan would guarantee Russia's influence in north China, after making peace with Chungking, thus freeing the Soviet Far Eastern army. Voroshilov was certain that Japan and China would sign a peace treaty this spring and that Japan

would then turn toward the South Pacific where Russia has no interests. He was also certain that the United States would be drawn into war against Japan.

S . . . [of the Foreign Office] told me that Soviet policy was to keep Turkey neutral as long as it was not directly attacked. He and other officials in the same department confirmed the report that Hitler and Von Ribbentrop had assured Molotov that Germany would not attack Turkey.

At a dinner given by the Commissar for Foreign Trade, Anastas Mikoyan, I heard the following:

(1) This war does not concern Russia. It does not want a German victory and has no illusions about what such a victory would mean. But it is believed that Britain and the United States will be able to balance Nazi strength. The war is expected to last at least till 1945, and by that date the Red Army will be reorganized.

(2) The continued independence of Finland is not regarded favorably. Russia would like to control the rest of Finland and particularly the Aaland Islands. Although plans for an offensive against Finland are officially denied, a military move in the spring seems likely.

Views of Russian government officials do not always agree with those of Comintern spokesmen. Dimitrov is sure that the people of Europe will chase Hitler away. He thinks it would be harmful to help Britain, for doing so would strengthen another enemy of the workers. Despite the presence of Sir Stafford Cripps, mistrust of Britain is still great. The fact that Halifax was retained by Churchill was unfavorably received. Dimitrov believes that should Russia become involved in the war Britain and Germany might make peace in order to pursue a common policy against the Soviets. For this reason he is one of the chief supporters of Stalin's foreign policy. Russia, he said, must be very cautious and make economic concessions in order to keep Hitler at a distance.

Luce Thinking

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

A NEW brand of imperialism is fast gaining favor in this country. It sells readily. The market is pretty well cleaned out of the old, stock brands and those that are left carry trade names like "New Order" and "*Lebensraum*." Neither one attracts fastidious American buyers who long to get their teeth into something that is guaranteed pure and has a nice sweet flavor. The new brand is put out under a variety of labels. Mr. Luce in a very large advertisement in his magazine *Life* calls it the "American Century." Dorothy Thompson describes it as a "Call to Destiny" and uses other language that might have come straight out of a spring seed catalog. But the new American imperialism, under whatever trademark it is sold, is dangerous food for democrats.

Let's look at the claims made for this product. They are persuasive and alluring. Boiled down to their essence they amount to this: the United States has set its hand to the task of helping Britain defeat Hitler. But "helping Britain" is a euphemism. What we are really doing is to help win a war which will establish the United States as the dominant power in the world. In 1918 we missed the opportunity to reconstruct the world according to our own ideas. This time we cannot afford to hesitate; we must seize the leadership of the world, lay down our own peace terms, and create an American "new order" in which democratic ideals shall rule. Sounds nice, doesn't it? But at the same time doesn't it also sound faintly reminiscent? Echoes ring in the ears. Ghosts wander the corridors of the brain. "Manifest destiny." "Anglo-Saxon justice." "The white man's burden." Is this new imperialism nothing more than Kipling in modern dress? We'd better study the prospectus a little more closely.

Henry Luce lays out a fairly comprehensive program for the American century. We are, first, to insure the freedom of the seas and become "the dynamic leader of world trade." (Asia alone, he says, will be worth "four, five, ten billions of dollars a year" to us if we have the guts to think in those terms.) We are also to provide the planet with technical and artistic skills, distributing "throughout the world" our "engineers, scientists, doctors, movie men, makers of entertainment, developers of airlines, builders of roads, teachers, educators." Third, we are to feed the world, sending our food surpluses "to the four corners of the globe as a free gift . . . to every man, woman, and child . . . who is really hungry." And, fourth, we are to be the "powerhouse of the ideals of Freedom and Justice," shipping these, too, to nations which at best have only a nodding acquaintance with a set of values "especially American."

Dorothy Thompson, in a column devoted to Mr. Luce, approves letter by letter his formula for "internationalism." "This will either be an American century," she says, "or it will be the beginning of the decline and fall of the American dream." "To Americanize enough of the world so that we shall have a climate and environment favorable to our growth is indeed a call to destiny." And she, too, wants the United States to spread reforms which will "bring about a reconstruction of a larger part of the world in harmony with freedom and with an honest promise of prosperity for all." But Miss Thompson is more explicit than Mr. Luce in her idea of what the call to destiny should mean. At last week's Town Hall meeting in Washington she frankly committed the future to the "English-speaking world." The Anglo-Saxon tradition, she said, had given mankind the words "freedom," "parliament," "congress," "suffrage," and "rule of the people." It also had produced the word "gentleman." And she developed the curious theory that whereas the "Germanic world of Hitler thinks that man

is determined by his blood," the English-speaking world "holds the idea that man is determined by his speech, by his mind, and by his soul . . . and the English language instead of being the great separator of men has been the great uniter of men." If on first reading this sentence seems to mean simply nothing, on second reading it quite clearly implies that people who speak English develop into a higher order of being than the poor devils who have been deprived of the master tongue. And this interpretation seems to be borne out by the three sentences which follow:

The triumph of the English-speaking world does not lie in its racial supremacy, or in its power to subject other races to it. It lies in its incomparable power to assimilate other nations and races to itself. The United States of America . . . is composed of millions who once spoke Italian, or German, or Magyar, or almost any other language.

In other words, the potency of the Anglo-Saxon tradition and the English language is sufficient to elevate to equality even those lesser breeds without the lingo—if only they come within range.

And so a super-race is being created which will rule the world-to-be. It's being created by a simple process of verbal osmosis; and no one can possibly say that this is not a nicer way to glory than Hitlers. Nicer, but still thoroughly dangerous and misleading.

The Luce-Thompson brand of imperialism should be investigated by the Federal Trade Commission and a cease-and-desist order issued before the public mind is poisoned. This program is magnanimous and benevolent, it is large and awe-inspiring. It is also smug, self-righteous, superior, and fatuously lacking in a decent regard for the susceptibilities of the rest of mankind. These particular qualities are the typical stigmata of the Anglo-Saxon in his role as imperialist. Miss Thompson and Mr. Luce are undoubtedly moved by the noblest aspirations, but so was Cecil Rhodes.

The whole idea of a future order dominated by an English-speaking union dominated by the United States is deceptive as well as dangerous. It creates a new myth of superiority to justify a national role which would be morally intolerable on any other score. But the myth is equally intolerable. Are nations relegated to a lower stratum likely to be better pleased because they are demoted on grounds of language and tradition rather than of blood? The fact is, no democratic basis for national dominance can be found in any formula, no matter how you slice it. It cannot be found because it does not exist. And a new order rooted in such a concept will blow over at the first breeze of revolution or else it will grow up into a greedy imperialism like those that preceded it. You don't nourish an honest internationalism with nonsense about "destiny" and "Anglo-Saxon traditions" and an "American century."

Oil Is Still Neutral

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 22

ONE need possess no inside information to see that war with Japan is a possibility. Gossip in circles on the Hill which are close to the army and navy say "within sixty days." Yet the same patriotic oil companies whose dollar-a-year men dominate the Defense Commission continue to send Japan the oil it needs. During the week ended February 15 we sent Japan 147,044 barrels of crude oil and 137,657 barrels of lubricating oils. We sent Britain 60,000 barrels of crude and 168,986 barrels of fuel oil the same week. Oil is still neutral.

When foreign countries, like domestic consumers, become annoyed with Standard Oil, the marines are called for. Otherwise business is business and a yen is as good as a dollar. For all the headlines about oil embargoes, American oil companies are enjoying a boom in exports to Japan. Here is the total value of our petroleum exports to Japan during the past four years:

1937	\$43,733,000
1938	51,191,000
1939	45,285,000
1940	53,133,000

Lest the reader think these exports have been slowing down I give the figures for 1940 by quarters:

1st quarter	\$ 8,584,000
2d quarter	7,717,000
3rd quarter	14,160,000
4th quarter	22,675,000

Oil exports to Japan are running at a rate almost double any year since the "China incident" began.

The figures for gasoline alone show that we sent Japan three times as much gasoline in 1940 as in any of the three preceding years. Aviation gas is a story in itself. The Commerce Department, at the request of the State Department, changed the name of aviation gas last September to "high-grade motor fuel in bulk or containers." This was done, I was told, "so the State Department wouldn't be embarrassed by writers and newspapermen." In 1939 Japan took 628,560 barrels of aviation gas. In 1940 it took 556,703 barrels of "high-grade motor fuel in bulk or containers." The Export Control division says no aviation gas of higher than 87.5 octane content is going to Japan and that this other gas is inferior gas, not suitable for modern planes. Some

authorities say flatly that it is good enough to be used in planes combatting an inferior air force like China's.

It is unfortunate that public attention has been centered on aviation gas, for war with Japan would be a naval war, and fuel oil runs battleships. Japan is being kept well supplied with fuel oil by American companies. Japan and Kwantung together (the State Department insists on separating them, although Japan's possession of Kwantung—the old Port Arthur region in South Manchuria—goes back to 1905) obtained almost 7,500,000 barrels of fuel oil from this country last year. Of basic importance, too, are Japan's heavy imports of crude oil, which amounted to more than 12,000,000 barrels in 1940. In December we exported 2,000,000 barrels of crude, of which half went to Canada, a fourth to Japan. Fuel oil and aviation gas are, of course, manufactured from crude oil. Japan has considerable facilities for refining and cracking, despite oil-company apologies to the contrary. Latest published figures, which are several years behind, show Japan's refining capacity to be 52,600 barrels a day, as compared with Greater Germany's 68,770. Her cracking capacity is 16,250 barrels a day, as compared with Greater Germany's 7,920 barrels a day.

Exports to Japan are not the only contributions of American oil companies to the Axis. There are two sources through which Germany and Italy might obtain American oil—Soviet Russia and Spain. The attention paid to these two loopholes is in inverse ratio to the amount of oil going to them. The dollar value of all petroleum products shipped from this country to the U.S.S.R. last year was \$1,850,000, as compared with the total of \$53,135,000 sent to Japan.

Joseph Curran, of the National Maritime Union, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations committee on February 10 against the Lease-Lend bill, provided a glimpse of Spanish possibilities. He told of the recent trip of a Standard Oil tanker, the W. H. Libby. "Not long ago," he said, "she went to Cartagena, Colombia, and loaded up with oil she took to Freetown, West Africa, for British use. Then she hurried back to Carapito, Venezuela, for another load of oil which she took, this time, to Teneriffe in the Canary Islands, where the cargo was transferred to a German and Italian tanker. . . . The crew [of the W. H. Libby] found Teneriffe a busy port, with a steady stream of Standard Oil tankers pulling in and out. In the harbor when the W. H. Libby

left, were three German and five Italian tankers, the crew reported.

This part of Curran's testimony was given scant attention in the press, whether it was for or against the Lease-Lend bill. It would have been easy to refute it from Standard Oil and official records. I am told in the Commerce Department that oil exports from this country to Spain are now running about 300,000 barrels a month. But no one knows how much oil is going to the Spanish islands for transshipment to the Axis from American oil companies and refineries in Venezuela and the Dutch West Indies. Japan is obtaining large quantities from American and British oil companies in the Dutch East Indies.

The press has played up every story of Mexican oil going to Japan or the Axis powers but pays little attention to American oil bound for Japan and makes no attempt to investigate how much oil may be reaching Germany and Italy through Spain, although that would be a great story. Mexico has some excuse for her ship-

ments. Standard, Dutch Shell, and the State Department have been doing their best to enforce an unofficial embargo on Mexican oil, as I disclosed in *The Nation* last fall. The navy on instructions from the State Department chose to pay Standard Oil ten cents a barrel more for fuel oil rather than buy it from a small American company which manufactured the oil from Mexican crude. The only exception since made is for fuel oil manufactured by Harry Sinclair from crude given him by the Mexican government in settlement of his claim under expropriation.

Behind the scenes Mexico is now being blackjacked into an agreement whereby Standard and Shell will get back operating control of their properties. The American taxpayer will be asked to foot the bill in the shape of a loan or an appropriation paying off the exaggerated estimates the American oil companies place on the value of their Mexican properties. The excuse will be that we must keep Mexican oil out of Japanese hands. Why not start by keeping American oil out of Japanese hands?

The Nazi Plan for Negroes

BY HANS HABE

THE *Illustrierte Beobachter*, German illustrated weekly, has recently published a special issue devoted to the question of France's war guilt. This journal, known as the *I. B.*, is an official German weekly and an offshoot of the *Voelkische Beobachter*, in which Adolf Hitler has the controlling interest. Published by order of Propaganda Minister Goebbels, this special issue was the opening gun for an anti-Negro campaign which may surpass in violence even the Nazi persecution of the Jews. In recent weeks, the German press has devoted more and more attention to American Negroes; the three or four latest issues of the *Stürmer*, Hitler's anti-Semitic sheet, have been directed entirely against the Negroes. Julius Streicher, its editor, is the Fuehrer's only intimate friend, an "old militant," and the only party leader who may "thou" Hitler. For the last few weeks the *Stürmer* has maintained that the misfortunes befalling the Aryan nations were not caused by the Jews alone: both Jews and Negroes are guilty. In a speech delivered by Streicher before a gathering of some party friends in Nuremberg a few weeks ago, he solemnly declared: "The emancipation of the Jews and the liberation of the black slaves are the two crimes of civilization committed by the plutocrats in the last few centuries."

In June, 1940, a large part of the French army was surrounded, and entire Negro and Arab regiments fell

into German hands. In previous battles, in Belgium and Luxembourg, at Dunkerque, Sedan, Rethel, and Laon, black regiments had fought in the first lines; later, the retreat from the Maginot Line was covered mainly by Foreign Legion regiments and colonial troops. On June 22, when the army of the East—the last to make a stand—capitulated, the Germans captured entire units of the *Spahis* (colonial cavalry), the *Tirailleurs Africains* (African Sharpshooters), and innumerable groups of *I. C.* (*Infanterie Coloniale*). My own regiment, the "21-ème Régiment de Marche des Volontaires Etrangers" (21st Infantry of Foreign Volunteers), fought for weeks side by side with colonial regiments, and on June 21, when I was taken prisoner at the village of Charmes, many Negro troops were captured. In Bayon, the first village to which we were taken, we noticed that the Negroes were "expected." They were immediately separated from us and confined in a special fenced enclosure in the nearby camp of Villacourt. A few hours after our arrival, there was a rumor that all the Negroes had been executed by firing squads. We did not believe it. In our sector of the front alone several thousand Negroes were captured: of the two million French war prisoners, approximately 400,000 are colored. Not even the most sadistic imagination could picture such a blood bath. Yet numerous executions of Negroes did take place. These were "justified"—in so far as anyone bothered to justify

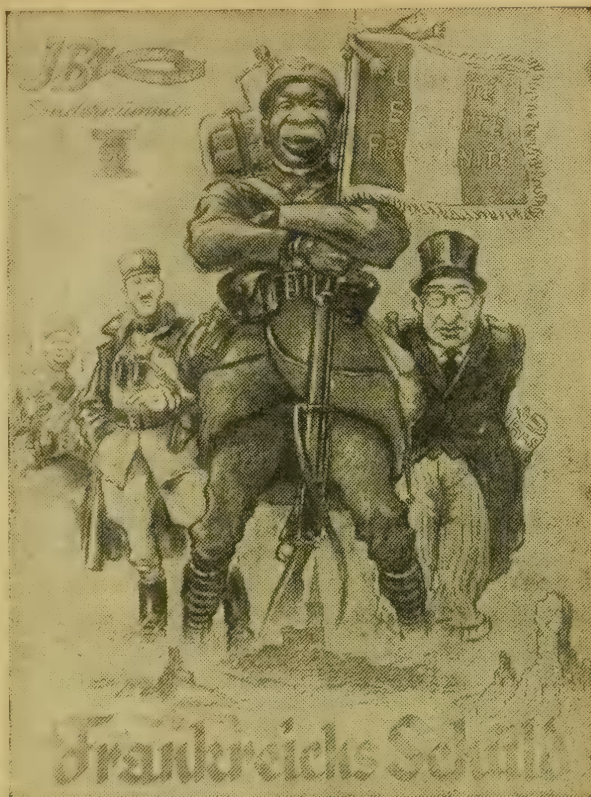
them—by the Negroes' sniping activities. To the Germans, every soldier who continued to fight after the military formation to which he belonged had surrendered, was a sniper. After the occupation of Bayon, they charged that Negroes, concealed in houses, had fired at "peaceful" German soldiers. Such individual fighters were treated not as soldiers but as "ordinary murderers."

We spent a few days in a state of paralyzed suspense. Our German guards told us that their officers were waiting for Berlin to instruct them what to do with the Negroes. I do not know whether or when such instructions came. I do know that on the morning of June 25, eighty Negroes and Arabs were selected among the 8,000 captured with us, taken to a wood near Villacourt, and shot. The Germans calmly told us that more would have been executed, but the authorities wanted to show special moderation. The eighty victims had been chosen at random. No one accused them of any specific crime: we were told that their execution was intended as an example for French snipers.

The Negroes were mistreated even during their removal—on foot, of course—to their places of internment. We marched, under German supervision, from forty to fifty kilometers daily, en route to our camps in Lunéville, Morhange, Dieuze, or Sarrebourg. The French civilian population of Lorraine helped us as much as they could. Our food supplies were soon exhausted; but at the roadside stood women and old men with large buckets of fresh water, comforting the marching thousands with cold drinks. The heat was unbearable, and we would have collapsed with fatigue without water. The German guards had apparently received instructions to bar the Negroes from this solace. Though we were allowed to drink in every village we passed, the Negroes were prodded on with bared bayonets.

This march through the villages was like running a ganlet. In every locality the Negroes were photographed dozens of times by the garrisons; in the larger towns, moving pictures were taken. As a rule, Negroes and whites marched in separate groups; but for the films they were forced to pose together. Again and again we heard German soldiers calling to our guards: "Haven't you shot them yet? What are you waiting for?"

We arrived at the camp in Dieuze. Here, as in all German prison camps, the Negroes were immediately isolated. Barbed wire was strung around their barracks. No white man was allowed to converse with a black. Our own shelters were miserable enough: those of the Negroes, crowded into a narrow space, were much worse. Our food, though insufficient, was princely in comparison with that given to the Negroes, who practically starved. Hundreds of them fell sick, but were not cared for. The Germans explained that the French would surely object to sharing their hospitals with them. Only much later were special infirmaries created for Negroes.



Cover: Negro issue of the *Illustrierte Beobachter*

German soldiers regarded the "camp within a camp" as a kind of zoo: they were constantly standing around it and taking pictures, usually through the barbed wire. To give the Negroes pieces of bread or to shake hands with them was strictly forbidden; a German corporal who became friendly with a Negro and was seen shaking hands with him was given fourteen days' house arrest.

Such breaches of discipline were the exception; for, curiously enough, the Germans' hatred of the colored people seemed deeply rooted. I was soon to understand why. Dozens of current German periodicals, pamphlets, and newspapers portrayed the Negroes as cannibals, and fed German soldiers with false statistics and pseudo-scientific data. One special issue of the *Racial-political Institute* explained that more than 21 per cent—that is, almost a quarter—of the French population was "tainted" with Negro blood. (In reality, not even one per cent of the French people are even partly Negro.) But the purpose of the propaganda was clear. As the Germans knew that the French army would send the well-trained and relatively well-equipped colonial troops to the front lines, they tried to convince the German soldiers that if they did not kill the Negroes they risked having their throats cut. Unfortunate black prisoners told me that the German soldiers fought them much more bitterly than they did us.

For some time it was possible to interpret these incidents as isolated phenomena. But it soon became evident

that this treatment of the Negroes was part of a diabolical plan. By order of the high command courses were organized to acquaint German soldiers and non-commissioned officers with the "tasks of Germany as a colonial empire." The whole curriculum was based on racial theories; Negroes from our camp were often taken to the lecture hall and exhibited as "specimens." As camp interpreter I had to accompany them, and this enabled me to attend the lectures and learn the German attitude toward the Negro problem. These courses, organized throughout German-held territory by the General Staff, stressed that intermixture with Negroes was one of the chief factors in the French defeat. Consequently, German policy toward the colonial peoples was to be inspired by the following principles:

(1) The colored people are an inferior race whose place must be fixed by the white "master race."

(2) The free choice of trades and professions by the Negroes leads to social assimilation, which in turn produces racial assimilation. The occupations of the black colonial peoples and their function in the labor process of the "new order" will therefore be entirely determined by the Germans.

(3) Intermarriage between whites and blacks or half-breeds and whites is forbidden. According to the Nuremberg racial laws, sexual intercourse between members of the two races is subject to sanctions including the death penalty.

(4) Persons belonging to a race other than the white Aryan race will have no active or passive electoral rights in the German colonial empire.

(5) Negroes are forbidden access to railways, street-cars, restaurants, motion pictures, and all public establishments. Special conveyances and public establishments will be created for them both in Germany and in occupied territories.

(6) Members of inferior races are not allowed to join the National Socialist Party or its subsidiary organizations. Nor can they serve in the army. They must, however, serve in labor battalions.

It is easy to imagine the fate of the colored people in a German colonial empire, if the General Staff of the German army is already disseminating these six commandments. Equal rights for Negroes are always described as a "democratic cancer." It goes without saying that the German lecturers always consider the Negroes of "all continents" as belonging to the same race.

There is one essential difference between Hitler's Negro policy and his Jewish policy. Whereas he makes no attempt to "win over" the Jews, whom he drives out of Germany or tortures in Germany, with regard to the Negroes he pursues a double objective: he wants both to enslave them and to win them over. This double attitude leads to contradictions which are more apparent

than real. One day a Senegalese Negro of the 14th Infantry Regiment, the bulk of which was interned in the camp of Dieuze (Department of Moselle), succeeded in slipping away from his barracks and entering the infirmary. The infirmary was the only real building in the camp. The Negro soldier climbed up to the fourth floor and threw himself out of the window. To my great surprise, Captain Brühl, the commander of our camp, ordered a solemn funeral to be held on the following day. On a rainy, August evening, the suicide was carried to his grave by twenty-five of his black comrades, accompanied by a German guard of honor of eleven men. A German lieutenant made a speech over the grave; the German soldiers fired a salute. The next day, the barbed wire around the Negro barracks was removed. It became clear that a new policy had been decreed. The Negroes were given one cake of soap for four men for six weeks, a privilege that was never to be granted to other prisoners. Their food was improved and they were permitted to attend the reading of the daily reports, from which they had been previously excluded. They were also permitted, for the first time, to read *L'Echo*, the daily French-language propaganda newspaper.

A few days later the explanation of this curious change was disclosed to me by German officers. With the shameless candor characteristic of contemporary Germans, Captain von Brühl, the commander of our camp, told me:

"Yesterday we received new instructions. From now on Germany will pursue a colonial policy!"

Overnight the whole racial principle appeared to have been thrown overboard. Flogging was replaced by pampering. And when a cold wave swept Germany, many thousands of Negroes interned in the great camp of Kassel, in the extreme north of Germany, were brought back to occupied France because they could not bear the cold and were dying by the hundreds.

But the policy of kindness was as short-lived as it was surprising. From August to October the Negroes were pampered, but after mid-October they were again deprived of all privileges and relegated to an infernal ghetto within the camp. During the "fat weeks" they alone among the prisoners were permitted a weekly walk in the village. After the new orders came through, they were not even allowed to use the yard in the daytime: between six and seven in the evening they were marched around, and that was their only outing. It goes without saying that the new severities were "justified" by the usual fairy-tales: we were told that "somewhere in Germany" a Negro prisoner had raped a German girl.

This wavering between mild treatment and extremes of cruelty had definite psychological causes. On the one hand, the German people had to be propagandized with regard to the Negro question. It had to be made clear to the Germans of the twentieth century that the age of slavery had returned; that they, the master race, had the

power of life and death over the Negroes. At the same time the Germans had to understand that the Negro—in contrast to the Jew—was not his enemy, but only his slave. And the Negro was made to realize—through constant reminders—that the German, whenever he pleases, can deprive him of all right to live, but does not necessarily hate him; that the German is not his enemy, but only his master.

If Hitler is to turn the Negroes into loyal, devoted, and even grateful servants of their Prussian masters, it is necessary not only to preserve their physical strength, but also to weaken their psychological resistance. Otherwise their efficiency as laborers would be impaired. They must be convinced that the Germans are *good* masters, who do not abuse their "rights," and can make their slaves happy.

The weaknesses of this policy are evident at once. Ideologically, Hitler is forced to replace his clear-cut distinction between the white Aryans and all other races by a whole hierarchy of races. This creates complications for

his propaganda. How can the Germans be convinced that the Jewish race is white but inferior, the Negro race inferior but colored, and the yellow race colored but equal? Similarly, the attempt to reduce the Negroes to slavery is utterly incompatible with the attempt to win their good will. Hitler's hopes in this respect are based on an oversimplified psychology. He thinks that the Negroes will be grateful for not being made to serve in the army, as in France, where they had to take eighteen months of regular military training and in addition were always used for the most dangerous wartime duties. But the Negroes distrust Hitler's pacifism and they prefer military training to forced labor without wages.

Hitler has had no luck so far with the Negroes interned in his camps—the camps that he has called "the laboratories of his future policy." It is true that French colonial policy during the war was a sad failure, and that the black soldiers were often treated like cannon fodder; but, compared to Hitler's, France's colonial policy was understanding and humane.

Chile Will Decide

BY SAMUEL GUY INMAN

ON March 2 the Republic of Chile will hold a national election which will determine the future of the New Deal that was launched in that country at the end of 1938. The Chilean liberals, under President Pedro Aguirre Cerda, will try to continue their bloodless revolution in the face of bitter and perhaps violent opposition from the near-fascists on the right, who have threatened to boycott the coming election, and from the Communists on the left. The task of keeping a balance between hostile forces while pushing ahead with social reform is always difficult, and especially so when a country has other and equally pressing problems to solve. Chile not only must find its way out of an internal economic crisis but make the adjustments necessary to cooperate with the United States and other American republics for hemisphere defense.

When Aguirre became the reform candidate for President in 1938, the Communists were among the small radical groups that offered him active support. Anti-fascist and full of praise for democracy, and insisting they wanted none of the spoils of office, the Communists were accepted almost without question by Chilean progressives. Together with the largest party, the Radicals (representing middle-class liberals), the Socialist Party (including small farmers and workers), the Democrats, and the Popular Party, the Communists formed the Popular Front, and, though only 50,000 strong, became its

most aggressive backers. Their loyalty lasted until the fall of 1939 and the signing of the Russo-German pact. Then, like Communists all over the world, they turned on their liberal collaborators and refused cooperation on any but their own terms. Since that time the friction in Chile has increased to such an extent that a bill to outlaw the Communist Party recently passed the Chamber of Deputies. Despite some Popular Front support, it was vetoed by the President.

Aguirre's opponent was Gustavo Ross, a conservative who frankly represented the great landowning class, which is opposed to any real social reform. The Popular Front won the presidency by only about one thousand votes. The rightists, however, retained, and still retain, a majority in the legislature. With this power they have persistently opposed every reform the new administration has sought to accomplish. They have also fought the government through the landholders' *Sociedad Nacional de Agricultores*, the political equivalent of America's National Association of Manufacturers and the economic and industrial opponent of labor's *Confederación de Trabajadores*.

Aguirre's more conservative supporters have constantly urged him to go slowly with his reform program and to break away from the extreme left. To force the President's hand, the head of the Radical Party (actually the least radical in the government) made a private arrange-

ment to align his party with the rightists. It was then pointed out to Aguirre that without the Radicals' support, and with only the Communists and the Socialists backing him, he could not hope to govern. When that argument failed to influence him, an artificial break with Franco Spain was created as a sign of what might happen if the other European dictators showed displeasure with Chile. None of these tricks worked, and the Radical Party chief, Pedro Castelblanco, was compelled to break off his alliance with the Right. To placate both sides, the President eased out of his cabinet the leftist Minister of the Interior, Humberto Alvarez, who had banned two conservative newspapers because they criticized the administration, and the conservative Minister of Finance Cristobal Saenz, a close friend of the large landholders.

When the Communists were giving support to the Popular Front, one of their chief enthusiasms was President Roosevelt's Latin-American policy. Now, however, when the Good Neighbor policy in action means defense against Hitler, they have decided that it is just another

form of Yankee imperialism. Their most forthright attack on hemisphere defense took the form of an accusation against Minister of Trade Oscar Schnake, a brilliant young socialist who represented Chile at the Havana conference, and who recently has been acting as a special economic emissary to Washington. They accused him of bartering away his country's sovereignty for commercial advantages. Actually, although Schnake has accomplished nothing that promises completely to solve Chile's economic difficulties, he has arranged for the purchase by the United States of large amounts of Chile's copper, nitrate, and other defense materials. He has also obtained a loan of \$5,000,000 to cover the deficit of the Exchange Control Commission. These deals were the basis of the Communist charges. Incensed by their unfairness, Schnake, in a two-hour speech before the Socialist Party on December 14, declared it was no longer possible for Socialists and Communists to work together. His attitude no doubt played a considerable part in the recent Socialist declaration of non-cooperation with the Communists and in the vote of the Chamber of Deputies to outlaw the Communist Party.

Although Chile is heading toward a political crisis, the masses of the people constitute a deep reservoir of internal strength. Unlike an O. Henry Latin-American republic, the country is not a land of frequent revolutions. During its first century of independence, it had only one major political disturbance—a civil war in 1891 over the respective constitutional powers of the executive and the legislature. A large group of socially minded leaders, statesmen, and educators has given Chile the most progressive legislation of any country in this hemisphere. There are more foreign students in its universities, and more liberals seeking asylum from other countries than anywhere else in South America. Women have more rights there than elsewhere in Latin America. Señora Schnake, wife of the Minister of Trade, was for a time the mayor of a district in Santiago and Señora Amanda Labarca headed the national university's Commission on Intellectual Exchange.

Although fundamental change is long overdue in Chile, the present government has done a great deal within the framework of the present social order to rout the "hundred families." Reform had to wait until the victims of the earthquake that came a month after Aguirre's inauguration, were rehabilitated. That task completed, the President went to work on the most urgent economic problems. By decree he lowered the price of bread from nine cents to five. To compensate the farmers he lowered freight rates on wheat, bought large quantities of it with government funds, and extended credit to buyers of fertilizers. Pawn-shops were forced to return some 6,000 sewing-machines and other items that the poor had pledged for food. Schools were enlarged. The number of students rose from the 510,167

The New Order

BY ARTHUR GUITERMAN

"Our German heroes rushed to save you,
Then don't forget the aid we gave you,
Since if you do you're bound to know remorse;
So let our boys feel quite at home
Just as their forebears did in Rome—
I mean the Goths and Visigoths, of course."
"Yes, Adolf," said Benito.

"Your Verdi's far too sweet and mellow;
Our Wagner is the only fellow
Whose operas in future may be played.
And though your art is not as fine
As that produced above the Rhine,
We'll give you Prussian masterworks in trade."
"Nice, Adolf," chirped Benito.

"The German, not the Roman eagle,
Henceforward shall alone be legal,
The swastika must sanctify your flag.
As for your king, perhaps we'll plan
To send him somewhere, say, Japan;
His title, there, might prove a useful tag."
"Fine, Adolf!" cried Benito.

"You'll have to change your mode of dining;
Spaghetti is—well, unrefining,
Chianti gives less nourishment than beer.
Last, 'Duce' is a sloppy word,
So 'Fuehrer' is the term preferred.
I trust I make my meaning fairly clear?"
"Quite, Adolf," groaned Benito.

registered in 1936 to 674,529. Laws providing minimum-wage standards, preventive medicine for workers, and housing projects passed the Chamber of Deputies. By now every wage-earner has social insurance guaranteeing medical care, old-age pensions, and other services which probably place Chile ahead of any other country in the world, so far as legislation of this sort is concerned. It has one of the few municipally-owned pasteurization plants in existence, and this is largely responsible for the government's order to sell milk to the poor at less than three cents a quart, which is extraordinarily little compared with prices elsewhere.

The industrial development of the last two years has brought a small revival of Chile's merchant marine. Modern boats now connect Valparaiso and New York. The railroads, government-owned, have been modernized

by electrification and new rolling stock, and running times reduced considerably. Many native enterprises have been promoted to take the place of the nitrate business, once the chief industry but now moribund.

But there is still plenty to be done in Chile, and the March elections will have a profound effect on the country's future. If the right is defeated a new alignment will come, probably in the form of a center coalition leaning to the left. The Communists have been retained by the President's veto, an action probably taken because of their extraordinary energy as campaigners, but chances are good that after the election they will be almost completely shorn of influence within the Popular Front. If the right wins, Chile's New Deal is over and fascism scores a victory in this hemisphere. But Chile's liberals regard that as a highly unlikely outcome.

Sports and Defense

BY CURT RIESS

THIS war is a war of machines; or so, at least, the experts insist. And for once events seem to confirm their opinion. It was doubtless the superiority of the German war machine that made possible all the German victories, both the bloody ones and the earlier, bloodless ones. The Poles, the Dutch, the Belgians, and the French were defeated because they didn't have weapons equal to those of the Germans. So we have been saying all along. And from the time it was generally conceded that we too had to be prepared, there has been talk of nothing but machines of war—the building of which seemed to be preparedness enough.

It isn't enough, of course.

The English say, "Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton." The sentiment is valid in this war too—and in any war. Wars are always waged with men as well as weapons. Men must have a certain minimum fitness, or the finest bombing planes and tanks won't help.

It is strange that the United States of all countries should have forgotten this. For in the first World War the American troops demonstrated the importance of their athletic training for practical warfare. Half of the men in the famous 69th Regiment were New York public-school athletes. Nearly a hundred thousand—98,785 to be exact—of the volunteers from New York had participated in the activities of the Public School Athletic League. During the war itself, American Y. M. C. A. instructors helped direct the athletic training of soldiers here and in France. These instructors fostered sports that would improve the alertness, skill, initiative, and efficiency of their men. It was soon discovered that sports

did more than stimulate fitness and morale; they improved the technique of the troops. It was found, for instance, that boxers could handle bayonets skilfully and that baseball players could throw hand grenades with deadly aim.

Only after the draft act of 1940 was passed was it recalled that human fitness is a decisive factor in building a defense machine, and that sports are a decisive factor in acquiring fitness. Ironically enough, promoters of professional sports were the first who publicly connected sports and defense. They didn't begin propaganda for sports as an integral part of the defense program. They simply voiced their fears. They were afraid that their highly paid and highly profitable boxers, baseball players, and football players might be drafted.

However, things began to happen. The War Department ordered a million dollars' worth of sports equipment and set aside \$2,800,000 for sports activities in general. Gene Tunney was called upon by the navy to coordinate physical education. Dr. W. M. Lewis, president of Lafayette College, made a speech urging colleges and universities to make their sports facilities available to men of draft age. There were other speeches and suggestions. D. Benedetto, president of the Amateur Athletic Union, advocated doubling the sports activities organized and controlled by the A. A. U. as "the democratic answer to the dictators' athletic program." While Mr. Benedetto's recommendation is by no means the whole answer, he is undoubtedly on safe ground in asserting that the dictators have a program that calls for counteractivity.

Let us look for a moment at the athletic programs of the dictators.

It wasn't Hitler who started using sports as a preparation for war in Germany. It was most probably General Ludendorff. In October, 1914, a proclamation was read in all German public schools, ordering that five minutes of each recess period be devoted to running practice. The General Staff had decided that one of the reasons for the defeat on the Marne had been the inability of the German soldier to retreat fast enough. German schoolboys now had seven hours of gymnastics weekly, instead of two, as before. In 1915 the *Jugendkompagnien*, or youth squads, were founded, with compulsory participation for every boy over sixteen. The boys received military training camouflaged under the terms of a secret decree that said, "Care must be taken that these exercises appear athletic in character."

After the war of 1914-18, when the Weimar Republic attempted to purge gymnastics of militarism, the embittered former army officers organized youth leagues for *Gelaendesport* (open air athletics) with "political enlightenment" thrown in for good measure. Their *Nationale Kampfspiele* were not games but military exercises. The secret Free Corps, which went in for political assassination, developed logically out of them. Another of their products was the SA of the National Socialist Party. The SA (*Sport-Abteilung*) was founded in 1921 and proclaimed as "A special party section for gymnastics and sports." It grew into the notorious *Sturm-Abteilung*, or Storm troops, thus completing a cycle; sports, introduced to win the war, became a screen behind which Hitler prepared for the next war.

When the Nazis came to power, one of their first acts was to coordinate sports. A Sportsführer was appointed. Every German must be fit to fight and must keep in shape. The Hitler Youth began playing rather curious games. They practiced marching, digging trenches, and crawling under barbed wire, and using bayonets. The students and the numerous workers' organizations, as well as the SA and the SS (*Schutz Staffel*), had to practice shooting, marching, and gliding.

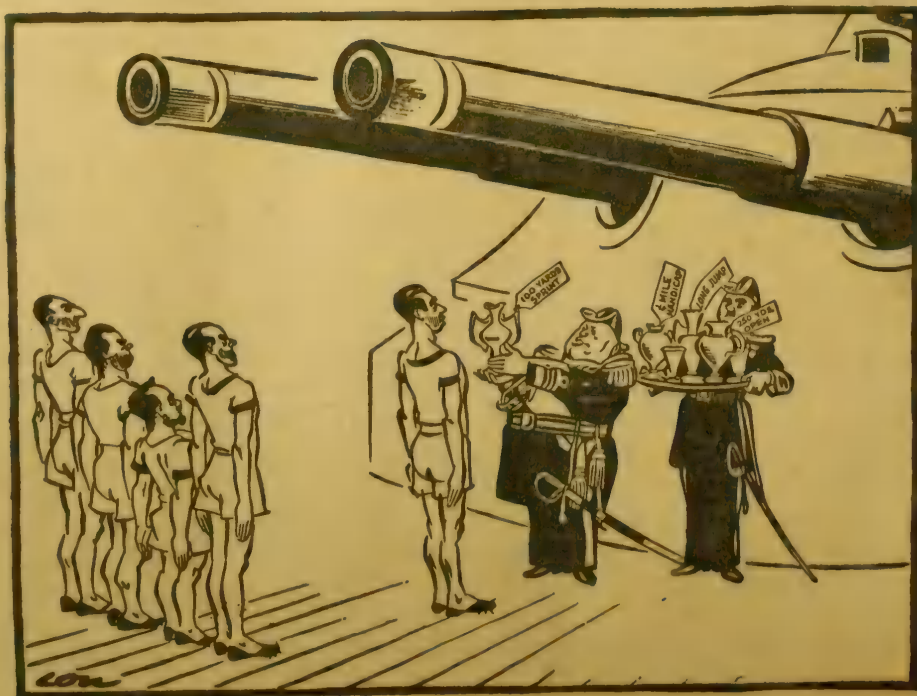
When Hitler made sport a training school for his army, he borrowed his ideas partly from the old German

General Staff and partly from Stalin. Since 1930 there have been no private sports at all in Russia. Sport is a state function, directed by the Council for Physical Education, and a tremendous advance has been made. In 1920 the very word "sports" was almost unknown in Russia. In 1934—no figures have been published since—there were more than 4,000 sports grounds and stadiums, more than 2,000 indoor arenas; there were more than 8,000,000 active, organized athletes. And 100,000,000 roubles a year was spent on their activities. But of course it wasn't sport for sport's sake. Some of the "sports" practiced were: hand-grenade throwing, swimming fifty meters with a rifle, shooting, reading maps.

The German use of sports as a preparation for war was even more thorough than the Russian and on a greater scale. The Nazis admitted it openly. Shortly before the 1936 Olympic Games, Hermann Teske, sports instructor at the Zossen military school near Berlin, published a pamphlet in which he said: "All German sport must have a purpose. The goal of physical training is readiness for defense."

In the United States sports are taken seriously, probably too seriously. We know how to train our athletes. Our colleges and even our public schools are sometimes regular training camps. We want victories, and we get them. But what do these victories mean in the light of our defense preparations?

We like to think of ourselves as the leading sports nation in the world. But are we? We hold most of the records, but records aren't everything. When it comes to sports facilities, the Germans appear to be at least our equals, in proportion to their population.



It is almost impossible to get anywhere by comparing the sports activities of different nations. Most nations, including ours, have never collected definite figures on active sports participants. And almost every nation stresses different sports. As for sports facilities, it is difficult to coordinate the various statistics. Playing fields and swimming pools can be of varying sizes and capacities. For purposes of reaching an approximate index, however, comparative sports facilities may be expressed in terms of the number of athletes using a hypothetical field of a given size. Such a playing field would be used:

In the United States by.....	100	athletes
In Germany by.....	100	"
In England by.....	160	"
In Russia by.....	230	"
In France by	410	"

While these figures show that American sports facilities are sufficient to train the same percentage of the athletic population as was trained in Germany before the war, Germany completely outclasses us when it comes to sports that are a direct preparation for war. For example, affiliated with the National Rifle Association of America are some 3,300 rifle clubs with a membership of about 300,000. The greater part of them, moreover, use the small-bore non-military rifle. In Germany, with half our population, there are 13,942 clubs with a membership of 419,569. There are 732 practice fields for gliding in Germany, and thousands of German youths participated in this sport which, until a short time ago, was not even considered a sport in the United States. And in such splendid activities as crawling under barbed wire and digging trenches, we have no competition to offer at all.

There are, of course, other important points. In the first place, with twice the population our potential sports activity is much greater than Germany's, and in the end, it is always a question of potential rather than of actual power. If we consider men up to twenty-four years of age as active athletes, and examine the population according to age groups, we find that in the United States 18 per cent of the population could be mobilized as athletes while in Germany before the war only 10 per cent were available.

Of even more decisive importance are the conflicting basic ideas on which the sports of the two countries are founded. Something essential to fitness may be acquired through sports only if they are devoted to the development of the individual character, rather than to the perfection of strength; to the creation of initiative rather than to the creation of blind and unreasoning obedience. The Finns have the idea. They call it *sisu*—an untranslatable word expressing will and tenacious endurance until victory. The French had it; they called it *morale*. The English have it, of course, but they have no word for it. We have it too—we call it guts.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Steel Capacity

WHAT has happened to the report on the steel industry by Mr. Gano Dunn? Well-known industrial expert and president of the J. G. White Engineering Company, Mr. Dunn was asked to survey the national capacity for steel production in the light of demands created by the defense program. The intent was to clear up the dispute between the leaders of the steel industry, who declared that the existing plant could fill all needs, and independent economists, who urged that large and immediate expansion was essential if a steel shortage was to be avoided.

Six weeks ago Mr. Roosevelt told reporters that he was expecting this report immediately. A week or two later Mr. Dunn fell ill. The result was that his report is still "on order" and will probably not reach the White House before the end of this month. It is doubtful if this delay has disturbed the steel industry, for it has had a chance to forestall Mr. Dunn's expected recommendations for expansion with a revised construction program of its own. According to the *Wall Street Journal* of February 20, plans are now being submitted to defense officials for additions to plant which, together with schemes already announced, would mean an enlargement in ingot capacity of some 5,000,000 tons. This is far below estimates of likely requirements made by good authorities but the steel industry evidently hopes it will prove sufficient to ward off further demands.

For many months now, leading steel executives have been fighting a rearguard action against the advocates of greater production. They have insisted that the industry is able to meet all likely demands on it and have argued that temporary shortages which may occur during the emergency should be overcome by rationing civilian consumption. This would be far better, they imply, than the construction of new plants which would become redundant once the defense program was completed. For they are convinced that a post-war depression is inevitable and they fear that, as demand recedes, the availability of new and efficient productive capacity may break down the gentlemanly abstention from price competition which has long been characteristic of their industry.

The heavy guns of steel really went into action after the National Resources Planning Board published a report, summarized in this column last December 21, suggesting a minimum increase in ingot capacity of 15.4 million tons. Mr. Ernest T. Weir, chairman of the National Steel Corporation declared: "Everyone's getting all the steel they want and will continue to do so," and he estimated defense and war export orders in the current year at not more than 13,000,000 tons, leaving a potential 72,000,000 tons for normal domestic consumption. Mr. Girdler of Republic Steel and Mr. Olds of United States Steel have also deprecated talk of shortages, although they both estimated defense and export requirements at a rather higher figure than did Mr. Weir.

Such protestations led to the shelving of a report by Dr.

Melvin de Chazeau, Defense Commission economist, who is believed to have recommended an expansion of between eight and ten million tons in ingot capacity, and the appointment of Mr. Dunn to undertake a new investigation. Meanwhile, however, the steel industry began to have some doubts about its own claim that facilities were ample, for one company after another announced development schemes. National Steel proposed to add 240,000 tons to its ingot capacity and to increase its output of pig-iron and coke. Columbia Steel, Pacific Coast subsidiary of United States Steel, scheduled expenditure of \$5,000,000 on additional steel-making and finishing mills. Then the American Rolling Mill Company, whose president Charles R. Hook had stated in December that the industry could meet all demands for the next three years with its existing capacity, obtained a \$12,000,000 loan from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for the construction of an entirely new plant in Texas. Not long after, the same concern announced it was starting work on a giant blast furnace at Ashland, Kentucky, with a daily output of 1,000 tons of pig-iron.

These and other schemes will boost annual steel-making capacity by around 2,500,000, or about 3 per cent. This is a long way behind the estimates of needs which I have quoted but it seems at least an acknowledgment that the industry must expand in order to meet potential demands. Unfortunately, this acknowledgment comes nearly six months after "outsiders" began to agitate for increased production; and the congestion of orders then foretold has become a fact.

For the whole of 1940 the rate of steel production averaged slightly over 80 per cent of capacity but in the fourth quarter it was more than 90 per cent. In each of the first six weeks of this year an average of more than 96 per cent was maintained while in the seventh there was a fall to 94.6, partly attributed to strikes, but also resulting from the withdrawal of some furnaces for repairs. Probably the average will be quickly restored but it is doubtful if much better than 96 per cent can be maintained over a long period.

Yet with the steel industry working almost at capacity it is unable to keep pace with demand. Consumers are placing orders for delivery in the third and even in the fourth quarter and, according to the *Iron Age*, some inquiries show an astonishing gain over normal takings. In such cases, it is said, steel companies are insisting that the amounts be scaled down and it may be that some users of steel are inflating inventories in order not to be caught short of material if priorities are enforced later. Nevertheless, the tremendous stimulus given to industries of all kinds by the increased purchasing power which the defense program has released has clearly swollen legitimate demands for steel. The railroads, the utilities, the construction industry, and the automobile industry are now consuming steel in far greater quantities than a year ago and so are a host of lesser industries. At the same time defense needs continue to grow while British orders, which have slackened a little, are expected to expand rapidly once the Lease-Lend bill has passed.

In short, there is every sign that the steel industry is already tottering under the strain of the defense program. Yet its leaders, slowly awakening to the situation, have only begun to tinker with the problem of expansion. We have the right to ask them for less complacency and more foresight.

In the Wind

WHEN GREEK TROOPS took Koritza, it was widely reported in the American press that captured Fascist soldiers sang *Bandiera Rossa*, the Italian revolutionary anthem. That story did not make the British press for some weeks after. A labor paper picked it up from the American Socialist *Call*. *Left*, a magazine to which members of many liberal and radical groups in Britain contribute, commented: "If the report is true, this is one of the biggest events the war has yet produced."

SUBURBIA. A Negro state senator from Chicago has introduced a bill in the Illinois legislature to prohibit racial discrimination in the renting and selling of property. It is being fought by Chicago realtors and suburbanites as an infringement of the Bill of Rights. . . . In Chatham, New Jersey, a fight over the high rate of garbage removal is being waged. A citizen who stands for high garbage-removal rates wrote to the *Chatham Press*: "Let's keep our costs to live high enough so that people from Jersey City cannot afford to live here."

SCANDINAVIAN ENTERTAINMENT: Norwegian moviegoers are so tired of Nazi propaganda films that they frequently break up the shows with hissing and hooting. To stop these demonstrations the Quisling authorities have issued orders for conduct in movie houses. Now forbidden are: "laughter, meaningless applause, stamping with the feet, whistling, coughing, and clearing the throat." . . . A show in a Copenhagen theater included a sketch about a visiting "mother-in-law from Tyrol Street," who was a nagging, domineering old lady. Toward the close of the act she has so unnerved the family that they wish to see "the aunt from England Street."

THE FORD Sunday Evening Hour recently closed with a hymn to the tune of Onward Christian Soldiers, which contained the words "Hail to the hero workers, hail to the noble workers."

A NEWARK newspaper listed a broadcast in which Mayor LaGuardia and Mrs. J. Borden Harriman took part as sponsored by the Committee to Defeat America by Aiding the Allies.

A YEAR AGO seventy-two men were killed in a mine disaster at Willow Grove, Ohio. An inquiry into the causes of the disaster was ordered by state officials. A report was made, but the United Mine Workers has not been able to obtain a copy. The Hanna Coal Company, operators of the mine in which the accident occurred, secured a restraining order from the court expressly forbidding the stenographers taking testimony to furnish the union with a copy.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

The New Dispossessed

THE defense program, we hear it said, does not move fast enough. Maybe not. But some comparison of the rate of defense with the pace of social progress may be gained from the fact that defense has already dispossessed, in less than a year, more than half as many farmers as have been helped to the acquisition of land by the Bankhead-Jones Tenant Purchase program in three years of operation.

The crowding in cities where arms factories and camps for armies are growing is dramatic. But what defense means in the country is the emptying of whole areas, the uprooting of thousands of families, to make room for camp sites, for safety belts around TNT plants, for bombing and artillery ranges. Of course, the farmers are paid for the land. Sometimes they get fancy prices. But by no means all farmers are landowners. Indeed, a very large proportion of those displaced will be tenants, farm laborers, and "owners" whose equities in their properties are so small that they will not receive enough money from the sale to buy adequate farms elsewhere.

The situation is not restricted to any one area. At the army's new anti-aircraft training base near Hinesville, Georgia, between 1,200 and 1,500 families are being forced to find other homes. Their displacement is immediate and permanent. There is no employment boom in the area. They are turned out in a South where there are already more farm people than the land can support. Where will they find farms? At Camp Robinson, near Little Rock, Arkansas, the army is not buying but leasing the land, and even at generous leases the sums paid for the first years of occupancy have been insufficient to satisfy the owners of the many small farms of from three to twenty acres, who must now find new places to live.

Most of the families in the rich trucking country around Milan, Tennessee, who will be moved off the farms near the new shell-loading plant operated by Procter and Gamble, the soapmakers, are tenants. And tenants turned loose in the South today, when world markets are shut against cotton, are turned completely loose—and homeless. The farmers have been grumbling loudly in Des Moines County, Iowa, near Burlington, over prices paid, and fees, to real estate men, but there are a good many among them, tenants and laborers, who have little concern with the prices paid. About all they get is the disruption of their lives by the need for an

empty area around a TNT plant. The safety that belt insures does not create security for them.

Moving from the land is a more complicated business than moving from a house. One farmer, affected by the TNT plant and the bag-loading plant in Will County, Illinois, is a dairyman in the Chicago milkshed. He has to stay in the area to keep his business. Corn land would not serve his set-up for farming. Other men, even with government checks for their farms in their pockets, are not finding it easy to locate good family-size farms in the Middle West. Some, of course, are lucky; one small farmer in Iowa turned his check into groceries and is making a small fortune selling to construction workers building the explosives plant. Others dump their equipment and stock on the market. And sometimes the displacement is progressive as men seeking farms push out those already on them and put them on the roads too.

Fortunately, the government is not unaware of the situation it is creating. The army in some cases was slow to use the facilities of existing government agencies equipped to help deal with the situation. Real-estate dealers got into the business before the army more wisely turned to the Soil Conservation Service which had trained appraisers for help in acquiring land. The Farm Security Administration—in some cases also tardily—has come into the picture to try to minimize the human havoc caused by the imperative necessities of defense. In a few areas construction work has made help seem for the time being unnecessary as displaced farmers, forgetting farming, have begun, at defense wages, to hammer and saw. In other places, however, such work merely serves to postpone the evil day of farmer landlessness.

Nobody yet seems to know the number of farm families defense will dispossess. But it has become apparent that a large proportion are members of the great army of the country poor. Already the Farm Security Administration is estimating that it will need to assist from 5,000 to 8,000 families in finding new locations on the American land. That does not seem many people in a country talking of armed forces in terms of billions of dollars and millions of men. It does not seem large as WPA and other agencies count the needy. But in the past three years (since July 1, 1937), the Farm Security Administration, working in terms of the farmer's American dream, has lent money to help only 12,000 tenants on the way to ownership. Measured by that gain, the present swift dispossession is dramatic and disturbing.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Thou Tellest Me, Comrade

I HAVE seldom objected to any of Ernest Hemingway's literary affections, purely literary, you understand me—that is the plane the discussion is being conducted on—but often I have felt I had a grievance and have done nothing about it except to have remorse and a bad feeling generally for my Ernesto, my *camarado*, and myself. Now however is one time that I must put in a few words, perhaps a dying few words if they reach me first with the little *maquina*, anyhow a few bold hot words, those that well up hot like stomach sickness in the throat of the *matador de los toros* as he pushes back the body of the bull and stands up satisfied.

This is it, my little *camarero*. This is it, see thee, and lie still till one has finished talking, of a politeness. *Qué va.*

When one writes a book about Spain, one puts away grandfather's saber and one just writes what one has in one's guts, supposing one has any or anything in them anyhow. Then the trouble begins. There are those Spaniards. They cannot talk like us. They cannot even talk like Big Two-Syllabled Nick, he of the river. They cannot say "Hi, Pedro," or even "Hi, Pete."

"Hi, Joao," or even "Hi, Joe."

"How do you feel, boy? Ready to fight? You look pretty good to me."

"Sure thing, Joe. Christ, I never felt better; I'll kill him."

No, that is how they cannot say, because they are Spaniards and Spaniards are not Americans and some would say they are not even ordinary people as you and I would think of ordinary people, because they are made of iron inside mixed up with their flesh and it is not straight iron or even a No. 2 iron but twisted by the fires that have burned in them for so long. So, you understand, little rabbit, you must make a queer language for them. You must make a language that they have never spoken, that they would not even recognize if it was translated straight back to them. It must be queer. It must be strong. It must be much horse.

So then.

So then you must make them talk broken English. *Qué va.* Remember the Count de Ha Ha in the old Chaplin funnies? Well, they have to talk as queer as he looked, so you can be sure they are foreign, so you will understand it is Spain and Spanish men and women and the Spanish language. When they know you well or when they are the simple, straight workers and peasants, the good folks, the Spaniards say Thou and Thee. In Spanish it sounds straight and simple, and usually when they are polite they say Your Honor which is *Usted*. But when they do say Thou and Thee, it doesn't sound so unprintably queer as it does in English so that a man cannot breathe for the pronouns splashing in his face and perhaps knocking his teeth out. It is a kind of Spanish. It is a bloody awful kind of unspeakable Spanish. But it sounds strange and kind of noble and better than the monosyllabic fishermen in Florida and the unsatisfactory wives in Kenya and the moronic unprintables in other stories. Better than

them, *sangre de cabrón*. Maybe poetic and sagalike. *Qué va. Qué va* in the beer of thy brother.

So that is decided. We got to turn the whole unspeakable Spanish colloquial speech into a far more unspeakable American language. We got to write pidgin Spanish and pidgin American so the customers will understand every minute it is Spanish. We got to write "You have to stand it. *Hay que aguantarse*," even when your throat swells so you can't get both clichés over at once, and the same simplicity doubled and redoubled. We got to say "Thank thee very much," as if we were Quakers, or maybe kids in Sunday school acting the life of Joshua. We got to call an ordinary officer first a lieutenant-colonel, as we will all of us maybe be calling him soon enough, and then because the right music is playing and the right fists are clenched we got to call him the *teniente-coronel*, as if he were a steam yacht off Cuba or a rare tropical butterfly. Or even a precious little dream rabbit, as Wodehouse, the obscenity son of an unnameable *Inglés*, writes in his books.

But one thing I will say. There isn't much time. They are coming, dost thou hear, friend? They are getting nearer, the ineffables of indescribables. There is maybe time to say this, rabbit. Only this, before the earth moves and the whole damn thing gets too much for us. Come on. It is already page 499.

Thank God, my little cabbage, that this war was in Spain only, in the simple land of the good tough people, and was not a world war like nowadays. Or else we would have to have a hundred per cent foreign-language novel about international resistance to the fascist obscenities unprintables. Like this, he thought with the rabbit suddenly cold in his stomach. Like this, what thinkest thou. Like this, then, this this this.

"*Bon soir, mon petit canard*. Good evening, my little duck," said the *caporal*. He had cheekbones as wide as a bull's buttocks. "Wouldst thou that one might save oneself out of this obscenity ineffable, is it not?"

"*Guten Abend, mein Köppli*," said the new private. "Can They hear them making a big crash-make tonight, not true?"

The third one spat. "One jolly well has to grin and bear it, old top, don't you know, 'pon my word?" He was English, that one. The others smelt of death. He smelt of beer.

A shell swung past them and missed. Dope.

"Did They hear that, then?" said the new private. "Thunderweather, that was close, not true?"

The next one didn't miss.

Spike thought he would try to get back. Something he heard translated itself into "*Vámonos, tovarischichi*." It was time to be going. He picked up his *cojones*. But it was already too late, for he felt a short hard shock, and then came another stream of language, more difficult this time, and more far away, *hung wee ti lo* and then *tê kivi teraré teraró*, and after that the lovely horrible labyrinth and soon the short sharp shock again and at last *finis* but *finis* and *fin* and *fine* and *fino* and *Ende* and *end* by leaning heavy and heavier on the pine needles and the nuts.

GILBERT HIGHET

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A Passage to India

TOWARD FREEDOM: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. John Day. \$4.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU is the inalienable son of Mother India. But he was educated in England and conditioned by the culture and history of the nation that holds Mother India in thrall. It is the impact of this double play of forces upon an intelligent, sensitive, and genuinely noble human being which makes his remarkable autobiography one of the most absorbing personal histories of modern times. But Nehru happens also to be one of those men, like Trotsky or Lenin, for whom political and social ideas and actions are the very substance of their private lives; his personal story is therefore an intimate history of the Indian national movement for the past twenty-five years. But I should not like to give the impression that his book is either impersonal or cold. On the contrary, he writes simply, with humor and deep feeling, of his immediate family life; and so strong is his identification with the masses of India that he writes in the same direct way of their activities, their hopes and failures, their demonstrations and persecutions; with the result that they become imperceptibly an extension of his own family. And since their interlocutor speaks our language those vast white-robed Eastern multitudes, whose reality has been hidden by the mists of imperial condescension and Occidental ignorance, are for once human, differentiated; Lahore becomes as palpable as Detroit.

"Toward Freedom" touches upon every issue of Indian life and politics. Nehru has spent most of his adult life in British Indian jails; he has experienced the lath blows of the British police and the legal persecutions of British Indian courts. He has seen the deliberate stirring up of communal feeling for imperial purposes. Yet for all his personal and often painful involvement in the sorrows and trials of his people the total effect of his book is one of serenity and objectivity. His passion is crystallized in irony, not dissolved in malice; and he describes the mentality of the Indian Civil Service, for instance, with the scrupulous care and understanding of a good novelist.

His characterizations of individuals are marked by the same meticulous and penetrating analysis. And the most interesting is that of Gandhi, of whom he provides the best portrait and the shrewdest estimate I have seen. Nehru the Western socialist is unsparing in his criticism of Gandhi the Eastern mystic who resists the advance of science and thinks that landlords must merely be induced to undergo a "change of heart" toward the peasants they exploit; but Nehru's almost filial affection and admiration for the man who has done so much to awaken the political consciousness and to bolster, by means of the strict discipline of Satyagraha, the stamina and self-respect of India's millions, preclude any trace of bitterness. By observing the play of opposition here revealed between the old leader and the new, the reader also gains a thorough understanding of the Indian National Congress and of its gradually changing character and aims. It began as an upper-middle-class organization; today it draws its main membership and strength from the rural masses. Its present slogan is independence but Nehru himself, though he thinks that must be the first step, is not infected with what

he calls the "disease of nationalism." "If we claim independence today," he writes, "it is with no desire for isolation. On the contrary, we are perfectly willing to surrender part of that independence, in common with other countries, to a real international order."

At the moment Nehru is again in jail for taking part in individual disobedience as a protest against the British refusal to promise freedom to India in return for what would then be its voluntary help in defeating Nazi Germany. (This fact accounts for that slightly hollow sound in Churchill's eloquent appeals to democracy.) Yet Nehru, like Gandhi, stopped short of ordering a mass civil disobedience campaign which would make trouble for Britain at war with Germany. Why? "We had no desire," he says, "to encourage the Nazi rulers in any way; . . . we who had suffered as a subject people knew well what this would mean for others. We of all people could not tolerate their racial views and racial oppression. . . . Though England's ruling classes may have treated us badly and her imperialism may have crushed us we had no ill will for her people, who were bravely facing peril and extreme danger." He makes it clear, however, that though the Indian struggle for independence has been deferred, it will be resumed and pushed to a final conclusion.

That Nehru should "prefer" the frying pan of British imperialism to the fire of totalitarian domination is understandable (especially to those who have never rotted in Indian jails); the distinction he makes again and again between England's people and England's imperial system seems overmagnanimous, coming from Nehru. But it has authentic roots in his own double background. He is the prisoner of England's imperial system; but the language in which he speaks for the freedom of India and the principles on which he bases his case are the language and principles of the other England, of Pater and the poets, of Milton and Burke. His hope is that the other England will gather the strength not only to defeat Nazism but to liquidate the imperialist system which holds the British people as well as Mother India in thrall.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Masterpiece

THE WORLD OF THE THIBAUTS. By Roger Martin du Gard. The Viking Press. Two Volumes. \$6.

IT is one thing to call a book a masterpiece of irony or its author's masterpiece and quite another to call it a masterpiece. The qualifying phrase reduces the value of that fearful and magic word by at least one-half. A scrupulous reviewer is inclined to sterilize the word thus every time he uses it, but twice or thrice in a lifetime he meets a book about which he feels no hesitation. This is such a case: "The World of the Thibaults" is a masterpiece.

The eight parts of this work—the earliest and best of the many cyclic novels France has produced since the first World War—appeared in Paris from 1922 to 1940. In 1939 Stuart Gilbert gave an admirable rendering of the first six parts, and this, under the title of "The Thibaults," forms the first of the present volumes. The second, somewhat ambiguously called "Summer 1914," completes the novel by

giving parts seven and eight in the same translator's faithful version. For the first time one can read the whole work, which counts nearly 1,900 pages, in English.

In French the entire novel is simply called *Les Thibault*. But the English title is quite justified since, around old Oscar Thibault and his sons Jacques and Antoine, there move other characters and there exists a palpable world made up of objects and places that are as real to us as their analogues in our own lives. Often they are so real as to usurp a place in the reader's life: for whoever has been enthralled by the novel—and I doubt if anyone who has begun it has not been—certain squares and corners of Paris and Geneva belong now to Jacques or Antoine. This fact bears witness to the great impression of life that Martin du Gard has achieved, not so much in his physical descriptions, as in his creation of characters. Limiting himself to an extraordinarily small number of figures for a work of this extent, he returns constantly to the same ones, digging ever deeper beneath the surfaces, until we come to know them as well as we know our best friends. Jacques and Antoine occupy the center of the stage while beside and behind them, receiving a more or less direct light depending on their importance to those two protagonists, stand Jenny and Daniel and Rachel, Jerome de Fontanin and Meynestrel, and the others.

From the very first pages, which describe the Thibault and Fontanin families' impressions of the two boys' flight from home, the reader establishes direct contact with the characters. As their lives unfold, he sees them in a variety of situations and experiencing all types of emotions. Antoine's improvised operation on a little girl crushed in an accident and his passionate love affair with the exotic Rachel; Daniel's philanderings in the manner of his father and his encounter with one of his father's former mistresses; Jacques's sufferings in the reformatory and later his tender love for Jenny; Antoine's daring injection administered to shorten his father's death agony are passages in the first volume which show the author's technique for creating flesh-and-blood characters. It is the technique that life itself uses.

In the second volume the canvas broadens perceptibly and the Thibault microcosm reflects more faithfully the European macrocosm of 1914 and its headlong rush toward war. Jacques, by then a militant socialist, does his part in Geneva, Paris, and Brussels to warn of the impending catastrophe and to organize resistance to a passive acceptance of it. Before the summer of 1939 those chapters might have seemed to some readers too faithful a reproduction of the anguish felt only by the most alert in 1914; today they have an added poignancy and truth because we have all lived through such emotions. Actually, the approach of war, seen from the vantage point of the Second International and contrasted in its last stage with the successful outcome of Jacques's and Jenny's love, forms a stirring narrative. Here more than anywhere else one wishes that the American edition had preserved the chapter headings of the original, since the dates given there help in following the rapid succession of events.

Until his tragic and futile, yet wholly appropriate, death soon after the outbreak of hostilities, Jacques holds the reader's attention most insistently. In a sense the whole novel could have ended there, for its most obvious subject is the story of an adolescent who never grew up, who refused in-

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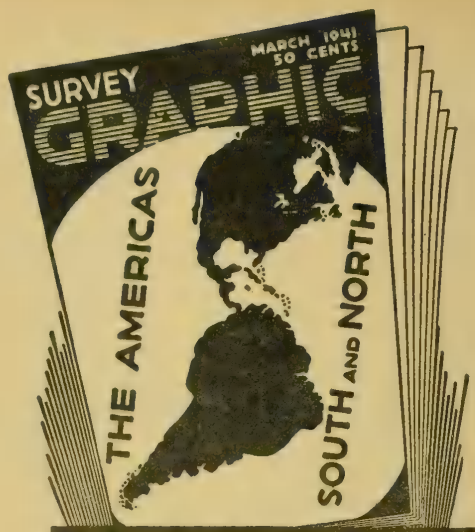
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deed to grow up. A youth marked by "an innate revulsion from injustice" finds himself at fourteen in a world full of injustice. Quite naturally he revolts, first by fleeing home and school, a second time by fleeing his recent past and a brilliant future career, and finally by spurning the whole wartorn world and dying for an ideal. The Epilogue, however, is essential not only to round out the world of the Thibaults, but also to provide a very human and very real apotheosis of Jacques. For by 1918, when his and Jenny's son is four years old and Antoine, fatally gassed, is slowly dying in a hospital, Jacques's spirit has communicated itself to all the other principal characters. Not only Jenny, who now idolizes his memory, but also Antoine and Daniel and even the diplomat Rumelles have seen the futility of the war and come to share the ideas with which Jacques shocked them in 1914. Antoine's diary, at the end of the whole novel, shows him resembling his brother more and more as he approaches death; in him a maturer Jacques dies a second time. More acutely than ever the reader recognizes that these characters, with whom he has lived in close communion, remain faithful to themselves through all the changes brought by time, accidents, disease, and world catastrophe.

While the action of the novel covers the period from about 1905 to the end of 1918, it also reflects very strongly the last twenty years during which Martin du Gard composed it. As a result it brings out by implication more clearly than any other novel the close affinity between what we called until lately the pre-war and the post-war. Chronicling an era that died during the first World War, the author constantly has a thought for death—despite the general robustness and health of his work. Part six deals with the father's agony, part seven ends with Jacques's death, and part eight with Antoine's. Even making allowances for the technical utility and brilliance of some of the death scenes, one must admit that this is a pessimistic novel written by an idealist who nevertheless sees life as it is and deliberately remains objective. Upon receiving the Nobel Prize in 1937—one of the very few times that he has consented to speak of himself publicly—Roger Martin du Gard defined himself as "an independent writer who has escaped the fascination of partisan ideologies, an investigator as objective as is humanly possible, as well as a novelist striving to express the tragic quality of human lives." That quality is here in abundance. Yet the disappearance of Jacques and Antoine is also symbolic. And as he wrote the last lines of his novel the author already knew that he was witnessing the death of another epoch. But he has wisely left these implications for the reader to make.

Though he is anything but reactionary in politics and his general view of life, Roger Martin du Gard remains a conservative in his literary method and habits of mind. His patient system of documentation that filled his house at Bellême with reference cards for his great work; his love of the exact sciences that caused him to give medicine such an important role; and his general distrust of religion and metaphysics came to him doubtless during his early studies as a paleographer and archaeologist. But they also belong to the nineteenth century. In addition to his faithful and whole reproduction of life, this is another reason why one is so often led to compare him with the giants of the immediate past—Flaubert, Zola, and Tolstoi.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

IN BRIEF

REFLECTIONS IN A GOLDEN EYE.

By Carson McCullers. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.

A remarkable novelette by the young woman who wrote "The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter." An army post in the South forms the setting for a story that echoes D. H. Lawrence's "Sun" and "The Prussian Officer" and yet retains a haunting originality in its probing into the hearts of a half-dozen thwarted, soul-stunted men and women.

HOLD AUTUMN IN YOUR HAND.

By George Sessions Perry. Viking Press. \$2.

A "Growth of the Soil" in a Texas setting, this invigorating novel tells how Sam Tucker wrestled with sixty-eight acres of black bottom-land to make a crop of corn and cotton, and how he made out all right in spite of rains and undernourishment and the machinations of a pesky neighbor with the soul of a varmint. Sam and his family are mighty likable folks, with no education but with plenty of gumption and good sense, and you'll be happy to leave them at the end of the long southern autumn with plenty of canned vegetables on hand to protect them against pellagra for the winter.

EAST BY DAY. By Blair Niles. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

This novel resurrects a little-known historical episode of the 1840's: the strange case of the slave schooner *Amistad*, whose human cargo rebelled and thus became the vortex of an international legal scramble. The interest of the book lies not so much in its conventional characters as in the untangling of the moral and legal issues of the case before the Supreme Court, and in the author's picture of the experimental colony of Liberia, where part of the action takes place.

JOURNEY TO THE WORLD'S END.

By Hakon Mielche. Doubleday Doran. \$2.50.

Apparently the author of this volume is a professional traveler who goes to strange places for the purpose of writing about them. Here, however, his resemblance to the late Richard Halliburton stops short. He is realistic, genially tough-minded, and as entertaining a companion as one could wish. The particular world's end referred to is *Tierra del Fuego*, and the climax of the jour-

ney is a voyage around the Horn in a remodeled lifeboat. Readers of Darwin's "Voyage of a Naturalist" will remember the latter's account of some of the country visited by Mielche and be interested to see what has happened to it in a little more than one hundred years. Most of the primitive people Darwin saw are dead of pneumonia or tuberculosis traceable to new ways of life introduced by the missionaries. Thousands of sheep now grow thick wool where nothing lived before and there are quite a few sheep-raising millionaires. The most southerly town in the world is also one of the world's most dismal and most depraved. All in all a very superior book of its kind.

RECORDS

IN Stravinsky's Violin Concerto there was no "lyrical substructure of concepts" to provide Balanchine with genuine "motor impulses" for the choreography of "Balustrade" (the phrases are those I quoted a while ago from Lincoln Kirstein's discussion of the relation of Balanchine's work to music). For Stravinsky's piece is nothing more than ink on paper; and the motor impulses that worked out into Balanchine's choreography were those of Balanchine's own emotions, which in turn could be inferred from the richness of his idiom, the complexity of his forms—from the rich lyricism of his first movement, the occasionally excessive intricacy of his second and fourth, the powerful concentration of the third. For this third-movement *pas de trois* Tchelitchev's costumes were perfect; but most of the others were, I thought, a lot of nonsense to cover up essential pointlessness—and nonsense that contributed, I think, to what happened at the second and third performances. In the audiences were people who had read John Martin's dismissal of "Balustrade" as something not to be taken seriously, who had come prepared to find what they saw funny, and who saw things like Petroff in black with a huge pink ribbon tied in a bow on his chest; and at certain intricate details—done, it is true, with disturbing awkwardness by dancers substituted for the original principals who had become ill—these people laughed.

In contrast to Stravinsky's horrid piece there was, the first evening, the wonderful music of Chabrier that had, not surprisingly, led Balanchine to create "Cotillon," one of the loveliest and most fascinating of all ballets. Among other

De Basil productions Lichine's "Graduation Ball" was delightful; Fokine's "Sylphides" was superbly done; his "Carnaval" was good with Riabouchinska and Lazowsky in the cast; and though his "Petrouchka" was handicapped by the wretched performance of the music, enough of the astounding originality and undiminished power of the choreography was evident to make one wonder that the same mind should have produced the rubbish of "Paganini," which Mr. Martin took seriously.

Columbia gives us two fine piano sonatas of Mozart—K. 332, with its exquisite first movement, and K. 576, with Mozart's most developed, most complex writing for the keyboard—played by Casadesu in the fluent, polished, anaemic style in which French pianists think it proper to play Mozart (Set 433, \$3.50). The sound of the piano is well recorded; but there is an occasional indistinctness in high notes, and with a light pickup there is an occasional rattle. And Mozart's superb String Quartet K. 458 ("Hunting") is recorded not, as one would wish, by the Budapest Quartet, but by the Roth (Set 438, \$3.50). The performance is sensitive, but is recorded with a lacerating sharpness of sound.

Columbia's best recording so far of Stokowski and his Youth Orchestra is to be heard on their disc (11481-D, \$1) of Weber's "Invitation to the Dance." That is, it gives us the normal sound of an orchestra, though not the splendors of his Victor recordings with the Philadelphia Orchestra. The orchestral version of the piece is Stokowski's own, and includes the inevitable lily-gilding touches; the performance is quite unaffected. And one of Columbia's better recording-jobs with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony under Barbirolli—if one excepts the nasal cello tone—was done with the performance of Rimsky-Korsakov's "Capriccio Espagnol" (Set X-185, \$2.50); but the performance itself does not make the music exciting. Beethoven's Twelve Contra-Dances, published by Music Press, are a minor Beethoven product, adequately performed by the Columbia Broadcasting Symphony under Barlow, and well recorded (Set X-184, \$2.50).

Also published by Music Press are the American Psalms and Fuguing Tunes of the American composer of the Revolutionary period, William Billings, which are well recorded for Columbia by the Madrigalists (Set 434, \$2.75). They have individuality and spirit; "Judea" (17250-D) has charm; and

Coming *in early issues of* THE *Nation*

FILM FACTS and FOIBLES

Turn to page 249 of this issue for the second regular dispatch from *The Nation's* new correspondent in Hollywood

ANTHONY BOWER

Hollywood is the capital of unreality, the heart of our most fabulous industry. It deals in glamor girls and gangsters; it practices its own peculiar and often ludicrous brands of censorship. But it furnishes the entertainment of a nation and it is one of the few remaining "lots" on earth still free of direct political control.

Having gathered to itself every important European director, writer, and actor in the field, Hollywood has become more than ever the film center of the world.

Mr. Bower, who was formerly film critic of the *New Statesman and Nation* in England where he lived for several years, will send a fortnightly letter on the latest developments—amusing or serious, æsthetic, political or social—in Hollywood. He will cover the latest films and uncover the newest foibles in our most fabulous industry.

Read *The News*
From Hollywood
FORTNIGHTLY IN
THE *Nation*

Pétain - Laval - Weygand

The only American correspondent to obtain interviews with Marshal Pétain and General Weygand, JAY ALLEN will write three articles for *The Nation*, revealing the inside story of intrigue and counter-intrigue that link Paris, Vichy, and French North Africa.

Inside the State Department

Who are the men who administer our foreign policy? Who speak for the United States in foreign lands? What are their social and political backgrounds—and their business connections? These questions and others will be answered in a series of three articles by FRED KIRCHWEY, editor of *The Nation*, who will probe the most important, most secretive of all our government bureaus.

A New World of Literature

Four critical essays on the literary men and movements of Latin America are planned for early publication in *The Nation*. The series, intended to acquaint the people of the United States with the rich and varied culture of the world to the south of them, will include: Spanish-American Fiction, by LUIS ALBERTO SANCHEZ, brilliant Peruvian critic now exiled in Chile; Spanish-American Poetry, by ALFONSO REYES, Mexican poet, diplomat, and eminent man of letters in Latin America; Work of the Younger Writers, by EDUARDO MALLEA of *La Nación*, Argentina's most important newspaper; and a commentary by WALDO FRANK, whose knowledge of this field has earned the respect and admiration of all South America.

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"When Jesus Wept" (same disc) is quite moving. In the volume of South American Chamber Music (Set 437, \$4.50) I find only the few pieces and songs by Fernandez and Uribe-Holguin mildly interesting or enjoyable. They are well performed by Olga Averino, soprano, Alfredo St. Malo, violinist, Fritz Magg, 'cellist, and Nicolas Slonimsky, pianist; and the recording is good except for an occasional rattle on a high-fidelity machine with a light pick-up. Victor Chenkin is a delightful artist in his own way; but without his gestures and facial expressions his recorded recital (Set 435, \$3.50) will interest and amuse only those who understand Hebrew and Yiddish. "Der Rebbe Elimelech" (17260-D) wavers badly in pitch. Robert Russell Bennett's "Hexapoda" (Five Studies in Jitteroptera), recorded by Louis Kaufman, violinist, and the composer at the piano, are a mildly diverting parodistic use of jazz idioms (70727-D, \$1). B. H. HAGGIN

FILMS

Hollywood, February 19

THE white-collar workers in all branches of industry, curbed possibly by a certain gentility and by a fear of the word union, have not been conspicuously quick or efficient at organization, and in the motion-picture industry, where there is the added fear of racketeering in local unions, have only recently begun to organize on an industry-wide basis. Their working conditions are considerably more insecure than in any comparable industry and apparently they have been induced by two factors to put up with them quite patiently: first, the standard of wages in Los Angeles is, in general, very low and therefore workers gravitate to the studios where pay, if not high, is at least above the local average; secondly, there is a glamor value attached to working in a business which may be considered artistic. A studio office worker is today employed on an hourly basis, works six days a week, has no seniority rights, no job security, and is, in fact, subject to dismissal without notice. True, some employers arrange for a week's notice or perhaps two weeks pay in lieu of it, but not long ago a stenographer was dismissed for no reason and at twenty minutes' notice from a major studio where she had been employed for sixteen years.

Until 1939 each studio had its office workers' guild organized on a company

basis. These office guilds were powerless; their bargaining committees, consisting of employees, were by their very nature helpless, and the workers were entirely dependent on the degree of generosity their employers deemed politic. Naturally some studios were more forthcoming than others, and as time went on employees realized that they must attempt to organize on a wider basis and create some bargaining leverage to obtain more uniformly satisfactory conditions. For instance, the employees at Twentieth Century-Fox receive high minimum wages, and have good vacation and sick-leave arrangements and a fixed scale of salary increases, while at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer they are allowed only one week's vacation a year, five days' sick leave, and have no guarantee of a salary increase.

Twentieth Century-Fox, Paramount, and Warner Brothers were astute enough to treat their employees with generosity, a policy which, as it now turns out, has stood them in very good stead. General dissatisfaction in the other studios and the fear of being taken over by the A. F. of L., where the office workers' problems were consigned to oblivion, brought the Screen Office Employees Guild into existence in December, 1939. It had a stormy career at first, but by now it represents all the studios with three notable omissions—those cited as the most generous to their employees.

The natural result of this defection is to cripple the effectiveness of S. O. E. G. The guild at the end of last year settled its classifications and wage scale; its contract is prepared; and it has been certified by the National Labor Relations Board to bargain for its members; it is, in fact, an organization as complete as any of the other independent guilds (the Writers', Publicists', etc.) which are empowered to bargain as a unit with producers. However, owing to the gap in S. O. E. G.'s ranks, the producers are able to stall in opening negotiations. The guild is determined to deal with the producers as a body and not with each studio separately, but so far it has not obtained the producers' consent.

Of course, it is understandable why employees of the three major studios mentioned have seen fit to stand aloof. They are frightened of losing privileges which might outweigh the security offered by the guild, and moreover pro-guild employees in these studios who have been too outspoken are likely to find themselves doing the more unpleasant jobs and not being promoted

as fast as they might be. It is probably hard to realize, in this period of defense prosperity, that to join the S. O. E. G. would be a wise insurance for the future, and that to facilitate the negotiation of a uniform industry-wide agreement—the aim of S. O. E. G.—would be to improve the status and security of all the office workers.

Having been hounded over the continent of Europe, refugees who finally find sanctuary in this country may be partially immune to the yapping and snarling at their ankles which is beginning in Hollywood. But to the observer, the crescendo of attacks on aliens in the industry has a slightly sinister sound. True, the majority of people in the film world are both tolerant and even actively generous to alien fugitives from the Nazis, but there is a vociferous minority, consisting largely of superannuated actors, certain columnists, and others, ready to cash in on the present patriotic atmosphere by venting their spleen and accusing the industry of un-Americanism for allowing these unfortunates to make a living. Mr. Hearst's threat of a newspaper campaign along these lines, as a reprisal if "Citizen Kane" is released in its present form, is an ominous portent of things to come.

As a matter of cold fact, the aliens employed here account for less than one per cent of the total payroll of the studios, and most of these have already taken out their first papers. There are, of course, quite a number of aliens in prominent positions, but few will deny that they have made contributions to an industry which supposedly has something to do with art and should therefore know no frontiers. Moreover, the more fortunate of the aliens are making considerable sacrifices of money and time to help jobless refugees, saving the country or the state the necessity of looking after them.

The European Film Fund, which has as its president Ernst Lubitsch, was founded two years ago and now looks after some 250 people—artists, actors, directors, who cannot find employment and probably never will. The funds for this purpose are raised among Europeans who are employed and who donate a fixed percentage of their salaries. The society tactfully gives its support in the form of loans, and tries hard as well to find jobs for its dependents, jobs which as far as possible will not interfere with the employment of citizens. An attempt is made to create new jobs and if a dependent of the society

has an idea in the least degree original and practical it is financed. However, jobs and practical ideas are hard to come by. Only the most talented among the refugees are likely to act or direct again; and they must find new ways of making a living, in many cases as domestic servants. This is an adjustment terribly hard to accomplish, and it is to be hoped that their unpleasant lot will not be made any more difficult by the rising tide of nationalist feeling.

Warner Brothers made a charming attempt to anesthetize the press at what was described as a local-color preview of "The Strawberry Blonde." The entertainment included a buffet supper on a sound stage decorated to represent a beer garden of the nineties, and music-hall turns of or representing the same decade. The audience, which included many distinguished stars, sang period songs. The film was likewise quaint—for the first few minutes; but when it is mentioned that the dentist's chair and a solitary-confinement cell provide the biggest laughs it will be seen that the humor is a little macabre. James Cagney and Olivia de Havilland are both delightful, thanks to no one but themselves.

M-G-M has remade "The Trial of Mary Dugan" with Laraine Day and Robert Young. At least half the picture is spent in whitewashing Mary Dugan, which makes the character not very colorful and the story nonsensical. Later we find ourselves in the familiar courtroom and things are a bit brighter, but since the story has almost acquired folklore status by this time, it is not easy to get excited over that thrilling denouement.

ANTHONY BOWER

ART

Out of the French Revolution

IN connection with its brilliant exhibition of French paintings, prints, and drawings of the nineteenth century, the Metropolitan Museum is holding a charming show of the fashions of the epoch; and amusingly enough an unchanging feature of the fashion-prints recurs to the mind of the spectator as he moves among the works of fine art. The unchanging feature of the fashion-plates happens to be that badge of liberty and characteristic element of nineteenth-century masculine attire—the pair of trousers! Pantaloon, the attire of those "free Frenchmen," the ancient

Gauls, were donned by the French revolutionaries as the token of a society which in principle at least granted its members the right of action in accordance with their own will. Their sons also relegated knee-breeches to courtiers and lackeys; continued to wear pants as the badge of liberty and individualism.

What calls them to mind among the marvelous paintings by Ingres, Delacroix, Degas, Manet, Seurat, Toulouse-Lautrec, and others on the museum walls is the circumstance that in all their comparative magnificence these nineteenth-century works (and indeed the body of art from which they were drawn) also represent the spirit of individualism—but not merely emblematically.

The output of each of the galaxy that produced this art not only has its particular, unmistakable character. That hallmark of the individualist, consciousness of an unconfoundable self and of a special destiny to fulfill, greets us from all of it: indeed, one of the exhibits, Gros's portrait of "the man of destiny," Napoleon at Arcola, might serve as the banner of the show, so succinctly does it project the type and common consciousness of the painters. Simultaneously, action in the field of art in accordance with the will of the artist and for his proper ends also reveals itself. It is not necessary that we be told the author of these boldly experimental canvases permitted no church, no state, not even a school to prescribe their techniques and subjects; that the schools hurled curses after them all, Ingres included, in the form of allegations that they "didn't know how to draw"; that many of them painted totally without reference to patrons or public and paid for their independence in the coin of poverty and starvation. The epoch-making developments of technique, the immensely widened range of subjects and of paths, the new spiritual perspectives and horizons in these unique, accomplished paintings constitute a cloud of witnesses to freedom of action.

The arts exhibit as a whole furthermore represents individualism by giving an idea of the spiritual increase possible to and characteristic of the superior individual, and a sign of his means to the creation of a milieu favoring the survival of his sort. This is to say that in the real sense, these painters "wore the pants." This spiritual enlargement—which takes shape as the individual's steadily growing consciousness of a self not only opposed but related to and homogeneous with other beings and things, indeed with universal

life—is freshly brought to mind by evidences of the century-long progress of two discoveries among these post-Revolutionary artists. One of their discoveries was the fact of the organic life of the pictorial medium: they became aware not only of the inward revelation of line and color, but of that element in them which makes the artist desire to draw and paint. We perceive the onset of this awareness through the breath-like line of Ingres, the deep glow of Delacroix's tragic color; its climax in Manet's electric sense of the sufficiency of sheer paint and brush-stroke; its culmination in Cézanne's absolute painting. The parallel discovery was that of the ubiquity of the whole of life. Weak at the start—the subjects of many of the earlier paintings are drawn from remote times and spots, or from historical events—this awareness became powerful in Courbet. Feeling the omnipresent breath of earth, he symbolized it with everyday subjects. In Van Gogh and Cézanne it became an intuition of cosmic ecstasy and architecture through the most commonplace objects. Only the stupid Gauguin had to run to Tahiti for his symbols. The sign of the individual's method of social adjustment—itsself the result of this growing consciousness—in the meantime is given by the very paintings. That method is active representation of the feeling of the life and interrelation of all things. Essentially these works are charts to a free society.

Thus, again we come face to face with the force of the French Revolution: one of the kinds of men it set free; and the aim it had in liberating them. From the purely æsthetic standpoint the show of post-Revolutionary art may be defective: too popular; withheld by its overnumerous Gauguins, Millets, Vuillards, and other minor paintings from the high level where its jewel-like examples of the art of Géricault, Ingres, Delacroix, Manet, Degas, Lautrec offer to set it. Still our thanks go to the double exhibition: it is no small boon, at the moment when the cry is loud against the Revolution's miscarriages, and colossal attempts are afoot to overturn its heritage, to be shown the pit from which so many of us were dug, the spirit of the sires, and some of the possibilities for beauty borne within him by the free-man.

PAUL ROSENFELD

Next Week in The Nation

Edgar Ansel Mowrer

reviews

"Ambassador Dodd's Diary"

Letters to the Editors

The British Communists

Dear Sirs: Harold Laski does not mention the following considerations in his attack on the British Communists in *The Nation* of February 15. Presumably he forgot them:

1. At the People's Convention, the immediate cause of his tirade, it was stressed that should Hitler win, the people to suffer most would be those attending the convention and their kind. This scarcely suggests a desire to help Hitler to victory.

2. The recent British Cabinet changes have brought two more Men of Munich into the Cabinet. Margesson, now Secretary of War, was the Chamberlain whip which never failed to crack over the head of any member of Parliament who showed the slightest desire to criticize his leader. It is impossible, I believe, to find Margesson on record against the Nazis. Margesson was not brought in because of his qualifications. He has held no administrative post. Ernest Brown, now made Minister of Health, was for many years Chamberlain's Secretary of Labor. Never once did he protest against the policy of appeasement. Ernest Brown was appointed after Laski wrote his article. But Margesson was already appointed and Laski has not protested.

3. That national unity, which Laski says the Communists are attacking, is daily destroyed by the Conservatives and their government. The failure to provide adequate shelters (some have been built with street gutters running through them—see the *New Statesman and Nation*); the refusal to recognize the need for a nationally subsidized plan of evacuation which will provide decent accommodation for the evacuees and to rescue the public education system, now utterly destroyed; the tardiness with which assistance has been given to bombed-out people and with which decisions have been reached on such questions as paying rent for bombed homes; the refusal of the employers to sign an agreement offered by the Trades Union Council guaranteeing reasonable profits, but stipulating for reasonable wage increases to meet the rise in prices (in the case of some foods amounting to 250 per cent)—all these are day-to-day indications of the effective war the Tories are waging against their own people.

Yet for Laski the Communists alone stand out as disrupters of "national unity."

4. When Laski rests his prosecution of the Communists where do we find him? Openly and happily in the arms of the Conservatives! If this charge seems harsh, remember he is content to leave post-war problems with "the strong team, under Mr. Greenwood [which] has just been appointed by the War Cabinet, to lay down the general principles of post-war construction." Mr. Greenwood, who so far has been the shining failure of the present government, mediocre bunch that they are! Apart from its personnel, does Laski seriously contend that this committee is any more than political whitewash, destined for oblivion as soon as convenient? He is old enough to remember the fate of similar committees appointed by the British during the last war.

5. The British government has consistently refused to state its war or peace aims. To beat the Nazis is about all the light so far vouchsafed; no promises of internal reform, no promises concerning the colonies or India, no promises about the fate of Continental Europe, have been given. The sole indication of the mind of the government has been Prime Minister Churchill's appeal to the Italians to dispossess Mussolini. Are the British people being called upon to suffer their enormous sacrifices simply to change the fasces of Mussolini into the crown of Victor Emmanuel? Laski does not raise any of these points; is he then, by implication, willing that we in this country should also be victims of this swindle?

KENNETH J. LOWELL

Philadelphia, February 24

The Radical Tories

Dear Sirs: Criticism by *The Nation*, and liberal groups, of the appointment of Lord Halifax as Ambassador to the United States seems to me somewhat misleading, and injurious to Britain's fight against Hitlerism, because it fails to state all facts.

Of course, progressives in America would prefer an ambassador representative of the more progressive forces in England to one representative of the Tory group. But in order to give a complete picture of the situation you should

point out that the Tories in England are not of the same type as Girdler, Willkie, or Ford.

The Tory group to which Lord Halifax belongs has for many years accepted the principle of full, adequate, compulsory social insurance, not merely for old age and unemployment, which we recently achieved in the United States, but for sickness as well. Neither in the federal government nor in the states has compulsory health insurance been actively pushed, so that the Tory group and Lord Halifax are somewhat to the left of the New Deal in this matter.

In Great Britain there is unified public ownership of the entire transportation system in Greater London. The law which established that was actually passed, in its final form, by a Parliament with a large Tory majority. So far as achievement is concerned, Lord Halifax and the British Tories are, in this matter, to the left of LaGuardia, who has yet to obtain unified public ownership of New York's traffic system.

Great Britain, with the support and consent of the Tory group, publicly controls and, in substantial part, publicly owns, a grid system for electric power and light. Though the New Deal Administration favors like action, it hasn't provided definite legislation for it. The Tory group thus is far left of the New Deal on the question of public ownership and control of electric power.

There is no law in England similar to the National Labor Relations Law, the chief reason being lack of need: the Tory group in England, with very few exceptions, has long accepted the principle of collective bargaining. It is thus advanced as the New Deal in this respect.

All branches of the armed services of Great Britain are open to Hindus and Negroes. One young Negro college student in this country, who was refused enlistment in the United States Army Air Corps, crossed over to Canada and was promptly accepted by the R.A.F. This matter is entirely in Roosevelt's power, since he is commander-in-chief of the armed forces. In its race-relations policy the Tory group which Lord Halifax represents is therefore far to the left of Roosevelt.

The Tory group today has an overwhelming majority in Parliament. It has not abolished by law labor's right to

strike in war-time. Thus, Lord Halifax and the Tories are to the left of almost every political group in America having representation in Congress, except—so far—the New Dealers.

Lord Halifax and the Tory government have accepted freedom for Ireland in accordance with the wishes of the Irish people, without even insisting on retaining naval bases within Eire. In our dealings with the Philippines we have granted freedom to the islands but retained a naval base at Manila that has far less strategic justification than would a British demand for a naval base in Eire. Here, also, Lord Halifax and his Tory group are more completely and genuinely democratic than Congress, as expressed by its acts relating to the Philippines.

Failure to make all these facts clear, it seems to me, helps to retard the growth of public opinion in favor of all necessary aid to Great Britain.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

New York, February 21

Strikes in Defense

Dear Sirs: The Associated Press dispatch from Washington showing that strikes in the United States during the last six months of 1940 were fewer than during the same six months of 1939 and far less than during 1917, when we were actually at war, is a complete and sufficient answer to the outcry of reactionary labor baiters in Congress and elsewhere for legislation to outlaw strikes, chloroform the unions, and curb the immensely valuable work being done by the National Labor Relations Board.

There are, to be sure, danger spots of industrial conflict in such important defense industries as the Ford Motor Company and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. But this danger exists solely because these concerns and others like them have stubbornly refused to accept the principle of collective bargaining with genuine labor unions.

If the principle of collective bargaining is accepted by the employer in good faith, and if the companies in defense industries do not insist on keeping all their considerable profits for themselves, but pass on some of them to their employees in increased wages, there is no danger that the organized workers of this country will interfere with our defense efforts. Alert and experienced trade-unionists are aware of the vast difference between the United States and Great Britain, where labor has important rights and is growing in influence, and

the Hitler and Mussolini dictatorships, where the unions have been completely suppressed. They will therefore not interfere needlessly with the program for getting the armaments needed to defeat totalitarian tyranny.

Actually the defense program is far more endangered by the great reluctance of some defense industries, notably aluminum and steel manufacturing, to expand their facilities, than it is by strikes. These concerns have become so injured to a policy of restricted output to keep up prices that they cannot wholeheartedly rise to the occasion and expand their capital facilities now that expansion is needed. They fear there will be excess capacity when the war against Hitler and his Allies is over and that this excess capacity may be used to drive prices down and curtail their profits. Unfortunately, some important manufacturers in this country appear to dislike reduced profits far more than they dislike Hitlerism, and in consequence are justifiably earning the name of appeasers.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH

Chairman, Negro Labor Committee
New York, February 16

Public Whipping

Dear Sirs: What influence has the enfranchisement of women had upon our democratic society? Students of this subject have a lesson worthy of study in Maryland, where the women are united in defense of that venerable symbol of man's inhumanity to man—the whipping post. The perennial bill to end public whipping met the same swift fate in the current Maryland legislature that has been its lot in preceding sessions, and it is said no Maryland politician dares support it for fear of reprisals by women voters. It is worth pointing out, incidentally, that under the law only wife-beaters are whipped, and possibly the broad social view of many women is obscured by personal feelings.

Proponents of whipping do not claim that it corrects or tends to rehabilitate the offender. Indeed, any punishment that humiliates him and destroys his self-respect could not embody such objectives. The advantage, it is contended, is that by persecuting and making an example of one offender, the publicity serves as a deterrent to other, potential offenders. If this line of reasoning were carried to its logical conclusion, we would be right back where we were when man began his ascent from the abysmal pit of the dark ages.

It is to be expected that in organizations composed of conservative and re-

actionary elements—the Junior League and the D. A. R., for example—the members should cherish the traditions and customs of a bygone era with nostalgic fervor. However, when the members of bridge clubs, sewing circles, civic clubs, and other social organizations—the good women who constitute the backbone of our society—unite in defense of a degrading institution, it is indeed discouraging.

FRANK T. HOWELL

Chattanooga, Tenn., February 20

CONTRIBUTORS

HANS HABE, a Hungarian journalist now in this country, was formerly foreign editor of the Viennese *Morgen* and foreign correspondent of the Prager *Tageblatt*. He is the author of two novels, and will shortly publish a book of his experiences abroad.

SAMUEL GUY INMAN, authority on Latin American affairs, served this past summer as leader of the South American Seminar of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America.

ARTHUR GUITERMAN is the author of many popular volumes of light verse, including "The Laughing Muse," and "Ballads of Old New York."

CURT RIESS was a widely syndicated European sports correspondent and feature writer before the advent of Hitler. Since his arrival in this country he has contributed to *Esquire*, *Collier's*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and other periodicals.

GILBERT HIGHET is professor of Greek and Latin at Columbia University.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN, assistant professor of French at Columbia University, is the author of "The Novel of Adolescence in France."

ANTHONY BOWER, formerly film critic for the *New Statesman and Nation*, will contribute a regular fortnightly column from Hollywood to *The Nation*.

PAUL ROSENFELD, author of "By Way of Art," is a well-known critic of literature and painting.

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Editor and Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor

ROBERT BENDINER

Washington Editor

I. F. STONE

Literary Editor

MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors

KEITH HUTCHISON

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Dramatic Critic

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager and Director of Circulation

HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager

MARY HOWARD ELLISON

The Shape of Things

WHEN SENATOR WHEELER HATES HE HATES thoroughly, destructively, and with just a touch of paranoia. The special target of the Senator's spleen is the President of the United States, and in recent weeks he has allowed his passions to carry him a bit beyond what is rational and more than a bit beyond what is decent. One of a tight little group of men who are ready to filibuster away Britain's desperate chance for survival, Wheeler brands his vast opposition "a little group of warmongers who want unity for our boys to be slaughtered to save Europe or democracy in China." His talk runs increasingly these days to "international bankers," whom he accuses of "coming over here and living on Long Island." They want us to go over there and fight for democracy, he tells his audience; "Why in the name of God didn't they stay there to fight?" He addresses a meeting from which a pro-British heckler is ejected to the cries of "British pig!" while professional anti-Semites denounce the Jews from the audience and Nazi Joe McWilliams passes out leaflets at the door. To those who charge him with these things, the Senator replies that when he cannot talk to any group he wishes, democracy will be dead. The Senator is certainly within his rights. He can say what he likes and say it to whom he likes. But let him not imagine he will escape responsibility. Those who once trusted Burton K. Wheeler as an honest liberal, whatever his differences with the Roosevelt Administration, will not soon forget the shameless demagoguery that marks his effort to defeat a measure clearly demanded by a majority in Congress and in the country.

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MUSSOLINI'S EAST AFRICAN EMPIRE NOW IS crumbling rapidly under attacks from all sides. The invading armies are almost international for, in addition to troops from half a dozen sections of the British Empire—Indians, Sudanese, West African Haussas, and South African whites—there are Ethiopians battling to regain their homeland and a force of Free French including Senegalese regiments. Two drives now in progress are of outstanding importance. From the north one army is bearing down on Asmara and the adjacent port of Mas-

sawa while from the south another has forced its way up the coast of Italian Somaliland in a lightning campaign and seized Mogadiscio, the capital of that colony. This stroke seems to have demoralized the Italians, thousands of whom have surrendered, and little further resistance in this sector is expected. In the north, where the battlefield is tangled mountain country, progress has been slower and one British column has been checked for some weeks before the strong Italian position on the Cheren plateau. Now, however, reinforcements are working their way around the flanks of the defending army, which seems destined to be trapped in the near future. The capture of northern Eritrea in conjunction with that of Mogadiscio will force the Italians back into the interior of Ethiopia and the arms of Haile Selassie's warriors. The East African campaign may seem to have little direct bearing on the outcome of the war, but the fruits of British success are not to be despised. There must be around 250,000 Italian soldiers and colonists in East Africa. Their fate and the loss of an empire achieved at enormous cost will be a further and severe blow to Italian morale. Equally important is the removal of a threat to the British base in Egypt. Should Hitler attempt a grand flanking movement through Asia Minor, Wavell can meet him without anxiety about the position in the rear.

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NORWEGIANS, HOLLANDERS, AND DANES ARE behaving quite inexplicably in the view of the Nazis. As racial cousins of the master nation they could certainly count on a reserved place at the table of the "New Order" if they would only submit themselves to *Gleichschaltung* and acknowledge the divine omnipotence of Adolf Hitler. But these peoples have long known freedom; and conquest and occupation, so far from making them blaspheme their inheritance, have steeled them to take increasing risks to regain it. Frequent rumors of trouble in Holland were confirmed last week by an official German spokesman who admitted that the Low Countries were "a fertile ground for agitators" because occupation by a foreign power whether "by God or Devil" must arouse resentment in some quarters. The Dutch have no doubt which of these forces the Nazis represent and have set out to make things as hot for them as possible. There have been strikes, riots, sabotage, and communication with the British. With singularly poor judgment, the Nazis have blamed disturbances on the Jews and have ordered the creation of a ghetto in Amsterdam. This seems an excellent way to increase good relations between the Dutch and the Jews and to encourage them to cooperate in further efforts to thwart the enemy. The Dutch are also likely to be cheered by the German admission that it is impossible to prevent British agents landing from parachutes or small boats. There seems indeed to be a steady improvement in underground communications between Britain and the occupied countries,

with very helpful consequences for the R. A. F. In Norway there are many short-wave radio stations hidden in the mountains and the Germans are resorting to brutal punishment to prevent their use. But even the recent death sentence on ten Norwegians, alleged to have sent radio information to England, will not, we are sure, discourage this and other forms of resistance.

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MEDIATION ACCORDING TO OUR IDEAS IS A disinterested attempt by a third party to bring two disputants together. The Japanese definition, however, is a direct translation from the Nazi political dictionary which gives the word the meaning of dictation in the interests of the dictator. This is illustrated by the "settlement" imposed in Tokyo on Indo-China and Thailand—an almost perfect imitation of the Vienna *diktat* which gave Transylvania to Hungary. The sequel to that astute piece of "mediation" was the occupation of Rumania by the Nazis and the complete domination of Hungary. There is every reason to suppose that the Japanese will follow this pattern exactly. They are already strongly entrenched in Indo-Chinese bases conveniently near Singapore. The same forces will now provide the necessary pressure on Thailand to induce that country to accept "protection" when Tokyo is ready to move against British Malaya. At one moment last week it appeared as if the French government might resist the Japanese ultimatum to accept its award *in toto* and immediately. Vichy delayed its answer and published a statement to the effect that "the terms of our armistice with Germany make the defense of our Empire obligatory on our part." Was this an undercover hint from Berlin that more cooperation was expected from Japan in the war against Britain and that if Tokyo hung back, France would be encouraged to resist its terms. We do not know if Germany obtained reassurances over the week-end but Vichy's stiffened backbone quickly relaxed. Reports from Saigon suggest that the surrender of the home government has aroused bitter resentment among the French troops and colonists. There are hints of revolt, but even if no revolt materializes, General de Gaulle seems in line for a lot of new recruits.

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THE FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LABOR Board demonstrates anew that the best way to prevent strikes is to make it unnecessary for labor to resort to this final weapon to win its rights. The report shows that, thanks to the support given to the board by the courts, workers are more and more resorting to its peaceful processes for settlement of labor disputes. There are now three times as many disputes brought before the board as there are strikes. The figures pertaining to strikes and board cases involving only the right to organize are even more sensational. During the fifth year of the board's existence, there were seven times as many organizational

cases as organizational strikes. In 1936 board cases exceeded organizational strikes by 34 per cent; in the last fiscal year, by 700 per cent. The board takes pride not merely in preventing strife by enforcing labor's right to organize but also in reducing friction between capital and labor by bringing about written agreements, many of which provide for arbitration of disputes. Before the Supreme Court upheld the Wagner Act, there were almost no union contracts in the iron and steel industry. Today, the board's report points out, there are more than 500, covering three-fourths of the industry. In 1932, only 100 rubber workers were protected by contract; now the number exceeds 40,000. Last year Labor Board cases resulted in 880 agreements to bargain and 600 written contracts. As industry's acceptance of the Wagner Act widens, the number of strikes dwindles.

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NOT IN CURTAILMENT OF LABOR'S BASIC rights, but in their enforcement, lies the road to industrial peace. Unfortunately, the proposal for compulsory mediation now put forward by William Knudsen, director of the OPM, takes the former course. We have no clue to Mr. Knudsen's extraordinary reversal, but his latest proposal runs directly counter to his own recommendations a week before to the House Judiciary Committee. Although the newspapers are trying as hard as they can to whip up public hysteria about a supposed wave of "defense strikes," the figures belie the headlines. Recent figures released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and given as little attention as possible by the press, show that there were only a third as many workers on strike last year as in the year before we entered the first World War and less than half as many as in each of the war years. Illness and industrial accidents caused 130 times as much time lost last year as strikes, which averaged but two hours per year per worker. In eleven basic defense industries, less than one-fourth of one per cent of working time was lost through strikes. In the machine-tool industry there was but one day of strike for each 1,800 man-days of production. On the positive side, labor can point with pride to such achievements as the current work on the training station at Corpus Christi, Texas, which will be completed six weeks ahead of time, and the completion of the first airplane defense contract at Vultee forty days ahead of time. These are facts that you will not be able to find in your local newspaper.

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A SHORTAGE IN STRATEGIC METALS IS TODAY hampering the defense program far more than any of the widely heralded labor disputes. The most serious deficiency at the moment is in nickel where demand is running at least a third ahead of supply, despite the fact that the International Nickel Company of Canada is operating

at full capacity. Exploration is being made of the possibility of substituting molybdenum for nickel in steel alloys used in the automobile industry, although molybdenum itself is listed by the Army and Navy Munitions Board as one of the materials which must be safeguarded in the event of a war emergency. Tin prices have risen substantially in recent weeks, as a result of concern over supplies should the United States get involved in difficulties in the Far East. Despite two large purchases of copper from Chile in recent weeks, it is estimated that there will be a shortage of 100,000 tons in the next two months unless further purchases are made. There have been temporary suspensions in defense production because of inadequate supplies of zinc. And airplane production has been materially hampered by shortages in aluminum and magnesium, the output of which is under the monopoly control of the Aluminum Company of America. In the case of all these strategic metals, the shortages seem to have found the business executives responsible for production completely napping. As recently as January 2 the *Wall Street Journal* carried a feature article which asserted that the supplies of the important steel alloys on hand "are ample for nearly a year ahead . . . and no serious bottleneck . . . should develop."

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THE LONG AWAITED REPORT BY MR. GANO Dunn, which Keith Hutchison mentioned in his article on Steel Capacity last week, has now been published. It supports the contention of the steel industry that defense and civilian demands can be met during the next two years without great additional expansion in plant. Less pleasing to the steel magnates is its advocacy of an even spread of orders among the producers, if necessary, by compulsion. This is in line with Mr. Philip Murray's argument that capacity is being wasted owing to the concentration of orders among the large concerns. Mr. Dunn's findings deserve more analysis than we have space for at this time. We can only point out that his estimate of civilian demands in the current year are based on the supposition that national income will not exceed \$80,000,000,000. This is below other authoritative estimates but of course events may justify Mr. Dunn, particularly if production, and hence national income, is restricted by the inability of civilian industry to obtain adequate supplies of steel and other key materials.

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CORRECTION: The editorial on Communists and Unions which appeared in our last issue discussed the action taken by the executive council of the American Federation of Teachers. In subsequent references to the Federation the initials "A. F. of L." were used, through a typographical error, instead of "A. F. of T."—EDITORS THE NATION.

Half Aid to Britain

THE Senate's delay in passing the aid-to-Britain bill provides a dramatic but tragic illustration of the inability of our legislators to sense either the magnitude or the imminence of the threat to England and the United States from the coming Nazi offensive. It is almost as if there were some fatalistic force which has decreed that our action in this crisis, as in others, shall be too little and too late. The full force of the Nazi fury is destined to fall in not more than sixty days; every hour counts. There would not be time under the best of circumstances to send Britain anything like all the aid it needs, but every plane, gun, or destroyer that can be rushed to the other side will be vital to Britain's defense. And if Britain succeeds in beating off the initial attack, the struggle will have just begun. For it may be assumed that Germany will stake everything on obtaining a decision before the year's end.

Few Americans seem as yet to be aware of the amount of aid that must be given if Britain is to survive the year. Germany not only has an immense head start in military and economic preparations, but its armament production is still far and away above that of the British. With the addition of the resources of the conquered territories, Germany has achieved a capacity for steel production that is approximately double that of Britain. America's resources are infinitely greater than those of Germany and the rest of Europe combined, but our shipments to Great Britain, though well above the peacetime level, are infinitesimal when compared with Germany's advantage. *And they have been declining in recent months.* The peak in American exports to Britain was in August when they reached approximately \$125,000,000. September recorded a decline to \$103,000,000; in October they were \$107,000,000; in November \$102,000,000; and December was the worst month of all, with but \$101,250,000. Even at the August rate, the volume of American deliveries to the British Empire was less than the economic gain which Germany is deriving, month by month, from the conquest of France. If the advantages gained from the occupation of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Holland, and Belgium are taken into account, it is clear that Hitler is drawing twice as much from the conquered territories as England and the Empire are obtaining from the United States.

The plain fact is that the United States must deliver, as Fritz Sternberg has pointed out in his "Fivefold Aid to Britain," some \$1,000,000,000 worth of supplies to the Empire each month. This is from four to five times what we are now sending. And this is not a need to be fulfilled in 1942 or 1943 when the arms program gets fully under way. The need will be greatest during the next few months; after that we can perhaps afford to slacken up a bit. But we cannot possibly attain the \$1,000,000,000 a

month figure unless we are prepared to make drastic sacrifices in domestic consumption. Our preparations for defense so far have proceeded on the assumption that a country like America can have both guns and butter. Any contrary opinion is treated in some circles as a betrayal of liberalism. It is true that if our national income were raised to \$100,000,000,000 a year, we could well afford to devote a quarter of it to national defense and aid to Britain and still have sufficient to meet all our normal consumer demands. Such a goal is within our reach, but it cannot be attained in 1941. And we cannot afford to wait. Barring inflation, the maximum national income likely for this year is \$85,000,000,000. If we are to get \$12,000,000,000 out of this for Britain and another \$10,000,000,000 or \$12,000,000,000 for our own defense, it is obvious that we shall have to sacrifice some of the luxury goods we otherwise would consume. Germany stopped the production of private motor cars the day that war started. England took similar action last fall. But the United States, supposedly in the midst of a gigantic effort to build up its defenses, turned out more cars in January and February than in the corresponding months of any of the past few years. The priorities established last week in the aluminum industry are expected to reduce materially the use of the metal in cooking utensils. This is the first and only sacrifice American consumers have been asked to make for defense. It is, of course, wholly incommensurate with what is required. It is time we realized that unless we are willing to deprive ourselves of luxuries now we may be forced to make infinitely greater sacrifices following a British defeat.

The Balkan Squeeze

THAT well-known pacifist, Adolf Hitler, has prevailed on Bulgaria to resist not evil and is now in a position to present his most persuasive arguments to another small nation. His bloodless conquest of the Bulgars was based on the equally bloodless—so far as Germans were concerned—victory over Rumania. That enabled him to range his divisions along the Danube and, while they waited for the ice to melt, to employ all the weapons of the war of nerves in softening Sofia's backbone. The whole operation was carried through with perfect efficiency and now the Nazis are established along its frontiers, ready to use Bulgaria as a vaulting-horse into Greece or Yugoslavia or both.

Probably the second of these countries is the next on the timetable and there are clear signs that its government is getting ready to sign on the dotted line. Adhesion to the Axis will not be popular in Yugoslavia, where sentiment is definitely anti-German, but the country is almost surrounded by Nazi contingents; it is economically dependent on the Reich; and its army, while well-

trained, lacks modern weapons. An army revolt is just possible but the odds indicate acceptance by Yugoslavia of "protection" and the opening to Germany of the direct Vardar river route to Salonika.

This will mean the concentration of hostile forces along practically every yard of the Greek land frontier. Squeezed in this manner, will the Greeks decide that honor has been satisfied by their valorous defense against Italy and that discretion now necessitates acceptance of a peace made in Berlin? From the German point of view it is of the utmost importance to obtain the surrender of Greece without battle. However much confidence Hitler may have about the outcome of an invasion of Greece, the necessity of fighting would be contrary to his plans. He is sincerely anxious to keep the war out of the Balkans because he does not want his chief granary disturbed and because the opening of a second front might interfere with his campaign against Britain. It is therefore worth his while to exercise patience in the hope of pulling off another bloodless victory. Mussolini, on the other hand, is evidently egging him on to attack Greece, since this might enable Italy to regain some of the prestige it has sacrificed in Albania. Moreover, a peaceful settlement with Greece might necessitate terms which would interfere with Italian aspirations.

It will need all Hitler's diplomatic skill to persuade the Greeks to quit. They are a fighting people whose rugged self-confidence has been raised to a new pitch by their success against Italy. They have little to gain from surrender and almost everything to lose, especially as Germany is believed to have promised bits of their territory to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Their mountainous land favors defense and they can count on some British aid.

But can Britain spare sufficient forces and material to enable the Greeks to withstand a Nazi onslaught with any hope of success? The first care of the British must be the defense of their own island for if that falls everything goes. Their next most vital base is Suez, since while they could lose Greece and hold Egypt, the reverse is not true. Nevertheless they cannot afford to withdraw from their last toehold on the continent and we can be sure that Mr. Churchill will do his utmost to give the Greeks support. The question is whether that utmost will seem sufficient to the Athens government, which is reported to have shown some hesitation about accepting offers of land forces lest they prove only effective in attracting the Nazi lightning.

The unknown but probably decisive factor in the strategic equation is Turkey. As we write, reports from Istanbul state that the Turkish government is mobilizing and concentrating troops in Thrace and that the recent pact with Bulgaria is considered nullified in view of Sofia's submission to Germany. The British government is said to be well satisfied with the results of Mr. Eden's visit to Ankara. Did he obtain an undertaking that a

German attack on either Greece or Turkey would be resisted as a threat to Turkey's security zone? One of the chief reasons for the cloudiness of Turkey's policy is the still greater cloudiness of the Soviet position. Now Stalin has cautiously tangled one leg over the fence and by rebuking Bulgaria has made a protest, even if a rather feeble one, against Hitler's aggression in an area of vital interest to Russia. If this is to be construed as a green light to Ankara, there are good prospects of a joint Anglo-Greek-Turkish defense of the Aegean region and the Straits that could provide a serious stumbling-block to Hitler's ambition.

Why Tap Wires?

MR. ROOSEVELT'S letter to Representative Eliot of Massachusetts on wire-tapping places the Administration squarely on record against the Hobbs bill, to which *The Nation* objected last week. "As an instrument for oppression of free citizens," the President wrote Congressman Eliot, himself an opponent of wire-tapping, "I can think of none worse than indiscriminate wire-tapping." Mr. Roosevelt none the less believes that wire-tapping is justified in cases of espionage, sabotage, and perhaps kidnaping, but would make it subject to the approval of the Attorney General and confine the power to the Department of Justice. But to say that wire-tapping is justified in cases of espionage, sabotage, and kidnaping is to beg the question.

The Administration has yet to explain why there is greater need to tap wires now than there was in the previous war when the Wilson administration specifically forbade wire-tapping in taking over telephone and telegraphs. Spies and saboteurs were as much a danger then as now. It was felt then that the dangers from official snooping into private lives, with all the possibilities of blackmail it opens up, dictated a provision against wire-tapping. It was felt, on the other hand, that the spies and saboteurs would not discuss their plans by telephone or telegraph anyway, and that the power to tap wires was more likely to become an instrument of petty tyranny than a means of protecting national security. Is the situation any different today?

The second question which Mr. Roosevelt's letter fails to answer is whether under existing circumstances the Department of Justice can be trusted with this power. Under his proposal no wire-tapping would be allowed without the permission of the Attorney General, and the Attorney General is certainly a man of liberal views and good intentions. But the whole incident of the Hobbs bill throws a good deal of doubt on whether the Attorney General really runs his department. The bill was written by Alexander Holtzoff, a special assistant attorney general who is legal adviser of the FBI. Mr.

Holtzoff said it was an official bill, approved by both the director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, and by Mr. Jackson. Yet Hoover opposed the bill in its present form and Jackson is silent. If the department is so loosely organized that a bill of so important a character can emerge from it in so irresponsible a way, what hope is there of greater surveillance over routine orders permitting wire-tapping? Given the generally anti-labor and reactionary personnel of the FBI, have we any real guarantee that this power would not be used against labor and against persons of suspect views? One need not be very radical to be suspect to the FBI.

The truth is that the FBI is a stronghold of anti-New Deal elements which may yet play a sinister role in American history, that the Attorney General has no real control over it, that it runs true to the familiar rightist pattern of secret police agencies everywhere, that it has tapped wires despite the 1934 law forbidding the practice. No matter what Congress does, wire-tapping, like prostitution, is an evil which cannot be eradicated; but it should not be encouraged.

The Bill for the Coup

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN HIS last speech Mussolini gave as one of the reasons for the delay in entering the war on Germany's side, Italy's contribution to the victory of Franco; the effort put forth by Italy in establishing in Spain a regime which today is cursed by 90 per cent of the Spanish people, had weakened considerably the military power of the Italians. On this point nobody will question Il Duce's sincerity. It is a fact abundantly proved in Albania and in Africa. But it was rather surprising to hear such a crude reference to Franco's obligations so short a time after the meeting on the Riviera. It sounded a little like an attempt at blackmail designed to overcome possible hesitations on the part of Spain to participate in an Axis drive on the Mediterranean.

A week later Stefani, the official Italian news agency, disclosed that Italy's claims on Spain for aid given the insurgents during the civil war amounted to 7,500,000,000 lire—about 379 million dollars at the present rate of exchange—though for some reason Mussolini has billed Franco for only 5,500,000,000 lire, to be paid in twenty-four annual instalments. Italy, according to the "balance sheet" issued by Stefani and published on the front page of the *New York Times* of February 28, sent Franco 763 planes, along with 1,414 motors, 1,672 tons of bombs, and 9,250,000 rounds of ammunition. For land forces Italy sent 1,930 cannon, 10,135 automatic guns, 240,747 small arms, 7,514,537 rounds of artillery ammunition, 324,900,000 rounds of small arms ammunition, and 7,668 motor vehicles.

In themselves these figures are the best and most authoritative corroboration of what most people already knew—that the war in Spain was not decided by Franco but by his Axis partners. The meaning of these figures can nevertheless be appreciated only when compared to the war material at the disposal of the Loyalists. In the decisive battle of Catalonia, at the end of the war, the Negrín government felt that it could escape defeat if it could be assured of 100,000 rifles, 3,000 machine guns, and 150 anti-tank guns—a trifle compared with the Italian figures. Negrín asked Daladier for these supplies only as a loan against war material that Loyalist Spain expected to receive within two months. But the French government, faithful to the policy of non-intervention, preferred to reserve the order. Sixteen months later Hitler took it, along with France itself.

The bill now presented by Mussolini to Franco will come as a shock to those people in this country who, during the Spanish war, discounted as red propaganda the allegations that German and Italian intervention was decisive in Spain. It may be that Hitler, instead of presenting his bill, prefers to have Franco pay it by opening Spain to the Nazi armies on their march against Gibraltar. But if Hitler did present his bill, it would not be much smaller than Il Duce's.

The facts concerning Italy's part in the Spanish civil war, now confirmed by Mussolini's bill, were long ago revealed in prolix documented statements by the Spanish Republican government. In the White Book submitted to the League of Nations as early as 1937 Italian participation in the war was described in full. Nevertheless, every question raised by Labor and Liberal members in the British House of Commons, from the moment of the publication of the White Book to the end of the war, invariably brought the reply: "His Majesty's Government lacks information."

Stefani now reveals that Italian submarines sank 72,800 tons of "hostile shipping"—it is designated as "hostile shipping" though Italy was not in a formal state of war with the Spanish Republic—and that "ninety-one Italian warships were engaged in Spanish war actions." At least for the historians of tomorrow, the Stefani communiqués furnish the information which Lord Plymouth and his Non-Intervention Committee found so much difficulty in obtaining—since every ship that was lost on its way to Spain was officially referred to by the committee as having been sunk by action of "unknown" submarines.

There is, by the way, one bit of information which Stefani withholds—the present whereabouts of those ninety-one Italian warships.

Freda Kirchwey, Editor of The Nation, has left for a month's vacation in Mexico and Central America. Her regular commentary will be resumed in the issue of April 5.

Division in the OPM

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 1

A CERTAIN fatuity does not seem to be the monopoly of the British Tories. "England," says the annual review number of *Iron Age*, "is suffering from the past sins of her Tory party. The watchword for too many years was high profits, no disrupting technological changes, and a beautiful belief that after-dinner speeches could overawe those Germans who were grinding out steel as fast as it would grind." The breastpockets of our own steel magnates are bursting with the most interesting statistical analyses showing that we will still have world steel predominance even should Germany defeat England and add British steel capacity to the factories under its control in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, France, and Luxembourg. This is comforting.

In past weeks, we have had similar assurances on aluminum, zinc, copper, nickel, and steel scrap, and we now have shortages in all of them. The echo of Mr. Stettinius's optimism on aluminum had hardly died away, before we found ourselves forced to cut civilian consumption on the Mellon metal by 75 per cent. It is true that if Hitler doesn't unleash a triple-barreled Axis attack upon the world within the next few weeks, and if we don't have to increase our defense appropriations, and if the national income isn't boosted too much by defense expenditures, and if we aren't drawn into war, and if it remains a long-distance naval war, and if no effort is made to land troops in China, Africa, or Europe, we will have plenty of steel. We need only make sure that Hitler pays as much deference to the wishes of the steel trust as we do.

New Dealers, searching for a rationalization, suspect deep Machiavellian purposes in the President's hearty acceptance of the Dunn report. They think that perhaps he is letting the steel crowd put itself on the spot. They visualize his saying, a year hence or eighteen months hence, "You people said we had plenty of steel. Now we have a shortage. You have shown your incapacity for leadership, your inability to subordinate your own vested interest in scarcity to your country's security." I hope it does not turn out that we have won an argument but lost a war.

If steel plants could be erected at the press of an executive's button, there would be no harm in accepting the Dunn report and forgetting about steel until we needed more of it. But it takes about eighteen months to construct a steel plant, and in about eighteen months we may find ourselves in the greatest war of all time.

Why not put up a few additional steel plants just in case we need them? It is true that if we build these plants, they may endanger the price of steel in peacetime. This is the catastrophe from which the industry and the dollar-a-year-men turn away with a shudder.

Steel is a symbol of the problem that recurs over and over again in the machinery of our defense organization, and the constant reshufflings have failed to meet the issue. NDAC was transformed into OPM. Over the OPM there is soon to be an OEM, an Office of Emergency Management, but so far these spelling bee changes have yet to subordinate U. S. Steel to U. S. A. Nowhere in these alphabetical labyrinths has there yet appeared a man with enough strength to make the magnates realize that this war was not staged for their benefit.

It was hoped that when the President gave Sidney Hillman co-equal powers with Knudsen, Hillman would use them to bring labor's voice to bear on the problems of production. The hope is still unfulfilled. The corridors of the OPM and the dinner tables of the New Dealers are full of complaint that Hillman is too timid to assume these responsibilities, and his own explanations are feeble. His division still doesn't get to see contracts. The real power in the OPM machine is John D. Biggers, the Toledo glass-manufacturer, and the clique of Wall Street lawyers who penetrate every cranny of the defense setup as idealistic young lawyers from Harvard, Yale, and Columbia Law Schools once penetrated the New Deal. Biggers is head of the production division under Knudsen and Hillman, but there are more strings in his hands than in theirs.

Hillman's comfort in recent days was Knudsen's testimony before the House Judiciary Committee that no new legislation was needed to deal with much-exaggerated strikes in defense industries. He felt that Knudsen's maintenance of a united front with Hillman on this question justified the belief that the best policy toward the new powers given him by the President was to use them as sparingly as possible. Hillman was determined "to be a good boy." His reward is a public visit to the woodshed, for Knudsen, without consulting Hillman, has sent a letter to the Judiciary Committee suggesting a three-point program of legislation to curb strikes.

Knudsen is an able man and an honorable man but in spirit he's still a Du Pont hired man, and as long as he is at the top of the defense machinery it will never operate contrary to the wishes of big business.

This was demonstrated again in the meeting held

here yesterday—the long-awaited meeting—on the Reuther plan. Everyone who took part was pledged to secrecy—the less publicity about the Reuther plan the better the automobile industry likes it. It took seven months before Reuther finally got a chance to sit down and tell his story to Knudsen, and though another meeting is scheduled for two weeks hence and the young United Automobile Workers leader is determined to keep hammering away, Knudsen will continue to stall as long as he can. Seven months have passed since Reuther first spoke to Hillman and Knudsen about his idea, the very simple idea that idle automobile equipment could be used for quantity production of plane parts. If Knudsen meant business, he would have ordered an independent investigation months ago. If Hillman had the drive, he would have forced Knudsen to act months ago. There has been no investigation because the automobile industry is afraid to let the public see just how much of its machine-tool capacity and of its production capacity is now idle and could be turned to defense purposes.

If there were a real sense of the crisis that may soon be upon us, the President would be freer to act than he is. An American aviation chief, with power to draw as he liked on steel, machine tools, aircraft, automotives, and aluminum, and a readiness to tread on toes, would have the planes rolling off the assembly lines before you could say excess profits tax. What we have is an ex-publisher from Chicago, until recently employed by, and trained under, that well-known anti-fascist, William Randolph Hearst. His qualification for the job of head man of OPM's plane-production division is that he is an amateur pilot. A labor leader who ought to know better assured me "off the record" that they had to have a man like M. C. Meigs because he "knew the aircraft people" and "we had to have someone who was persona grata with them." The idea seems to be that the aircraft people would not accept defense contracts, the fattest that have ever come their way, except from someone to whom they had been formally introduced. So we find ourselves back at fatuity.

"Big Boss" Bevin

BY A. HARDY

London, February 13

ERNEST BEVIN, a trade union leader who devoted himself almost exclusively to industrial affairs, has been picked up by the political situation in Britain and has fired the imagination of the country. Although Bevin was the man responsible for the coup that ousted George Lansbury from the leadership of the Labor Party, he has never sought the political limelight for himself. He has emerged as a figure of world importance not because he is an agile politician, but because he is an intelligent and courageous leader. It was politics that sought out Ernest Bevin.

When France fell last spring, it was to Bevin that Churchill turned to secure the strongest Minister of Labor England has ever known. Bevin sought the views of his colleagues in the trade unions, and made arrangements, after accepting the Ministry, to address a special conference of the trade union executives affiliated to the Trades Union Congress on how to win the war. For he believes that organized labor must be fully consulted on all matters affecting industrial changes. A small section of the old ruling class is much more concerned about this than it dares confess in public as yet. It knows his power and ability, but would prefer as Minister of Labor someone a little more tractable. Perhaps someone with a little more "Parliamentary polish," who would play the game more in accordance with the traditional

rules. Any bias that Bevin has shown has been toward the workers, and his criticism of the Tories is fearless.

In a recent speech Sir Neville Henderson, British Ambassador in Berlin at the outbreak of war, maintained that Britain and Germany would have to get together at the end of the war and form a bloc that would rule all Europe. Bevin publicly rebuked him, suggesting that in view of the part Sir Neville played in bringing the nation to its present state, "he should have the decency to keep his mouth shut." Nor was Lord Stamp any too pleased when he was told to learn to run his railways before he started trying to run the country.

Sometimes the resentment of the aristocracy, the landowners, and the Tories shows itself plainly. Lord Winterton, criticizing the government, and particularly Bevin, in the House of Commons during the recent manpower debates, exclaimed that some of them were getting a little tired of hearing Bevin talk about his approach as a trade unionist to similar problems; and hoary Parliamentary traditionalists look down their noses when Bevin answers a question by saying "I have decided" rather than "It has been decided," which usage prefers.

Bevin would no doubt be more popular with the Tories and the employers if he would use his compulsory powers against the workers. But the Minister has his own views. It therefore seems surprising, on the face of it, that he should be criticized by even a small section of

what are generally called the "progressive" M. P.'s. The leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons is Mr. Emanuel Shinwell, M. P. for Seaham Harbor, who scored a great victory for Labor over Ramsay Macdonald after Macdonald had left the Labor Party. Shinwell, a master of invective and debate, is extremely critical of Bevin because he will not introduce general industrial conscription. Clement Davies is lined up with Shinwell on this issue, and Lord Winterton, anti-fascist Tory landowner, has added his voice.

The Select Committee on National Expenditures, composed of thirty-two back-bench M. P.'s drawn equally from the three political parties and appointed by the House, has power to examine any books, papers, contracts, and persons, or any evidence relating to government expenditure on national defense. Their most recent observations, issued in December, 1940, are that Mr. Bevin is not using the powers vested in him to order any man or woman to undertake any work at any time, and that while they understand it is preferable to transfer workers with agreement and consent, "undue delicacy" should be thrown to the winds and the authority of the Minister "fearlessly used." But Bevin feels that Britain is waging a war for democracy and against dictatorship. He cannot agree to totalitarian methods. And if any political theory is advanced to prove him out of date, he disconcertingly points to the results achieved and says, in effect, "Theory or no theory, that's the way it works."

The Minister of Labor is already laying the foundation of a different system of society. The primary consideration in every change is that trade unions shall be allowed the same representation as employers' organizations. He has gone to the unions to get members for the new civil service he is building up at the Ministry so that, instead of a panel of bureaucrats, industry may have, on its legislative side, people with practical knowledge.

Under the Bevin regime, it has become obligatory for all employers at factories with more than 250 workers, to provide canteens at which a hot meal can be obtained. Dockers, too, who formerly worked on a casual basis, and whose practice was to line up at the docks and wait without pay for ships to berth, are to have canteens provided by the port authorities; but more valuable than that is the new arrangement which gives them a regular weekly wage with five and a half eight-hour shifts a week.

It was Bevin, too, who gave agricultural workers the best break they have had for years. Their wages have been lifted to a regular weekly rate of 48 shillings, an increase in most cases of 6 shillings a week. Thanks also to Bevin, the black-coated office worker has now been drawn into the State Unemployment Insurance Scheme if his wage comes under £420 a year. Formerly he was excluded if his wage was more than £250 a year.

An impetus has been given to collective bargaining and the recognition of trade unions by the institution of

the National Arbitration Order. This was introduced as the result of negotiations between the British Employers' Confederation and the T. U. C. under Bevin's chairmanship. The order prohibits strikes and lockouts during the period of its operation, and it is likely to be extended to the end of the war. Even without it, it is doubtful whether any large-scale strikes or lockouts would be undertaken at the present time, for there would be no support for either from public opinion. There have been minor disputes over local grievances, involving, at the most, a couple of hundred men, but these have been settled in the course of a day or so. Broadly speaking, the fact that an employer can now be hauled up before a



Ernest Bevin

national tribunal established by the Minister, but operated independently, has strengthened the unions' claims.

One of the finest achievements of the Ministry has been to sift the unemployed, and secure their willing service in jobs which, in the majority of cases, involve moving to different parts of the country. Panels were established at every employment exchange, charged with the task of interviewing every unemployed man on or off the register, to determine from their industrial backgrounds the possibility of training them for some occupations other than those for which they had qualified. The results were amazing. Unemployed distributive workers were found to have had engineering experience; unemployed miners had formerly been shipyard workers; and many thousands were found to have intimate knowledge of some form of mechanical work, which training could adapt for use in the production of munitions.

Today, with less than three-quarters of a million unemployed, there is no longer a vast reservoir from which to draw manpower for munitions. And more than half of the unemployed are women. With husbands or homes and children to care for, they are not available for work except in the district in which they live; and hardship and discontent would be created if it was attempted, by compulsion, to transfer them to other areas to live in lodgings. Among the men registered are many totally incapable of any but casual or light jobs. Every man capable of receiving training has accepted it, with few exceptions. Most of the "hard core" have now taken on a new lease of life at fifty, fifty-five, or sixty years of age, and mean to justify the confidence which has been placed

in their capability to accept new training. The "worthless scrap" are rehabilitating themselves with the assistance of the government.

One of the early major problems which Bevin had to tackle was the loss of time from air raids. It was the practice to take shelter on hearing the air-raid warning. As some warning periods lasted two or three hours during the day, and at times more than twelve hours during the night, the number of man-hours lost was enormous. The adoption of the present system of going to shelter only when danger is imminent was made possible largely because of machinery for consultation which Bevin established. On his recommendation each factory speedily worked out its own plans for protection.

A few weeks ago another of Bevin's achievements was announced. It is the abolition of the "household means test," a formal inquisition applied to the household of every man who had been unemployed for twenty-six weeks or more. When assessing the need of an unemployed man, any of the family income, whether it was paid to the unemployed householder or not, was taken into account. An unemployed adult who lived with parents or relatives had to disclose the amount of their earnings, and if the combined household income was over a certain limit, no relief was allowed. A father was made dependent on his son or daughter, a son on the father. For the household means test the "personal" means test, to which neither the trade unions nor the Labor Party has any objection, has been substituted.

The problem which Bevin now faces is to get more manpower into the newly-constructed factories which are expected to be on full production by the end of May. His reservoir of unemployed men and women is gone. He cannot go to the agricultural projects and rob the land of labor for munitions production. The Limitation of Supplies Order, which cuts down production for the home market, will afford him some measure of surplus labor. Of this he can make full use. But it will be insufficient. Machine tools will be adjusted to carry full capacity, and skilled labor will be allocated to factories where it can be utilized to the utmost. A plan of working hours, scientifically calculated to reach a maximum of fifty-six, is the aim for every worker, although by shift and Sunday working, the factory will be going at full capacity for twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Where factory owners do not fall into line with that plan, or where their production is not at full capacity, and shortage of raw materials cannot be given as an explanation, their factories will be taken over and run by the government, as many in fact already have been.

From this war, Bevin is confident, will come not only victory for Britain and democracy, but a new economic order based on social security for the workers. Nor will this be confined to Britain. Bevin, you see, has never forgotten his wider scheme of international control of the resources of the world, with a United States of Europe cooperating freely with the United States of America in a parliament of free men.

The Decision Is Simple

BY BROOKS ATKINSON

TO BE confused is to be weak. To be weak is to be lost. Yet many people profess to be confused by the shrieking world that is erupting all around them. "I don't know what to believe," they say, or "I can't make head or tail of anything." Perhaps some of the confusion derives from an unwillingness to face the stark facts, and their appalling consequences to us as well as to other nations in the world. But no one except a vain or superficial man would imagine that his mind is perfectly clear about peace, war, and the other great issues of the day. For the simple fact is that no one is master of a world that has plunged out of control, least of all the neurotic despot who symbolizes for most of us the grim and gruesome drive for world conquest. No one now can control the evil that has broken out of the charnel houses and is spreading across Europe and Asia and leaping across the oceans to our hemisphere.

But it seems to me that the confusion is superficial,

a matter of policy—rather than fundamental, a matter of morals. It derives chiefly from politics, which is subtle and mischievous, and economics, which is intricate and open to dispute. Neither politics nor economics is an integral part of the world of God and nature in which we move and have our being. We must not be guided by them. Politics is a game of wits played on or just under the surface, dealing in half truths and deliberate misrepresentations and maneuvering for advantages. It is a game of barter and deception. Strictly speaking, there are no honest politicians. Our happiness, our lives, are largely affected by politics, particularly by political blunders like the long series of evasions and intrigues that concluded with the declarations of war in September of 1939. But the cynical, beady-eyed world of politics is not the one you and I inhabit in our relations with our neighbors and friends. The political world is not a complete expression of human nature.

Nor is the economic world a complete one. It is not a part of human life. It is the technique of the production and distribution of wealth, and the busy, smoky, clattering little area it occupies is hedged around with property. It does not represent anything fundamental in human nature. If we were condemned to live all our lives in the economic world we should have to get on without drama, music, literature, and dancing, without love and friends, without birds and trees, without the grandeur of the sea. The freedom of spirit, which is the vital part of human creation, has finer-spun spheres of influence to occupy than the economic world. Although the ordeal of the world now is at least in part a clash of opposing economies, that is not the reason our hearts stand still when we read the news from Britain, China, and the Near East. Politics and economics clutter our minds a good deal more than we wish they did, but they do not come out of our souls and they are only casually related to the fullness of life we have an instinct for living.

A TIME FOR SIMPLE DECISIONS

When evidence appears to be confusing it is wise to make simple decisions that represent the integrity of our characters. Wise decisions harmonize with the fundamental truths of human nature. Now, the basic questions that people are asking themselves today are moral ones. In the last analysis, we are concerned with what is right and wrong. I am not talking of personal morals, which involve matters of taste, local custom, and religious creed; I am referring to social morals. They are the standards of behavior that men, living together in social groups, have evolved out of their consciousness and unconsciousness as the working truths of mankind. Social morals have an ancient lineage that goes back further than the laws of Moses. Social morals derive from the belief that men have unlimited capacities for growth out of barbarism into consciousness, out of the appetites of animalism into nobility. By certain fundamental agreements, involving justice, mercy, freedom of thought and expression, social groups nurture and cultivate the growth of mankind. The moral nation is the one that guarantees the freedom of the people, safeguards the health of the population, educates and cherishes the children, fosters art, spreads knowledge, endeavors to promote honest dealings between individuals and groups, lives as a good neighbor with other nations, tries constantly to widen and deepen its understanding with faith in the destiny of mankind.

In the superficial worlds of politics and economics nearly all the current questions can be argued. We can easily confuse each other over a great many plausible questions—whether economic necessity forces Japan to dominate the East, whether Germany has an ethnographic right to draw boundaries according to racial strength in adjoining countries, whether it would be shrewd for the

United States to give all possible aid to Great Britain now, or whether it would be smart to walk softly and appease Hitler's temper. These questions and questions like these can be argued until everyone loses his convictions.

But the moral test is not open to argument. Even in a headlong world we can find a solid place on which to stand if we ask ourselves what is right and wrong in human conduct; and I think the basic factors in the current world situation are beyond questioning. To put everything in the simplest moral terms—it was wrong for Japan to grab Manchukuo in 1931 and to spread like a scourge through China, contemptuously bombing civilians in the cities that have resisted; wrong for Italy to ravage Ethiopia, wrong for Germany and Italy to conspire against the legitimate government of Spain, wrong for Germany to roll tyrannically with a clatter of guns and rifles into Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Rumania, Bulgaria; wrong for Russia to engulf the small Baltic states and to crush the national independence of the Finns. These things are wrong, not because they violate international law, but because they have struck at the spirit of man, which is the creative force of the world. They have stained civilization red by the inhumanity of their motives and methods.

It will be noticed that the sequence of evil has constantly increased in horror and contempt: that the Japanese defended the larceny of Manchukuo as law-enforcement against bandits in 1931, but that Germany did not feel required to defend her treacherous conquests of Denmark, Norway, Holland, and Belgium in 1940. For evil feeds on evil and the cunning hand acquires skill in murder. The course of events from 1931 to 1940 points the way that the coming years will follow if thieves, murderers, and despots are not curbed. These things are wrong: there are blunt words for them with moral overtones—pillage, rapine, slaughter, treason, savagery. The blood has spattered around the world; the air aches from suffering; the patient earth is scorched and blistered and has meekly opened to receive her dead. This is the moral indictment.

Granted that these are perversions of the moral code of social living, what is the next step? Many people feel especially confused here. The politics and the strategy can be argued interminably. Some people feel that we, as Americans, can wriggle out of moral responsibility by politely averting our eyes from the ashes of the homes where innocent people have been living blameless lives, and by stopping our ears against the roar of battle. But in the sphere of morals a man does not bargain with thugs and murderers for his personal safety. (Incidentally, it does him no good.) For the man of moral integrity lives day by day according to a code of honor without regard for his personal advantage. He stands for what is

honorable and tries to promote honorable actions; he opposes with his full strength actions that are dishonorable. When his brothers are viciously assaulted, driven from home and herded in bleak barracks, robbed, starved, tortured, and killed, he does not consider the consequences of what he says and does. Whatever violates the code by which he lives with his fellows is his business and he dedicates himself to correcting it. For the moral code is not a system of etiquette for polite social usage. It composes the fundamental truths of humanity and justice, wrung out of the painful experience of mankind since civilization began, and founded on the faith that men can flourish on love and enlightenment.

THE DOUBTERS AT HOME

All this comes painfully close to home. We are confused internally as well as externally. But the moral attitude toward the fundamentals of living also applies at home. If the democratic way of life were not a moral concept of human relations it would not be worth preserving. If freedom were not creative, and the vital source of the present and future, it would not be worth the staggering price we must pay to retain and strengthen it. To look on democracy simply as a form of government is to underestimate the fulness of the life it nourishes. It does not merely preserve our liberties; it enriches our spirit. It is part of the moral wisdom of the ages—men living together with mutual respect in the tradition of a common destiny. Far from being one stage in the development of civilization or a lucky set of laws, it is a fundamental idea, and it cannot be regarded as moribund or inefficient because it has not yet been achieved.

I am surprised now and then to see people shaking their heads ruefully over matters of principle that should make them hold their heads high. For a century and a half we have been establishing in this country a working democracy without the curb or impediment of a ruling class. We were lucky in the beginning. Class distinctions and feudal ideas had not had time to become embedded in our soil. If the slate was not entirely clean when the Constitution was written, it was cleaner of privilege than any other slate of that time, and wiping it clean in 1787 was a fairly painless process. In a century and a half there has never been a time when any considerable body of the country looked back longingly at the old ways of Europe.

Although we have never achieved full democracy we have progressed steadily in that direction with a robustness that at times has seemed comic to sophisticated worldlings. The tone has often been grandiloquent, for the free American loves to sound off. But the progress has been astonishing. See how the wealth of the country has been developed. See how widely education has been spread. Contrast the confident tone of labor today with the meekness of factory workers a century ago. Contrast

working conditions today with those that existed early in your own lifetime. I remember the early morning whistle and the servility of factory workers in my home town when I was a boy. The progress toward the "dignity of man," as it is somewhat fatuously described today, has been swift and far-reaching and is still running in the progressive direction.

Everyone ought to feel encouraged by something that is right from the moral point of view and that also happens to work. Everyone ought to be proud. But I occasionally encounter the faint-hearted. After all these decades some people have missed the main point. Some weeks ago a financier said to me, half in reverie, I hope: "Perhaps democracy has fulfilled its function. Other forms of government have collapsed in the past, and there is no reason to believe that democracy is any exception. Perhaps we are too prejudiced to see what fascism has to offer in an industrial civilization." Well, it is discouraging to encounter that much obtuseness at this late hour in the day. If democracy has fulfilled its function, the financier is through. But why should we take the low view? Why not take the high view, which is this: If democracy has outlived its usefulness, Christ was the most calamitous of false prophets, Lincoln was an eloquent nit-wit, and we have been tragically misguided as a nation. If democracy has outlived its usefulness, slavery is the highest state to which man can aspire.

Most of us understand that the ordeal of the world today is not only a war but a revolution. The violence that explodes and blazes in strange places is not the wilful invention of one fiend in military dress but an agonizing readjustment in the lives of nations. The same readjustment, incidentally, has been going on here amid considerable screaming. But let us not helplessly regard violence as the way civilized nations normally put their house in order. The violence of the past nine years in Asia and Europe has not emanated from any nation that has been founded on the democratic tradition of seeking and obeying the accumulated common sense of a well-informed populace. Violence is barbaric; it represents either a collapse or a lack of mind and moral integrity. In spite of the fact that violence wears a look of injured righteousness, it is purely and desperately destructive. It is not a philosophy of community living, but a brutally real force in the current world, and an attitude of benign laissez-faire cannot stand up against it. To meet it we must strengthen ourselves with more of the muscle and fiber that already have given us the widely-recognized strength of today. What the idealists of the eighteenth century created out of faith in man's infinite capacities must be more abundantly fulfilled. Our system of government needs profound and radical development in the direction of total democracy.

In a general way, what we have now is political and religious democracy—wonders a century ago but com-

monplace rights of the individual man in the United States of today. People speak freely in public and in the press. People assemble openly to discuss public policy, criticizing the chief executive sometimes with unnatural passion. All men—not merely men of property, as it used to be—vote on election day with moving solemnity and they instinctively accept the common verdict. Moreover, people worship in churches of their own choosing without fear of persecution, and there is no official church. Although occasional abuses break out against these forms of liberty, the people as a whole loathe intolerance. Throwing eggs and fruit at the opposing candidate shocks people deeply and arouses a storm of protest. Disfiguring synagogues, forming secret anti-Catholic organizations, are flagrant violations of the democratic faith, and they are commonly hated. On the whole, we have achieved political and religious democracy because they are morally right. They also work, which, as it happens, is no part of the moral question, although it is conspicuously encouraging.

TWO-THIRDS OF A DEMOCRACY

But no democracy can be regarded as fulfilled until everyone participates equally. No freedom is absolute unless it is extended to all people, and until everyone has equal freedom of action. I assume that no one believes we have developed democracy that far in this country. The Negro race, with a population of 12,000,000, was established here by our ancestors under conditions we have since repudiated, but it is still held in economic and social bondage through the ancient evil of race prejudice. The free action of the Jews in our society is curtailed by race prejudice. Race prejudice is fomented by vicious journals sold in the public streets. Moreover, many white Americans are living mean and meager lives. Thousands of tenant farmers are caught between the grindstones of an industrial economy, and are existing in wretched conditions without hope. Thousands are scratching land that has been worn out for decades. Thousands have been dispossessed from dead land by the baking sun and the blistering winds and have crawled out of the inferno of dust storms toward land that looks green. More than four million families are subsisting below the minimum standards of safe diet on a food expenditure of \$1.06 per person a week. Even in these abnormal times of rearmament, 6,500,000 out of an estimated working population of 55,000,000 are unemployed and sustained by makeshift programs that are commonly held in disfavor. England's economy has not supported its entire working population for more than two decades. Ours has failed in its primary function—that of supporting the entire population—for one decade. To millions of Americans, therefore, democracy is a hypocritical word; it tastes sour on the tongue. To have such a large portion of the population cut off from the basic principle of the country is a

dangerous practical weakness. From the moral point of view it is wrong.

These festers on the body of the country are not all of a kind and cannot be cured by the same therapy. Like an old canker that sleeps in the system, breaking out at recurrent intervals, race prejudice is a virulent form of ignorance. It can be fought only with knowledge and moral teaching. Although it cannot be cured in any man's lifetime it can be steadily alleviated. Teaching, which is the active form of faith, digs deeper and deeper into the consciousness of every generation.

But the spread of economic democracy among people able to work is capable of quicker fulfilment. For this is a matter of economics, which is not a part of human vitality, but a technique of the production and distribution of wealth, and it has no relation to human life apart from what we choose to give it. Fortunately, it can be changed any time it does not meet the democratic needs of the country, and it can be changed by lawful process if the people will it that way. Geoffrey Crowther, editor of *The Economist* of London, estimates that a half of the national income in normal times would guarantee adequate living conditions to every person in that country, and probably the same proportion of income would do the same job here. The price would be cheap in comparison with the good it would create. People are more frightened by economic changes than by any other. They accept without protest the principle of drafting an army in peacetime, although it infringes remarkably upon personal liberty. But the prevailing system of economics involves property, which in turn represents to most people at least the illusion of security; and people hang on to property rights with a kind of ominous desperation.

From the moral point of view, which is the foundation of the democratic way of life, we have first to ask ourselves what is right and wrong. Is economic freedom as essential to democracy as political and religious freedom? Is it right from the moral point of view to keep millions of people ill-fed when the granaries are choked with unsold surpluses, or to have millions of people living in primitive conditions when in normal times the production capacities of industry are only partly used? Are human needs more vital than property rights?

For all this is an essential part of the warfare that has been raging with increasing cruelty all over the world for about eight years, driving millions of people into forlorn exile, sentencing whole populations to slavery at the point of a rifle, defiling the wonders of the deep with the broken hulls of ships and the cold bodies of sailors; murdering men, women, and children in convulsions of terror; crushing the truth that we have labored for centuries to lift out of the darkness. Are these things right or wrong? We cannot foresee the result of the steps we take to resist and stop them. But people who are not degenerate know what direction those steps must take.

From Cárdenas to Camacho

BY HARRY BLOCK

Mexico City, February 27

NEARLY three months after the inauguration of Avila Camacho, the major political fact in Mexico is still the strength of his government. For the moment, at least, it finds support all the way from the labor movement to the bankers' association. How long this almost unanimous approval can be retained will depend on a number of factors to be discussed presently, but it is a curious commentary on the 90 per cent electoral majority claimed by Almazán that except for a tiny remnant of die-hards even his followers are applauding Avila Camacho. This has been explained in the United States by saying that Camacho appropriated his opponent's platform. Despite the superficial evidence giving grounds to this theory, I suspect it may have been rather prematurely advanced. A change there has certainly been, but the ultimate nature of the present administration is obscured by imponderables of an inner political struggle that has not yet fairly begun.

General Manuel Avila Camacho has an honorable, if unspectacular, record in the Mexican Revolution. The political quip of the Almazánistas, dubbing him the "unknown soldier," is hardly borne out by the facts, which show that he fought in all the major campaigns from 1913 to 1929 and received his military promotions in active service rather than, like many of his more celebrated contemporaries, out of political expediency. Until 1933, when he entered the War Department as *Official Mayor*, he had never held political office; Cárdenas, a close friend and in many of his former posts his direct military superior, appointed him Under-Secretary, and later Minister, of Defense. Nevertheless, Camacho made no political commitments and was never identified with the "ideology" of the Cárdenas regime, a circumstance contributing to his selection as candidate of the PRM (Party of the Mexican Revolution), which found him an ideal compromise between its right and left wings.

It should be recalled that the radicals of the party were the first to indorse him, since they recognized that Mexico would not be able to maintain the Cárdenas pace through another six years. Avila Camacho was considered a political moderate and an able administrator, an executive capable of consolidating the Cárdenas heritage and of bringing order out of the transitional chaos—which was exactly what the radicals wanted. The conservatives were equally satisfied with the choice, seeing in it a guarantee against further experimentation and adventure. But the fact that the probable character of

the new government was implicit from the beginning did not mean that inner-party differences had been liquidated; it simply meant they were temporarily postponed in order to defeat the threat represented by Almazán and would be resumed over the question of whether the "pause" the radicals were offering would be turned by the conservatives into headlong retreat.

All the emphasis of the closing weeks of Avila Camacho's campaign was on national unity; his promise of "a government for all" and his offer to form his administration with representatives of all factions were clearly intended to woo followers from the opposition and to erase the bitterness which, under Cárdenas, had split Mexico into two warring camps. This in itself was a wide departure from tradition, as Mexican presidents, like good soldiers, usually march into office with the left foot forward. But as Camacho was assured of popular backing, his strategy was to win over the strongly conservative middle class and to hold out sufficient inducement to finance and business to lift the economic siege by which these had paralyzed the Cárdenas government.

Under these conditions, it was no secret that the new Cabinet would include members of the PRM's anti-Cárdenas faction, although the decisive influence ascribed to the leaders of the party's right wing, General Abelardo L. Rodríguez and Emilio Portes Gil (both ex-Presidents of Mexico), has been considerably exaggerated. The Cabinet, in fact, with a few exceptions, is made up of personal friends and political allies of the President. It seeks to face both ways at once, in a balance of conservative and progressive elements which to a certain extent is a reflection of the government's heterogeneous support. And although popular opinion is inclined to predict Cabinet changes in the near future, it is obviously to the President's advantage to postpone such family crises as long as possible.

The economic basis of the new political trend can be summed up briefly. The United States now controls over 85 per cent of Mexico's foreign trade. The country has always, of course, been economically dependent on our own, but the former 60-65 per cent American share in Mexico's exports and imports left a certain margin on which to build an illusion of national autonomy. Other markets have now been shut off by the war. Mexico can neither sell its raw materials to, nor import manufactured goods from, Europe. Trade with South America has always been insignificant, and the potential South American market for the only big export industry

in Mexican hands is virtually closed by the boycott of the British and American oil companies. Improvement of this condition must wait on the termination of the war or on a planned organization of inter-American economy, neither of which is an immediate prospect. Meanwhile, Mexico must so obviously cut its cloth to the American pattern that it is unnecessary to look for signs of additional pressure.

The great problem with which the new government must deal, however, is the continued rise of internal prices. Mexican manufactures are currently in the doldrums because the mass of the population is unable to buy anything but food, and can buy very little of that. Driven up by middlemen and speculators, retail food prices in Mexico City have risen more than 90 per cent since 1934, and the average increase for the whole country is nearly 60 per cent. Wages, of course, have by no means kept pace with this rise, so that the much-advertised labor offensive of recent years has thus far resulted in lower real wages. The Cárdenas government, for all its good intentions, did nothing but shadowbox with this problem, its own inflationary tendencies aggravating it and encouraging the speculative frenzy. The one agency it set up to "regulate" the market for essential foodstuffs was so handicapped by its own poverty and by official indecision that it was able to make only the smallest impression on the price level, and even then it provoked violent attack from the press. With the food dealers taking over 80 per cent of the income of wage-earners, there is very little left for other purposes.

To judge by its initial measures, the new regime hopes to turn present depression into prosperity by restoring the business confidence supposed to have been killed by Cárdenas, and so induce private capital to embark again on productive enterprise. But even if the influx of foreign capital on which the government is said to be heavily counting, materializes it is hard to see what real improvement will be secured. Though industrial expansion will mean wider employment and a larger gross income, it will also mean greatly increased demand. Food prices will not be brought down, and the cost of other consumers' goods will rise to join them. The rock on which all these optimistic plans for swift industrialization come to grief is the uncomfortable fact that the Mexican people don't get enough to eat, and little progress will be made until some stable relation is established between earnings and prices.

This can be put another way by pointing out that the Mexican agrarian revolution, in spite of the great momentum it received under Cárdenas, is still far from complete and that the industrial structure will necessarily be lopsided and distorted until the land problem is satisfactorily settled. It is no longer a question of mere distribution of lands, for although much still remains to be done in that direction, enough has already been accom-

plished to provide a solid basis for a reorganization of rural economy. The problem is now one of technique and capital resources. The real place for capital investment is primarily in the new structure of Mexico's agriculture, which should be based on an integral program of collectively worked *ejidos* and large-scale mechanized methods wherever local conditions will permit, combined with scientific cultivation, ample credit, a network of local roads, electrification, and marketing facilities that will eliminate profiteering middlemen. The considerable resources now lying idle in the banks or devoted to parasitic or speculative ends, could, if made available for agricultural development under government supervision, measurably reduce the appalling poverty that impedes general industrial expansion.

To allay conservative fears and to appease the critics of Cárdenas's "agrarian bolshevism," the President has issued since December 11 a series of rulings on land matters. In deference to the demand that the *ejidos* be divided into individual holdings, the new rulings order the immediate parcelization, with property titles, of all *ejidos* already constituted and of future grants. The sanctity of "small property" immune to agrarian reform is once more affirmed, the goal apparently being to lay down a definition of rural property rights that will end the uncertainties and agitation of the past. Whether or not in response to sharp criticism from the left it is still impossible to say, but a later ruling has made clear that in such collectivized regions as the Laguna cotton and wheat *ejidos*, literal parcelization will be replaced with certificates guaranteeing the membership rights of peasants within the *ejido*, so that what at first looked like a death blow to Cárdenas's contribution to the agrarian reform may actually help to consolidate it. But until agricultural production has been greatly increased over present levels, other government measures to underwrite the security and profitability of new industrial capital are a way of putting the cart before the horse; they reach only a small segment of the national economy and while they may produce a temporary counterfeit of prosperity, they seem destined to result in new industrial conflict when the spread between wages and prices becomes intolerable.

That conflict, should it develop, will put a severe strain on the middle-of-the-road position which the new government has tried to take and in which certain ominous cracks are already becoming visible. On February 12, General Rodríguez delivered an oratorical blast against "labor demagogues" and the "experiments based on exotic theories" of the Cárdenas regime. Inevitably, his speech has been compared with the famous Calles statement of June, 1935, which provoked the rupture with Cárdenas and laid the basis for the subsequent events of the Cárdenas period. Rodríguez, reputed to be one of Mexico's wealthiest bankers and industrialists, has re-

placed Calles as the most authoritative spokesman of the group of native capitalists which has grown up under the aegis of the Revolution; his address has been given wide publicity by press and radio and has drawn a bitter reply from the labor movement, which charges him with assuming leadership of the reactionary opposition to the President. This is a rather optimistic view of the situation, for the faction Rodríguez represents is a part of the

government and is more actively engaged than labor itself in the task of depriving its enemies of political importance.

At bottom, of course, these periodical squalls involve nothing less than the two antagonistic trends observable in the Mexican Revolution since 1910 and



President Avila Camacho

responsible for the zigzag course of the movement's development. Every President has had to face this dilemma, but has yet found the compromise that would satisfy the aspiration and demands of both groups and so preserve the unity, even within the so-called "revolutionary family," for which all have striven. If the labor and agrarian drive for higher real wages and continued land distribution is officially encouraged, the regime will lose many of its present supporters among employers, while if it curbs the popular movement in the interests of "social peace" and high profits, it will gradually deprive itself of the mass support with which it came into power. Sooner or later, this decision will have to be made.

This analysis is dependent, naturally, on how persistently labor will stick to its own guns in the face of what promises soon to become an employer counter-offensive.

Overshadowing everything else in the public mind, however, is the war and the question whether Mexicans will be called upon to fight in it. The Pan-American agreements of Lima, Panama, and Havana have committed Mexico to aid the other American republics to defend the western hemisphere. People are increasingly asking if the government's commitments go beyond that and are demanding clear definitions of what is meant by defense and aggression. In brief, they fear the United States is about to be drawn into a war with Germany and they want to know if in that case Mexico will be expected to fight.

It has been instructive to watch the change in general sentiment during the past year. As they see the conflict

drawing closer to American shores, the newspapers that used to be filled with panegyrics on Hitler and Mussolini when the victims were Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Spain, have become ardent champions of democracy—perhaps with the idea of qualifying for the shower of American defense money they hope will soon begin to flow south of the Rio Grande. The deflation of Mussolini and the Nazi methods of total war have likewise helped dissipate enthusiasm for the Axis, and there is general admiration for the courage displayed by the British people since last September. Pro-Nazis are confined almost entirely to the German colony and to those native fascists who are wholly unregenerate; the lurid tales of dangerous fifth-column conspiracies published by the more sensational American press, are wholly imaginary. Official neutrality, never very hardy, has been virtually abandoned since June of last year; in spite of the absence of diplomatic relations with England, government sympathies are clearly not for Germany.

But while the number of those who would welcome a German victory is strictly limited, there is no corresponding enthusiasm for the Anglo-American cause. Mexicans resent the peculiarly British attitude of arrogant aloofness in dealing with "natives" and also have a tendency to recall that in the 120 years of their country's independent life, they have been invaded once by France and three times by the United States. It would be a grave error to believe that the loss of Texas and California, the bombardment of Vera Cruz, and the Pershing expedition left no wound in national susceptibilities. There is plenty of historical justification, of course, for the Mexican War, but it is harder to find moral excuses for what General Grant called "one of the most unjust wars ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation."

The present emergency is reawakening fears of military as well as of economic penetration which the good-neighbor policy had done much to dispel. Public uneasiness has already obliged the government to make repeated denials that it will give military bases to the United States or that foreigners will directly participate in Mexico's military preparations. The theme of Yankee ambitions is a sore point in Latin America, and General Franco's apologists, who have taken over from the clumsier Nazi strong-arm men the task of representing Axis interests, are posing with some success as the patriotic defenders of national sovereignty. It is precisely this circumstance which is puzzling the labor movement, whose skepticism of British war aims is heightened by the paradoxical flirtation with Franco.

At the same time, most Mexicans realize that no country—and certainly not a defenseless one—can isolate itself in the present world and that, for obvious geographical and economic reasons, Mexico's future is inevitably bound up with that of the United States. Cooperation thus becomes an almost elementary necessity.

But there are kinds and degrees of cooperation, and the kind the United States is likely to get will be determined by the kind it gives. Even the goal of military strength will scarcely be achieved unless government agreements are reinforced with popular approval; the rejoicing with which the coming general agreement to settle all outstanding differences between the two countries will be received, since it is expected to end the three-years' boycott that has crippled foreign trade and the currency, will doubtless be tempered with disappointment over the fact that the old Chamizal dispute (involving a tract of land on which a part of the city of El Paso is built, awarded to Mexico by arbitration in

1911) has not been included in the negotiations. The war and the exigencies of defense are encouraging a tendency that has always existed in both countries to retard Mexico's social and economic progress, but this shortsighted policy can be followed only at the risk of allowing the prophets of Franco's Neo-Hispanicism to gain adherents in wider circles than they have thus far been able to penetrate. In exchange for full cooperation, the Mexican people want freedom to solve their own problems without alien interference; in the long run, the democratic and peaceful Mexico that may be expected to result would be a greater asset to inter-American solidarity than a country suffering from a frustration neurosis.

Bethlehem Bends

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Lackawanna, N. Y., March 1

FOR thirty-nine hours this dreary steeltown on the edge of Lake Erie was American labor's most dramatic front. The local Bethlehem Steel plant, one of the largest in Bethlehem's empire and loaded with \$250,000 in defense orders, was almost smokeless and silent. Though clusters of non-strikers stayed inside the plant overnight because the picket lines were too formidable, the great bulk of the 14,000 employees were out. They mugged for newsreel cameras, built campfires on the picket lines, piled into union headquarters to sign up with the C. I. O.'s Steel Workers Organizing Committee. The bars did big business too, because this hadn't happened in Lackawanna since 1919.

It all seemed pretty simple to the pickets, some of them ageing, work-worn men who remembered 1919, others young kids who went from school to steel mill the way their fathers had and the way their children will. The corporation had the best year of its life in 1940 with \$48,677,524 in profits, but no substantial wage boosts had been granted. Pay envelopes were 10 to 20 per cent fatter in organized plants. When the S. W. O. C. started to win new support in the Lackawanna plant and to clamor for increases, the corporation suspended a thousand men, including a high quota of active unionists. So the S. W. O. C., half in desperation, half in defiance, called a strike—"and the damn thing is shut down, just look at it." The night the strike began some heads were conked and the Buffalo police (one plant gate leads into Buffalo) weren't too gentle at first; but the strikers kept saying they wouldn't go back until Eugene Grace welcomed them as union men.

The issues were simple because Bethlehem Steel's anti-unionism in the first war and in this one is a matter of

public record; but this strike wasn't a simple affair or a narrow test of strength. It was a national battle from the moment it began; and throughout the thirty-nine hours it lasted there was abundant evidence that the S. W. O. C. was racing against time, fearing a propaganda barrage. The truth is that the strikers gleefully returned to work without waiting for any redistribution of Bethlehem's wealth. Yet the S. W. O. C. leaders publicly hailed the outcome as "a great labor victory" and privately considered it at least a major strategic advance, although the terms of the settlement weren't gaudy. The agreement reached in Washington provided reinstatement of the suspended workers, conferences with the management to "discuss" wage adjustments, and "exploration" by the OPM and the Labor Board of the possibility of an election at the plant. Outwardly these are moderate terms. In the present national setting, it was a happy ending for the S. W. O. C.

The S. W. O. C. undertook the walkout with genuine reluctance, partly because its leaders were not heedless of production needs, partly because they knew that they would have to win fast or risk a disastrous defeat. There were too many Congressmen ready to yell treason and too many publishers anxious to thump the C. I. O. and too many muddled citizens who get their lowdown on labor from Westbrook Pegler. The S. W. O. C. called the strike because there wasn't any alternative except surrender; because Bethlehem was apparently risking condemnation by the Labor Board at some remote date in order to cripple the C. I. O. drive now.

Whatever Bethlehem's strategy, the S. W. O. C. couldn't afford to submit without a fight. So the strike summons was issued and the response was even more favorable than the leaders had anticipated. If it hadn't

been impressive, it is doubtful that Bethlehem Steel would have signed any truce at all, for this would have been the time to settle "the C. I. O. problem" once and forever. Instead, the strike proved the reverse: that the corporation which has held out more fiercely than any other steel plant was vulnerable.

There were three chief gains for the S. W. O. C. in the settlement hammered out in Washington and ratified unanimously by the strikers. The first was the demonstration that the S. W. O. C. could protect its members in this anti-union citadel. After the strike was called off several thousand workers paraded gaily along the highway that runs parallel with the plant. They plastered their coats and hats with union buttons and they went back to work without hiding the decorations. Secondly, the strike's outcome vindicated the strategy of fighting on one Bethlehem front at a time, rather than striving for a general strike throughout Bethlehem's far-flung set-up; the threat of further tie-ups undoubtedly hastened Bethlehem's ratification of the agreement here. Finally, if the wage-conferences now provided by the OPM agreement turn out to be merely make-believe, with Bethlehem refusing to grant any wage changes, the S. W. O. C. will be able to appeal again for federal help; the assumption now is that Bethlehem has agreed to genuine bargaining.

The swift end of the Lackawanna strike is no sign of permanent peace in Bethlehem Steel. This was a skirmish, although so far the most important one. But the true causes of unrest inside this and other Bethlehem plants won't be dissolved until decent wage increases are granted and genuine collective bargaining established. There is no doubt that the S. W. O. C. would win an election now at Lackawanna and that its strength is mounting fast in other Bethlehem strongholds. There will be other flare-ups soon.

The Administration's role in the Lackawanna clash was a sympathetic one, largely through Sidney Hillman's efforts; and S. W. O. C. chieftains, who haven't always seen eye to eye with Hillman on matters of strategy, are outspoken in praising his handling of the affair. They are also relieved that the President spurned efforts to get a "plague-on-both-your-houses" statement from him. The only dismal Washington note was Secretary of Labor Perkins's statement that the strike was called "too suddenly." In actual fact, the crisis had been plainly coming for a good many weeks, and the Capitol was officially warned more than a week before the strike call.

Several months ago Philip Murray informally told reporters that "Bethlehem is the touchstone of where labor stands under the defense program. If they can get away with the same labor policy they used in the last war—no collective bargaining and no decent wage increases—we haven't made any progress."

The Lackawanna strike was progress.

In the Wind

A BUSINESS newsletter from Washington advises its clients that in the section served by TVA power a good market for electrical equipment has come into being. In December the area gained 78 per cent in electric refrigerator sales over 1939, which was 53 per cent greater than the gain throughout the nation. In the preceding twelve months Tennessee, with 3,000,000 population, bought 16,000 new electric ranges; Massachusetts, with 4,500,000 population and a far higher standard of living, bought only 10,000 new ranges.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY of St. Joseph, Missouri, has banned "For Whom the Bell Tolls."

A YOUNG NEGRO and a young Mexican, convicted of rape and murder respectively, were scheduled to be executed in the state prison at Austin, Texas, on February 17. At the request of the prison officials they were granted a 24-hour reprieve. The authorities explained that the execution would interfere with a radio program being broadcast from the prison that night.

A PROMINENT AMERICAN is suggesting to newspapers that Colonel Lindbergh be urged to go to Germany, as Wendell Willkie went to England, to report on the Wave of the Future.

AN ARTICLE in the *New York Times* recently told how hunting clubs in Great Britain have closed for the duration and their lodges been made over into homes for evacuees. "Some Americans," said the *Times*, "feel that the entire burden of an ancient tradition devolves on hunt clubs in this country."

OF ALL the conquered countries in Europe, Norway seems the most rebellious against Nazi rule. After the Germans had forcibly stopped all overt disapproval, the people found other, apparently innocuous, ways of expressing themselves. Ordinary paper clips were worn in lapels to symbolize the "sticking together" of the Norwegian people. Paper clips in lapels were outlawed. Then they wore safety pins to show the same thing. Safety pins were outlawed. Now they wear matches in their buttonholes—to show their burning hatred; and carry small packages—to show that the Nazis should be wrapped up and sent away.

CLARENCE HATHAWAY, the *Daily Worker* editor who was expelled from the Communist Party and who then publicly apologized for his misdeeds, is still missing. Nobody has been able to locate him for more than two months. Reporters looking for him have been told by his wife that she "thinks he's out of town."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Appeasing Fear

THERE is nothing anemic about the increasing hundreds of thousands of boys marching in the new army camps which crowd old cornfields and pine forests with quickly grown quarters. The swarms of young Americans look at least as strong as any armed elders they ever had. Their haemoglobin ratings are high. There is blood in them which is no less precious and no more precious than the blood of young men all over the world. And in a time of much angry talk of appeasement neither they nor their parents ought to be appeased with any thin hopes or transparent pretenses. That blood may be shed. It should be, if necessary to preserve democracy and Christian civilization on earth.

But a strange process of appeasing not Hitler but home fears seems to be at work. Winston Churchill voiced it from Europe when he told us that if we would furnish the tools, the British would do the job. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes expressed it at home more recently when he declared: "Although this is the time of the world's greatest travail, there is no need of our sending troops abroad." When he announced his belief that Christian civilization was at stake, the Secretary announced also the view that we could do our part in its defense by furnishing the instruments of war to other men who would do the fighting and the dying.

I hope to God both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Ickes misjudge us. I don't believe that it is necessary to convince us that we can be safe as a corollary of convincing us that the world burns. If we are convinced that all our liberties are at stake, I do not believe we also must be appeased with promises of security. If we are grown so fat, so timid, so cowardly that we must be appeased in those characteristics, we are already appeased in a condition which, though home grown, is worse than any Hitler could impose upon us. We should already be queasy, if not Quisling, and in a world which still honors ancient virtues, one can be as bad as the other. Any appeasement of fear would be a part of propaganda for the world's contempt. We would be the people grown both rich and spent, soft among our gadgets, weakened by our machines, who to all intents and purposes hired the courage and the physical strength of other men to guard the jewels of our freedom.

I don't believe it. I do not believe that an America, convinced of the threat to civilization, would want other

people to do all the fighting for it. I do not believe that we are a people who would be content in dependence on other people's courage. I do not believe that the American democracy is a rich Park Avenue apartment house with a hired British guard at the door against Hitler's thugs, who may come from the totalitarian slums of the world looking for the loot of civilization. If anybody is after the precious things we possess, we will not be content to pay Britain's wages as our policemen. The Americans in the army camps and throughout the country do not look to me like fat men to be defended only by the king's cops.

The question before America is not whether it is scared to go to war but whether it wishes to go to war, whether it believes that the hour has arrived—and the issue—upon which no other course is possible in good sense and honor. When that time comes, it would not be a question whether Britain needed men but where Americans, as courageous as they ever were in defense of their liberties, could take the battle line with greatest effectiveness. Where they could die most effectively. If I know Americans, if I have any understanding of the growing number of the khaki-clad Americans in the camps and of their parents behind them at home, they will not be content as providers of the materials of war while there is fighting over something that they feel in their hearts is important to them.

I never saw a soldier yet, nor a civilian nor a statesman, who wanted to die. But the Americans I have seen did not seem to me men unwilling to take their chances with any other fighting men on the earth, if matters important to America were involved in the fighting. They are men, and they are not such men as need to be appeased (by the people who speak most vigorously against the "appeasers"), with any promises of safety behind other men in any war. Of course Britain needs our supplies. But it needs them no more than we, as men, would need a place in actual fighting when, as a democracy, we reach the decision that the time has come when democracy needs our defense.

We are not women, nor children. We are not rich, fat, soft, fearful men. We do not need to be appeased by any promises that we can take part even in the battle for the preservation of civilization itself and still be safe. We can't, and despite the promises, we know it. As a people we are not afraid and nobody ought to suggest to the world that we are.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

THE second issue of *Decision*, the monthly "review of free culture" edited by Klaus Mann, contains a number of interesting essays though on the whole its direction seems to me a little uncertain, in contrast to its downright name. In an article on War and the Future, Thomas Mann makes what seems to me an excellent reply to those who insist on regarding Hitler as a revolutionary. "He is not a revolutionary but a free-booting exploiter of the revolution; not a lion but a hyena. He reduces the social revolution, which, it is true, is about to change the face of the earth, to his out-of-date Alexandric expedition for the conquest of the world. The history which Hitler makes is imitation history, nonsense, a froth of blood. He is not a revolutionary, he is a swindler of history and his bankruptcy is only a question of time. . . ."

Somerset Maugham contributes an engaging essay, *On Style*, to the same issue. It revolves around the style of Edmund Burke, but that is as much a pretext as a text. Mr. Maugham discusses, among other things, the problem of the novelist, whose style must change with his matter. "But perhaps it is enough," he goes on, "if the novelist contents himself with avoiding the grosser errors of grammar, for no one can have considered this matter without being struck by the significant and surprising fact that the four greatest novelists the world has seen, Tolstoi, Balzac, Dostoevski, and Dickens, wrote their respective languages very carelessly; and Dickens, as we know, did not even take the trouble to write tolerable grammar. It is for the historian, the divine and the essayist to acquire and maintain a settled style. . . ." These provocative sentences make me wonder how a novelist like Flaubert, for instance, fits into Mr. Maugham's hierarchy, both of novelists and of style. I suspect he would be consigned to the same inferior circle as his admirer, Henry James, whom Maugham discussed in a tone approaching scorn in the introduction to his anthology of short stories—though to be sure he included one of James's stories. James, of course, would be scornful of Maugham's admiration of Tolstoi. Once or twice in the course of Mr. Maugham's essay I had the impression that he was confounding style with Style. What, for instance, would he think of *The Zoo*, a story in the same issue of *Decision*, by William Carlos Williams? It certainly doesn't parade a Style that Samuel Johnson would tolerate; instead, the language is a kind of invisible cloak, so closely fitted to the content that one actually spends an hour in the zoo, not with a Stylist, but with the animals and the Finnish servant girl Elsa. I happen to like Tolstoi and James, Samuel Johnson and *The Zoo*. And though I might quarrel with Mr. Maugham—who has written one good novel himself—there is so little discussion these days of writing as writing that I found his essay absorbing.

THIS IS in the nature of an aside to those who read and liked "The Late George Apley" by John P. Marquand. His new book, "H. M. Pulham, Esquire" (Little, Brown and

Company, \$2.50), which exploits the same New England post-world of dullness and stability, is a deftly written but rather long-winded demonstration of the fact that even a clever writer can't do the same thing twice.

THE *PARTISAN REVIEW*, in its current issue, prints a useful and extremely interesting compendium of information as to the whereabouts of European artists, writers, and musicians. The data have been compiled by William Petersen from newspapers, publishers' releases, personal interviews, and letters. It is the who's where of a civilization in exile, as tragic a document, with its matter-of-fact entries of names and places of refuge, as the times can show.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Education of a Democrat

AMBASSADOR DODD'S DIARY, 1933-1938. Edited by William E. Dodd, Jr. and Martha Dodd, New York. Harcourt Brace and Company. 1941.

SOMETIME in the evening of July 13, 1933, a new American ambassador reached his first diplomatic post, in Berlin, Germany. Unlike the average American diplomat, he was an intellectual—a distinguished professor of history. Unlike the average American diplomat, he was a true democrat. He objected to pomp and waste and ceremony. He insisted on living on the altogether inadequate salary the American Republic pays its major representatives abroad. Unlike the average American diplomat, he spoke the language of the country to which he was accredited and knew its history.

His task in Berlin, as he conceived it, was "to work for peace and better relations" between Germany and the United States. He was asked to do what he could "to prevent the Germans defaulting openly" (on their loans to the United States) and so "upset American financial interests." Admirable notions—in normal times. In fact, in normal times, the historian might have made a great ambassador. But the times were not normal. Mr. Dodd loved Germany—the Germany in which he had studied around the turn of the last century. And under Hitler, Germany had ceased to be lovable. Moreover, as an "orthodox" American liberal, a pacifist and a former Y.M.C.A. student, he brought to his task a number of preconceived notions: The Treaty of Versailles was the root of nearly all the world's ills; the French had "driven" the poor Germans back into Prussianism; the Hoover moratorium was a fine thing; the Germans had "honestly" made an effort to pay reparations and could "really" pay no more; the Germans "are by nature more democratic than any other great race in Europe," a quaint conceit from which he never recovered. True or false—and the reviewer thinks them false—these ideas made it difficult for their holder quickly to get at the facts of the Germany of 1933—the Germany of the Reichstag fire, the torture of adversaries, and cold-blooded preparation for the new war of aggression.

Mr. Dodd strove manfully to love the Germans and "understand" the Nazis. He did his best to seek out the "moderate elements"—the ruthless, clever Schacht, the weak Von Neurath, cynical Von Bülow, two-tongued Hans Dieckhoff, who at least were not Nazis. One can almost say he did his best not to see the truth. But he was an honest man and an intelligent one, and the truth which, at the beginning, he flatly refused to believe when expressed to him (at his request) by this reviewer rather quickly opened his eyes.

In less than a year from the time of his arrival in Germany he is refusing to shake hands with Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels, the three chief personages of the government to which he is accredited. And almost tearfully he asks himself: "Should I resign?"—a cry that is repeated regularly during the thirty more months he remained in Berlin. Once he understands that the Nazis have completely submerged everything he loved in the old Germany and realizes that his only duty is to warn a deaf Washington that Hitler is hell-bent on a new war and can be stopped only by an American-British-French-Russian combination, he is right more often than not.

He learns from Fritz Thyssen that "we [the German industrialists] compelled the German government to withdraw from the League." He watches the gradual transformation of the French and British ambassadors from intelligent critics of the Nazi regime into dumb appeasers. He records the pro-Nazi feelings of Jewish bank directors (and is, unfortunately, impressed by their fears lest Germany collapse: a German collapse back in the thirties might have saved the world). He is appalled at the spectacle of American and British and French firms selling to Germany "for gold" (of course Germany was "unable" to pay previously contracted debts) war material that he foresaw would be used against them. He early informs the State Department of the French promise to let Mussolini have Ethiopia (though sharing their illusion that they can thereby purchase Italy's friendship). He follows German encouragement of Japan. He understands the real meaning of the Hoare-Laval plan and notes the pressure brought by the great oil companies against making sanctions against Italy effective. The spectacle of Standard Oil helping to provide Germany with oil reserves it was storing against war, depressed him. On August 15, 1936, he records that the League failure to stop Mussolini "dooms democracy in Europe." He sees the insanity of Dollfuss's attack upon the Austrian socialists. He warns about Nazi seizures of Austria and Czechoslovakia with the consent of Britain (and the passivity of France). Lord Lothian, then a rabid appeaser, admits his efforts to set Germany against the Soviets. In fact, nine times out of ten, once he got over his original blindness, Ambassador Dodd was right.

His tragedy—and a tragedy it was to him—was double: first to see his dear Germany go wrong; and then to find it encouraged in unrighteousness by so many people in democratic countries. His book might have been subtitled: *An intelligent democrat among the appeasers.*

A huge section of the American business community rooting for Hitler and Mussolini (read the names and remember them); British conservatives setting out deliberately to give Europe to the Nazis in order, as they dumbly thought, to

save it from Stalin; American Senators, called liberal, concurring in the British idea; Ambassador Bullitt, in his distrust of the Bolsheviks, working for Franco-Nazi cooperation; the German nationalist, Paul Scheffer, friend of American liberals, discovered on November 15, 1936, to be "now a good Nazi" (was he ever anything else?); what an experience for a man of insight and feeling! What wonder that he writes—on October 29, 1937—"In Berlin once more. What can I do?"

A few months before—February first of the same year—this pacifist had received something like a revelation which to this reader remains the diary's climax:

The French and English peoples have become overwhelmingly pacifist and the Germans know this. Pacifism is the attitude of the United States also, but pacifism will mean a great war and the subordination of all Europe to Germany if the pacifist peoples do not act courageously at this critical moment of their history.

After this but one more sort of bitterness was left for him to taste: lack of sympathy and rough handling on the part of a State Department that was fifty per cent dominated by appeasers. Encouraged in the autumn of 1937 to return to Berlin for a few months more, Ambassador Dodd was abruptly informed twenty-five days after his return to Berlin that he would be expected to quit Germany before the end of that year—at the request of the Germans—and others. . . .

He returned to the United States. A few months later came the surrender at Munich whose approach he had seen, and a year later the world war he had warned against—and which might have been averted had his contemporaries followed his advice.

No future study of the causes of World War II will be complete without full cognizance of Dodd's diary, for as his children have written, he "kept the democratic faith in an age of betrayal."

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

The Court Then and Now

THE STRUGGLE FOR JUDICIAL SUPREMACY. By Robert H. Jackson. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

THE Attorney General of the United States here gives us a superb brief in condemnation of the not-too-remote conduct of the Supreme Court of the United States and in praise of the conversion that has since come to pass, with an account of the intervening struggle, all of which he saw and part of which he was. He deals lightly with the particular device proposed by the President to overcome the judicial frustration of major policies of his first administration, and is obviously sparing of praise. The proposal was, of course, a threat which, if carried out to the full, would have afforded a precedent for subsequent action that could have reduced the judiciary to impotence in the political arena. Fortunately there was enough judicial surrender to yield results which have been characterized by the comments that a switch in time saves nine and that the President lost the battle but won the war.

Mr. Jackson makes it clear that had the Supreme Court of 1936 continued unchanged in personnel and in temper, still further frustration of major national policies must have

been administered. He makes it clear, too, that the temper changed after the reorganization proposal while the old bench was still in power. Even before the President's message on February 5, 1937, the equal division on the New York Unemployment Compensation Act, with Mr. Justice Stone not participating because of illness, made it clear that Mr. Justice Roberts had approved of a pooling provision similar to the one he condemned in the Railroad Retirement Act, and on March 9, 1937, he reversed his prior condemnation of the Minimum Wage Law. The election and the Presidential attack were bearing fruit. The approval of the Wagner Labor Relations Act and the Social Security legislation came shortly after.

The details of the conversion of Mr. Justice Roberts will doubtless always remain one of the secrets of history. Did he see the light himself, or did the Chief Justice, with his wiser statesmanship, indulge in some plain talk? On all fundamental matters of constitutional power, Mr. Justice Roberts has since kept the faith of the convert, even when it meant that he had to indulge in at least a tacit "Peccavi" for earlier deeds. Where he has refused to go along with the now ruling majority of the court, he has often had the Chief Justice with him, and in good lawyership and intellectual straightforwardness he has deserved the palm over those who have repealed or warped prior statutory construction instead of leaving the reformation to Congress, where it belongs.

No one can read the Attorney General's vivid story without appreciating that the former court needed an effective warning, if anything approaching democratic government were to continue. There should be a caveat with respect to the annulments of the first Farm Mortgage Act and the Industrial Recovery Act, which were unanimous, and to that of the delegation in the hot oil provision of the Recovery Act, which went by a vote of eight to one. These were novelties of such magnitude that some checking may well have been in order. One cannot condemn the checking without condemning also those Justices whose repeated forceful dissent lent the greatest strength to the demand for a general about face. The cautious scholar would write with some more reservations than the brilliant counsel for the government. In the main, however, the picture is a fair one, even though a few lighter shades should have been put here or there.

While the Attorney General deals lightly with the President's proposal, he pretty clearly disapproves of what he calls its "initial indirection." He says that he is not writing a defense of the plan, and refers to his statement before the Judiciary Committee as evidence of his statement that "I did that as well as my powers permitted when it was timely." Apparently, however, he approves of the President's subsequent radio address which, he says, "supplied the frontal attack which the message had lacked." In this address, however, there was a lamentable misrepresentation of the so-called "general welfare" clause, which ought to be nailed whenever it raises its head. The President said that the framers gave to the Congress the ample broad powers "to levy taxes . . . and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States." The clause reads: "To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common defense and General Welfare of the United States." Had the President been seeking accuracy as well as brevity he should have quoted: "to

levy Taxes . . . to provide for the common defense and general welfare," making it clear that it was a power to tax and spend for the general welfare, and not a general power to provide for the general welfare. The President's elliptical version, which others have also urged, would render unnecessary all the other constitutional clauses conferring descriptively named powers on Congress. Such a version would make much of the rest of the Constitution extremely silly.

It is a pity that a good cause had to be fought with such faulty weapons. Yet it is not easy to conceive of a proposal that would be both an effective contemporary threat and a decent permanent part of our governmental system. For years the majority of the court had been battered by their colleagues, by scholars, and by informed laymen and yet had seemed to be increasing in obduracy. The oligarchy showed no sign of self-reform, and changes in personnel did not seem imminent. It may be that it took an unlovely way to put a stop to unlovely ways. Now it seems to not a few that the new and enlightened court occasionally feels compelled to indulge in some unlovely ways to reverse some of the unlovely ways of their predecessors. Judicial usurpation may take the form of acting in place of Congress as well as of putting chains on Congress. There are nice questions of intellectual morality that raise more difficulties for official action than for purely private conduct. Many are prone to condemn or condone methods depending on the ends they serve. It may perhaps be urged, however, that in considering methods, we should keep our standards of judgment pure and unswerving, even though we may forgive those who succumb to temptation to choose the method that seems to them essential to what they deem to be good ends.

THOMAS REED POWELL

Meditations of Rauschnig

THE REDEMPTION OF DEMOCRACY. By Hermann Rauschnig. Alliance Book Corporation. \$3.

THIS is Hermann Rauschnig's third book. The first, "The Revolution of Nihilism," with which this former German conservative—who joined the Nazis to "annihilate" their revolutionary tendencies—sprang into literary prominence, was a source of much authentic information about Hitler that only an intimate could give; though long before Rauschnig many Germans had judged Hitler rightly by his deeds, and without Rauschnig's inside knowledge. The second volume, "The Voice of Destruction," was valuable and successful for the same reason as the first. It recorded Rauschnig's conversations with Hitler in 1932-35. Unlike the first two, his latest book, "The Redemption of Democracy," is largely the fruits of personal meditation about the deeper evils of this world. Written in London air-raid shelters, it gives a picture of a man "earnestly striving to overcome in his own soul the temptations of his own time."

Wandering in this book from problem to problem in a haphazard way and spraying metaphysical myths about him, the author sometimes reaches conclusions with which one may agree, though for reasons different from his. But often his meditations lead nowhere. Or, with an air of authority, the author makes statements that are contradicted by the

record. To give an extremely grave example: "The truth is that every level of the French people went on strike. They wanted to live even without honor if necessary . . . the Catholic generals formed a mere front for a no longer extant France." As if the French generals had not sabotaged the Third Republic, just as Rauschning and the German generals sabotaged the Weimar Republic! Again, according to Rauschning, "Dollfuss and Pilsudski tried to give democracy a new meaning." And he even finds "something majestic about Hitler's plans and ideas."

The philosopher Rauschning visualizes progress and barbarism as twins. The whole intellectual development since the Middle Ages, in fact, all human history since the beginning of time—man's fight for liberty, his setting up of his own order, "an opposing order to the divine one revealed to mankind"—have been the work of the beast from the deep, and Hitler is merely one of its incarnations. Rauschning's cry is for religion. He is one of those people who, like the sorcerer's apprentice, are calling in this despair for the master to stop the forces of knowledge—identifying Hitler's barbaric misuse of all the results of modern thinking with modern thought itself.

The non-essentials of Mr. Rauschning's former books (including the meaningless name, the "revolution of nihilism," given to Hitler's will to power, and the belief in a forced reconstruction of Europe—after the Rauschnings of all nations had had many years in which to put their high principles into effect) are the essentials of this book. Yet in spite of them Rauschning again shows his grasp of the scope of Hitler's ambitions. He makes many pertinent observations as to the ultimate victory which a compromise peace would mean for Hitler and concerning the serious hope of the Nazis for internal difficulties in the United States.

Mr. Rauschning sees many of the trees but not yet the forest. On the other hand, it would be unjust to ask from any contemporary all the insight which his conservative admirers impute to him in their understandable longing for theories which acquit them of their crimes. The revolution of nihilism, the apocalypse, and much more high-sounding verbiage are used in order to produce reasons for the present disaster for which nobody, and least of all the comfortable metaphysicians of the ruling classes, wishes to be held responsible.

Rauschning senses clearly that we stand at the threshold of a new period in history. Yet, with due respect for his earnestness, he seems, as a political thinker, no less a dilettante today than he was at the time he associated himself with Hitler. For the student of contemporary political confusion, his new book will have a special interest. It puts forward honestly all the questions which a bad conscience must ask in pain—and who can have a good conscience today?

FRANZ HOELLERING

Mr. Russell on Empiricism

AN INQUIRY INTO MEANING AND TRUTH. By Bertrand Russell. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.75.

IN THIS book, the first on technical philosophy published by Mr. Russell in a long time, we find a thorough discussion of those problems that its author takes to be at the basis of empiricism. Empiricism, as we all know, is the philosophic doctrine according to which the source of knowledge and the ground of truth are experience. And Mr. Russell undertakes to give a rigorous account of the relations which obtain between these terms. But this cannot be done without going into such questions as the meaning of meaning and its criterion, and the nature of belief and its relation to knowledge.

But of course the elucidation of these matters depends on what we conceive to be the procedure and objectives of empirical knowledge, which is to say, of the scientist, who comes more fully than any one else into its possession. And perhaps because he is primarily a logician, Mr. Russell more or less implicitly assumes that the scientist seeks certainty just as the logician seeks necessary conclusions, and that just as the latter starts from a set of basic postulates so does the scientist start from some sort of ground, itself unquestionable. In order to satisfy these requirements Mr. Russell holds that empirical knowledge must be traced back to "basic propositions" which refer to observational facts. These propositions are considered true because they are directly observed. But unfortunately not all empirical propositions are of this kind. What, for instance, about memory propositions—can they be assimilated to those based on direct observation here and now? And what trust can we put on propositions referring to a whole class of objects of which only some have been examined, like the proposition that all men are mortal? The difficulties encountered in answering these questions are enough to shake one's naive confidence in empiricism. And our confidence is further shaken, Mr. Russell believes, when we remember that "physics tells us" that we do not perceive the objects which we naively believe we perceive, but observe only the effects of these objects on our selves.

No esoteric knowledge of the history of philosophy is needed if we are to recognize that Mr. Russell's difficulties are, in spite of their new fancy dress, the same old factitious problems which have been plaguing philosophers since Descartes. Let us deal first with the alleged need for basic propositions. When we give up the hanker for the indubitable and accept as the objective of inquiry corrigible knowledge, which is all the scientist seeks or ever gets, we come to see that its acquisition need not start from basic propositions. Knowledge-getting is continuous; it does not begin anew with every new problem. Observations, important as they are in the resolution of problems, are logically no more "basic" than the context of accepted knowledge out of which the problem arises. They are not made *in vacuo*; they are acquired by means of provisionally accepted procedures, which are themselves subject to constant improvement; and they are relative to assumptions which are determined by previous inquiries. The satisfactory solution of a problem, though a step forward in our knowledge-getting, also leads back to the reconstruction of the accepted context from which the inquiry started. And

Coming Soon in The Nation

The Nature and Destiny of Man

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Reviewed by

DENIS DE ROUEMENT

it is only when we conceive of empirical knowledge on the model of deductive systems—conceive of it therefore, though perhaps unconsciously, as static and finished—that any element in the continuum of inquiry can be selected as logically more basic than any other. There is of course no doubt of the need for trustworthy observations. But they are trustworthy when they abide by the techniques of certification set up by the experts. We can ask, it is true, questions about the relation between propositions and that which they indicate; but only a psychologist can throw light on these matters, and he cannot tell us which among a group of observations are acceptable by the scientist as trustworthy and which not. And this is the reason that scientists find the epistemological game, with all its old-maid scruples about the validity of knowledge in general, so queer and so amusing. The game is silly because it has no bearing on the procedures involved in getting knowledge and arises out of a misconception of the objectives of science.

Nor is it true—to take another one of Mr. Russell's factitious assumptions—that "physics tell us" that we observe only the effects of things on us and not the things themselves. This is merely an erroneous philosophical interpretation of the act of perception, made by philosophers who cannot abandon a primitive, hypostatized conception of mind. According to this conception, the mind is *a something* to be found in the skull, within which, in turn, as within a stampbox within a drawer, we find "sensa," produced by the objects we perceive. In fact, however, we do not have *a mind*, but mind things. And when we mind them, though of course it is always we who do the minding, it is they we mind, not ourselves minding them. It happens that the act of minding can be analyzed. When we do analyze it, we break it up into activity within the body, involving perhaps *sensa*, and activity outside, producing the former and involving objects; but neither of the component parts can separately be called the act of perception; nor can either, considered in abstraction from the other, throw doubt on the existence of that which is disregarded. We cannot say, therefore, that what we observe is our *sensa*. If there are *sensa*—and the existence of these hypothetical entities is by no means as certain as Mr. Russell takes it to be—they are part of the process of observing, and are themselves merely inferred by-products of analysis.

The upshot of these considerations, succinctly put, is this: there is a great deal of philosophizing, in which must be included the epistemological labors of Mr. Russell, that is addressed to the resolution of phantom problems. This is not to say that this book is without value. In the resolution of his difficulties Mr. Russell ranges far afield and is forced to go into a number of questions on which he sheds valuable light. I take his criticism of the logical positivists, for instance, to be of real value. Nor is my criticism intended to belittle Mr. Russell's stature as a philosopher. For of him we know, whatever bigoted clergymen and stupid judges may think of his accomplishments, that he will be remembered in the history of philosophy as one of the most distinguished thinkers of our day. But the reasons for his preeminence and why it is questioned by bigots make up another story, and one which the reviewer has not been asked to tell.

ELISEO VIVAS

As Though to Breathe Were Life

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD. By Patrick White. The Viking Press. \$2.50.

LAST year Mr. White, a young Australian, exhibited an extraordinary talent in his first novel, "Happy Valley," and in some ways "The Living and the Dead" surpasses its predecessor. Combining the detachment of an anatomical lecturer with an uncanny eye and ear for significant detail, he traces the lives of an English mother, son, and daughter who barricade themselves, in varying degrees, behind a wall of reserve and make-believe that at least subdues, if it cannot completely shut out, the importunate clamor of the real world of flesh and lusts and vulgarity and war and sacrifice. Their avoidance of life, however, is neither more nor less timid than that of the average "intelligent" modern human being confronted with a civilization that he can neither trust nor understand. And therein lies the theme of the book: the "dead" are those who, fearful of exposing themselves to pain or ridicule, "wanted instinctively to close the eyes, like Adelaide and Gerald, like Muriel, or the ranks of red suburban houses, smothered in a plush complacency"; only the "living" have the courage to "recognize the pulse behind the membrane, the sick heartbeat, or the gangrenous growth, . . . the drunken, disorderly passions of existence, that created but at the same time consumed."

If neither this novel nor "Happy Valley" is destined to figure in best-seller lists, it is because Mr. White sees too much and too clearly, and records too pitilessly what he sees. Like Virginia Woolf and James Joyce, he portrays character from within; it is as if he sat at a switchboard and pushed a series of buttons that caused a bright fluorescent light to flash on inside one character after another, illuminating not only the rosy flesh but the steadfast and enduring bone. While he employs the stream-of-consciousness technique more sparingly in "The Living and the Dead" than in "Happy Valley," he is extremely sensitive to the subtle overtones of conversation and of feeling, to the thought half-articulated and tinged with a crazy-quilt pattern of personal associations. He also reveals at every step a keen awareness of the impenetrable, intangible envelope that encloses each human personality—the "which-of-us-is-not-forever-a-stranger-and-alone?" of Thomas Wolfe—but where Wolfe rhapsodizes about it in hundreds of poetic and prolix pages, Mr. White merely suggests it in a dozen indirect and skilful ways.

There is no sentimentality in Patrick White's work, no blurred outlines to pamper the lazy mind or the namby-pamby heart. He aims at a discriminating audience, at the "living" rather than at the "dead," and for this audience he puts on a brilliant and masterful performance. He is a bold, original, and penetrating observer, who probes too deeply for comfort. Let the comfort-lovers beware.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

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IN BRIEF

THE PARDNERS. By John Weld.
Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75.

Bret Harte would have been proud to sign his name to this exuberant tale of the California gold-rush days with which Mr. Weld follows up his grim first novel, "Don't You Cry for Me." Put together "The Luck of Roaring Camp" and "Tennessee's Partner" and you'll have the flavor and most of the characters of "The Pardners," its sordid hoodlums with hearts of gold, and its warm treatment of male friendship out where men are men and a woman is a curiosity. Even if the people of Sycamore Flat have been lifted right out of Poker Flat, with change of names, they are still appealing, and the vividness of their background counterbalances any shortcomings they may exhibit as real live people.

THE EXILES' ANTHOLOGY. Edited by Helen Neville and Harry Roskolenko. The Exiles' Press, Prairie City, Illinois.

A varied little anthology of contemporary English and American poets, rather better than most things of this kind.

DRAMA

"The Talley Method"

IT would be too much to say that "The Talley Method" (Henry Miller's Theater) reveals any new aspects of the talent of S. N. Behrman. In fact, the play is very precisely in the manner of such of his later pieces as "Rain from Heaven" and "The End of Summer." But so far at least as I am concerned, it is enough that he should have found again that true way which he seemed momentarily to have lost in "No Time for Comedy," and that "The Talley Method" should again exhibit so delightfully the special kind of charm and special kind of wit which are his.

There is no contemporary writer whose gift is more exclusively or more purely comic. I have no doubt that he could, if he chose, write polite comedies of a more conventional sort, dealing with drawing-rooms, from which had been carefully excluded everything capable either of disturbing the pleasant tenor of events or of challenging, by implication, the adequacy of the comic

approach to life. In fact, I have no doubt that such comedies would present to the writer fewer technical problems not solved frequently enough by others to offer great difficulty, or that such comedies would, in all probability, be also even more popular than plays like the present one, for the simple reason that the most familiar *genres* impose upon the spectator the minimum of strain. But it had been evident for a long time that Mr. Behrman's conscience has made it impossible for him to disregard the dilemma created for the comic writer by the terrible urgency of these times. He has not lost faith in the value of those virtues which a genuinely comic wisdom almost inevitably generates, but he is fully aware of the fact that ours is not a world in which all existing problems can be solved by wit, tolerance, and good will. He is willing neither to pretend that they can nor to choose themes which exclude from the field of awareness those facts which pure comedy cannot digest. He must create a kind of comedy which, in less skilful hands, would rapidly become no comedy at all because it must continually keep at the periphery an awareness of situations by no stretch of the imagination comic. All his recent plays have been, in one aspect, attempts to define the limits up to which comic wisdom is relevant. Sentimentality could easily obscure the issue; cynicism could attempt to cross the line. But Mr. Behrman is neither sentimental nor cynical. He is extraordinarily clear-sighted.

In the present instance the play revolves around the contrasting characters of a humanely intelligent woman and a great surgeon. She has fallen in love with him because, as a patient, she had observed in him a scientific competence which seemed to implement humane impulses like her own. But it presently becomes evident from his relations with his two rebellious children that both his skill and his apparent good will are strictly limited to his profession. He can and he will save a life with what looks from the outside like benevolence—but only if that life is threatened by way of the duodenum, the twelve-finger-broad segment of man to which alone the Talley method is applicable. In human relations he is clumsy; in his attitude toward men as men rather than as creatures in need of surgery he is unimaginative and brutal. Nothing in the world except the duodenum is likely to be the better for his existence.

The play is a comedy in the sense that it makes the audience laugh, and also

in a more philosophical sense, and it need not, perhaps, mean any more than is here suggested. But without being in any formal way symbolic it almost inevitably (and no doubt intentionally) suggests a larger thesis which Mr. Behrman has suggested before. "Scientific" and revolutionary social philosophers are right when they proclaim that sympathy and benevolence and humanitarianism are as incapable as wit and fairmindedness of creating by themselves a better world. But it is also true, as "scientific" social philosophers so generally seem to forget, that a good world cannot be created without them. They are not sufficient, but they are indispensable. They are indispensable because a world in which they did not exist would not be a good world, but also because without them no Talley method and no aggregation of Talley methods can bring a good world about. Mr. Behrman first preached that thesis at a time when most intellectuals were extremely unsympathetic to it. Since then, the most famous of all Talley methods has come to be less widely acclaimed as the beginning and end of wisdom.

The leading female role in the play is performed with her usual brilliant effect by Ina Claire, who has spoken Mr. Behrman's lines on more than one previous occasion and whose manner has come to seem almost identical with his. It is relatively easy, of course, to get the proper effect out of a wisecrack but there are no wisecracks in the present play, despite the fact that it is performed to an almost continuous ripple of laughter. Indeed, there are few lines which could be detached and cited as examples of the wit which pervades the whole and it is all the more to Miss Claire's credit that she manages to make so effective the fact that so many of the lines sparkle in their context and are funny because they reveal so delicately and so expertly the author's keen perception of the implications of every situation and every attitude. Philip Merrivale in the less grateful role of the doctor is also excellent and so, for that matter, is the entire cast. Perhaps a special word should be said in praise of Hiram Sherman, as a ruefully debonnaire graduate student well aware of the fact that even the highest certificate of learning issued by a university does not guarantee its holder a welcome in this world. I hope it is not libelous to remark that Mr. Sherman suggests, in physique as well as manner, a junior Alec Woolcott.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

VICTOR gives us a performance of Verdi's Requiem recorded by Serafin (Set 734, \$10.50). Listening to the work in the form that Serafin gives it in actual sound, I recall some of the different contours it had in Toscanini's recent performance, and the greater effect which his shaping of the music gave to its beauty and power; and I must regret that the form in sound with the greater effect is not the one that is given permanence on these records. Considered by itself Serafin's is a good performance—with the competent orchestra and excellent chorus of the Rome Opera; with Pinza, whose singing has its usual magnificence; with Maria Caniglia and Ebe Stignani, whose voices are fresh and lovely but not unflawed; and with Gigli, whose bellowing and sobbing would be more suitable for "Pagliacci."

The last-movement passacaglia of Brahms's Fourth Symphony being a series of variations on a brief opening sentence, and an important effect of the movement being the cumulative impact of this series of repetitions of the original brief sentence, one notes that Weingartner builds up this impact by maintaining the pace of the original sentence inexorably throughout the variations, whereas Koussevitzky destroys it with his many changes of pace, especially those in the second half of the movement. For this reason I would choose Weingartner's excellently recorded Columbia performance rather than the one Koussevitzky has recorded for Victor with the Boston Symphony (Set 730, \$5); and though Koussevitzky's treatment of the earlier movements is very good, I am better satisfied by the greater weight of the first movement as Weingartner conducts it. The recorded sound of the Koussevitzky performance is more gorgeous; but on a high-fidelity machine it is also a little sharp.

I have not been able to compare the new Victor set of Mozart's charming Concerto K. 365 for two pianos made by José and Amparo Iturbi and the Rochester Philharmonic (Set 732, \$3.50) with the older one made by Artur and Karl Ulrich Schnabel; but while the Iturbis play the work with spirit and polished fluency their phrasing includes occasional sentimentalities that I know were not in the more incisive Schnabel performance. The pianos are well recorded; but the orchestra sounds bad

on a high-fidelity machine. Nor have I been able to compare the new set of Schumann's Piano Quintet made by Sanroma and the Primrose Quartet (Set 736, \$4) with the older one made by Artur Schnabel and the Pro Arte Quartet; but I recall the excellence of Schnabel and Maas standing out above the mediocrity of the rest, whereas the new set offers the integrated performance of five equally fine players, and one that realizes admirably the music's warmth and intimacy of feeling. The work is Schumann's best piece of chamber music, in which, however, his powers do not function as impressively as in some of the piano works and songs. But of these, on the other hand, the "Frauenliebe und Leben" cycle are not among the best; nor are they the more impressive for the monotonously unvarying color, the excessive tremolo, the choppy phrasing of Helen Traubel's singing (Set 737, \$3.75).

Stokowski's performance of the Prelude to "Die Meistersinger" with the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set 731, \$2.50; with the Prelude to Act 3 of "Lohengrin" on the fourth side) distends the work enormously for breadth and emphasis; and the characteristic tonal splendor comes out a little harsh from a high-fidelity machine. There are fine passages of Handel in his Organ Concerto No. 13; the work is adequately performed by E. Power Biggs and Fiedler's Sinfonietta; the recording has the sharpness of many Boston recordings (Set 733, \$2.50). And Grieg's Violin Sonata Op. 13, characteristic in its pretty melodiousness, is beautifully played by Heifetz and Bay (Set 735, \$3).

Among Victor single discs one (17639, \$1) offers the fine singing by John Charles Thomas of the Credo from "Otello," with an aria from "Andrea Chénier" on the reverse side; another (17610, \$1) Chopin's Polonaise Brillante Op. 3, a minor piano piece transcribed for 'cello and piano and performed with verve by Feuermann and Rupp; another (4538, \$.75) Scarlatti's delightful Sonata No. 387 (Longo Edition), which Casadesu recorded for Columbia with some degree of the proper sharpness, but which Myra Hess plays daintily and prettily, and her transcription of Bach's "Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring"; another (17633, \$1) Durante's "Misericordias Domini" and Palestrina's "Ecce, Quomodo Moritur," so poorly sung by the Augustana Choir as to make it difficult and pointless to evaluate the music; another (2142, \$.75) Pfitzner's "Stimme der Sehnsucht" and

"Michaelskirchplatz," sung by Marjorie Lawrence, which can be neglected.

Boxed with Van Loon's "Life and Times of Johann Sebastian Bach" (Simon & Schuster) is a set of four records of Bach's music played on the piano by Grace Castagnetta (Book: \$2.50; Album of Records: \$3; Boxed Together: \$5). Most of the music and the best of it has been recorded by other artists; and there is nothing in Miss Castagnetta's performance of the Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue that should cause anyone to want it in preference to Landowska's; nor have the records any point I can discover in relation to the book. But then the Van Loon way of writing about Bach and his times is itself something I can do without, and gladly.

I have had profit and enjoyment from the little Pelican volume of E. J. Dent's "Opera." And other books which I can mention only briefly are Ernest Hutcherson's excellent "Musical Guide to Richard Wagner's 'Ring of the Nibelungs'" (Simon & Schuster: \$2.75), valuable for the person who can read musical notation; Ira W. Ford's "Traditional Music of America" (Dutton: \$5); the Supplementary Volume of Grove's Dictionary (Macmillan: \$5), in which—to consider only one example—you can discover that Toscanini has conducted in London, in Bayreuth, in Salzburg, in recent years, but not in New York; and Curt Sachs's exhaustive "History of Musical Instruments" (Norton: \$5), on p. 449 of which he writes that those who wanted Bach played on his own instruments were "faithful not to 'history' but to art. They demanded harpsichords, gambas, ancient organs, because they knew that an organ of the nineteenth century killed Bach's severe architecture, that the thick and sensual tone of a violoncello destroyed the delicate line of a gamba composition, that a cross-stringed piano suffocated the unemotional melody of a harpsichord piece. They saw what to a painter would be self-evident, that design and color could not be separated, that an outline drawn by Raphael could not be colored with Cézanne's palette." B. H. HAGGIN

NEWS FROM HOLLYWOOD

Anthony Bower's third letter from the film capital will appear next week and fortnightly thereafter

IN THE NATION

Letters to the Editors

Panama's Pocket-Hitler

Dear Sirs: President Arnulfo Arias ("the pocket-Hitler of Panama") took another defiant step on the road to totalitarian intolerance and despotism when, by a decree of January 27, he ordered the deportation of 36-year-old Edward William (Ted) Scott, long-time editor of the *Panama-American* (English section) and a British subject.

Mr. Scott has been a thorn in the flesh of the Panamanian authorities, not because he interfered in "internal partisan political questions of the country," as the deportation order untruthfully says, but because of his undaunted stand for democracy in the face of the government's more and more obvious Nazi-Fascist sympathies.

A New Zealander by birth and for many years a successful prizefighter, Ted Scott became a journalist some fifteen years ago and showed in his new profession the hard-hitting technique and pugnaciousness he had acquired in the ring. He never meddled in the internal politics of Panama. There is a Spanish section of the *Panama-American* to deal with such questions, and for this section Ted Scott was in no way responsible. It is entirely in the hands of the owner and managing editor of the *Panama-American*, Mr. Harmodio Arias, the brother of Arnulfo Arias and, since Arnulfo has veered toward fascism, his irreconcilable enemy.

There can be little doubt that President Arias's violent hatred for the democratically-minded Harmodio, whose paper he wishes to ruin, has been one of the motives for arbitrarily deporting Mr. Scott. For, Scott, in his daily column "Interesting if True" contributed greatly to the *Panama-American's* popularity and was undoubtedly one of its publisher's best assets.

Behind the President's discretionary order is the influence of his avowedly fascist adviser, Antonio Isaza, former Panamanian consul in Hamburg and now editor of the pro-Nazi *La Tribuna*. Isaza has already done much to poison the good relations between the United States and Panama. In this connection one need only recall that it was Isaza who urged President Arias to cancel the Rio Hato concession, thus depriving the United States army of an already prepared aerodrome and practice bombing

field. Isaza is also founder of a miniature Panamanian Gestapo called the SIPA or Society of Anonymous Political Information, and he inspired the recent setting-up of a semi-military youth organization, the *Cachorros* (Cubs) *de Ur-raca*, which is modeled on the Fascist *Balilla*.

When President Arias came into power, on October 1, 1940, he chose Isaza for his private secretary and principal political adviser. Recently the story was spread in Washington that President Arias had decided to drop Isaza in order to better the relations between Panama and the United States. But Isaza's acts continue to belie President Arias's assurances, and the deportation of editor Ted Scott is typical Isaza handiwork.

That the expulsion of Mr. Scott from Panama has nothing to do with internal politics becomes clear if one recalls what happened on November 30 of last year. On this occasion Mr. Scott was hauled by a police officer before the Secretary of Government and Justice, Ricardo Adolfo de la Guardia, to receive formal warning that "Panama is neutral in the European conflict in word and in deed."

The warning was the aftermath of a complaint by the Italian Minister, who had taken offense at a news broadcast by Mr. Scott after a British blow to Mussolini's fleet in the Mediterranean. The news, rather than the broadcast, wounded the feelings of the Italian envoy.

When Mr. Scott continued to run his section of the paper on clean-cut anti-Axis lines—and his pen was generally regarded as the sharpest weapon thrust at the dictators by any journalist south of the Rio Grande—the Panamanian government, prodded by the Axis envoys, decided on strong action.

The deportation order signed, Mr. Scott was arrested and for three days held *incomunicado* at the Carcel Modelo. Then he was taken away under guard and on January 31 put aboard a ship for New York.

In American circles in Panama, where Mr. Scott is tremendously popular, the news of his deportation was received with dismay and indignation. Everybody is wondering just how long Panama's pocket-Hitler is to be allowed to play with fire under Uncle Sam's nose.

JOACHIM JOESTEN
Costa Rica, February 24

Franz Kafka

Dear Sirs: In his review of "Franz Kafka: A Miscellany" (*The Nation*, February 22), Mr. Rahv conveys the impression that my essay in this volume is solely concerned with a "class analysis" of Kafka. This is an amazing distortion of a treatment which devotes at most three pages (out of 23) to a general sketch of Kafka's Austrian-Czech-Jewish background, with a few passing references to its social implications. The essay, as a whole, attempts an analysis of Kafka's psychological alienation and of his metaphysical loneliness, resulting from the dilemma he saw in the ambivalence of the father-principle. The subtitle "Pre-Fascist Exile" which arouses Mr. Rahv's indignation against the publisher also, suggests only that Kafka experienced the sense of exile even before fascism came to give it the present accent. There is no point in going into Mr. Rahv's further distortions, such as that I impute "revolutionary motives" to K. (in that "he advances" on "The Castle," where Joseph K. was only a defendant), except as illustrating the familiar trick of isolating a parenthetical aspect of a work, treating it as though it were the whole, and then sneering at it. Mr. Rahv, in his present Marxist orientation, is apparently offended at my brief reference to Kafka's social situation, but that does not prevent him from confining himself exclusively to the social references in the essay.

HARRY SLOCHOWER
Brooklyn, N. Y., February 27

Dear Sirs: Mr. Slochower, who claims he has been misrepresented, apparently lacks the courage to back up his critical commitments. It is simply not true that only the first three pages of his essay are concerned with the political and sociological background of Kafka's work. What about the long analysis, which follows the initial three pages, in which Mr. Slochower attempts to demonstrate that Kafka's three novels mirror the developing political situation of his age, with "America" reflecting pre-war optimism, "The Trial" the wartime pessimism of 1914-18, and "The Castle" the renewed optimism called forth by the revolutionary events of the post-war years? Moreover, what about the idea that K.'s association with the

barmaids Frieda and Pepi illustrates his tendency to form a united front with the oppressed members of the village community against the hierarchy entrenched in the castle? Such an analysis is an obvious example of the "he-too-belongs-to-us" school of criticism which in recent years has found both its apotheosis and its grave in the pages of the *New Masses*. Of course, it is not against any political approach to the Kafka problem that I protested in my review, but against Mr. Slochower's particular political approach, which seems to me not only irrelevant but wholly misleading. And the phrase "pre-fascist exile," which Mr. Slochower has used in such a conspicuous manner, fully expresses the wilfully tendentious spirit of his essay. There is no valid critical reason that I can see for stretching Kafka's metaphysical meanings so as to domesticate him inside our present political environment. If Kafka is to be characterized as a "pre-fascist exile," why not call Dostoevski, who was sentenced to penal servitude in Siberia, a pre-Stalinist prisoner? Clearly, if one puts one's mind to it, there is no limit to the political tag-lines one could attach to the great writers of the past.

PHILIP RAHV

New York, March 3

Lincoln's Faith

Dear Sirs: As an editor of the writings of Abraham Lincoln, I feel called upon to correct a misstatement made by Merwin K. Hart in his comment on the National Association of Manufacturers' recent report on textbooks. Mr. Hart said that "Lincoln did not use the word democracy but spoke of the republic."

This is entirely untrue. Lincoln not only used the word democracy; he defined it very well. In his message to Congress in special session, dated July 4, 1861, he made a statement which is peculiarly fitting today. "This issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes."

In his reply to Douglas in the fifth joint debate at Galesburg, Illinois, on October 7, 1858, Lincoln said: "I presume that Judge Douglas could not go into Russia and announce the doctrine of our national democracy; he could not

denounce the doctrine of kings and emperors and monarchies in Russia; and it may be true of this country that in some places we may not be able to proclaim a doctrine as clearly true as the truth of democracy, because there is a section so directly opposed to it that they will not tolerate us in doing so. Is it the true test of the soundness of a doctrine that in some places people won't let you proclaim it? Is that the way to test the truth of any doctrine?"

In the Chicago Historical Society there is an autographic manuscript reading as follows:

"As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy. A. Lincoln."

Mr. Hart's statement that the word democracy did not come into common usage until Woodrow Wilson employed it during the First World War is equally untrue. De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America" (published in 1835) is too well known to need citation. The Oxford English Dictionary traces the word back to the early sixteenth century and quotes a definition dated 1574. "The Democratian commonwealth . . . is the government of the people; where all their counsell and aduise is had together in one."

A subtle attack on democracy is part and parcel of the world-wide attack on the liberties of free people everywhere—an attack now being fostered from within our borders by men like Mervin K. Hart. Their technique obviously has more in common with Hitler's than with Lincoln's, for it was Hitler who praised the use of a lie so impudent that it would be believed.

Lincoln astutely forecast this betrayal of our liberties from within when he wrote about Thomas Jefferson in a letter to H. L. Pierce (April 6, 1859). "The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society. And yet they are denied and evaded with no small show of success. One dashing call them 'glittering generalities.' Another bluntly calls them 'self-evident lies.' And others insidiously argue that they apply to 'superior races.' These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect—the supplanting of the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste, and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the miners and sappers of returning despotism. We must repulse

them, or they will subjugate us. . . . All honor to Jefferson—to the man, who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that today and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression."

PHILIP VAN DOREN STERN

Brooklyn, N. Y., March 3

CONTRIBUTORS

A. HARDY, a member of the British Labor Party, is a trade-union organizer and an authority on trade unionism. He is a frequent contributor to the *New Statesman and Nation*.

BROOKS ATKINSON is the drama critic of the *New York Times* and author of several books.

HARRY BLOCK is *The Nation's* Mexican correspondent.

JAMES WECHSLER, formerly on the staff of *The Nation*, is now a labor reporter on *PM*.

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER, the distinguished foreign correspondent, was for many years chief of the Chicago *Daily News* bureau in Berlin.

THOMAS REED POWELL is Story professor of law at the Harvard University Law School.

FRANZ HOELLERING, a native of Vienna, was for many years editor of the *Berliner Zeitung*. He has recently published a novel named "The Defenders."

ELISEO VIVAS is assistant professor of philosophy at the University of Wisconsin.

LOUIS B. SALOMON is a member of the English Department of Brooklyn College.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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Editor and Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor

ROBERT BENDINER

Washington Editor

I. F. STONE

Literary Editor

MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors

KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART

Dramatic Critic

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager and Director of Circulation

HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager

MARY HOWARD ELLISON

The Shape of Things

THE DRAWN-OUT DEBATES IN CONGRESS ON the Lease-Lend bill at times seemed to exemplify Hitler's sneers at the hopeless inefficiency of democratic processes. But now the bill has become law, after minority opinion has been given ample opportunity to express itself, we have a chance to make up for lost time by rallying around the President and making it possible for him to use his new powers swiftly and effectively. Senator Vandenberg has given a good lead by pointing out that even the emphatic two-to-one vote in the Senate for the bill did not represent the true extent of the desire to aid Britain, which was shown more exactly by the fact that 90 out of 95 Senators supported either the bill itself or the Taft substitute. We hope Axis commentators will ponder these figures, which should also serve as a warning to Senator Wheeler and his fellow irreconcilables who are threatening a raging, tearing campaign throughout the country in opposition to the principles of the Lease-Lend Act. For if the Republicans now gracefully accept the *fait accompli*, these "crusaders" will have to seek support among a motley assembly of dubious elements—Coughlinites, assorted fascists, Jew-baiters, and Communist fellow-travelers. Anticipating the passage of the bill the President is believed to have plans drawn up for making it immediately effective. The news that Britain lost 148,000 tons of shipping in the week ending March 2 should act as a spur. Hitler's spring Blitz has begun. Let us speed the tools to counteract it.

★

BRITAIN'S REJECTION OF MR. HOOVER'S PLAN for establishing experimental soup kitchens in Belgium preparatory to developing methods of feeding the peoples of other occupied nations may seem harsh. But the arguments brought forward are impressive and Mr. Hoover in his reply has not succeeded in controverting them. The British position is that the blockade is directed against the whole economic machine of the enemy, intended not only to deprive him of imported goods but to drive him into using uneconomic methods of production and distribution, and to aggravate transport problems so as to interfere with military operations. A recent report by the official Berlin Institute for Research into Economic

Trends concluded "Germany is in a position to guarantee the feeding of every single individual on the continent of Europe." And this is true provided food is not used as an industrial raw material, for instance in distilling industrial alcohol from potatoes, and is given transport priority. Mr. Hoover claims he has promises from Berlin that breadstuffs and soup materials will be released for Belgium if his plan goes through. But the Germans will have to release such supplies, in any case, because they are attempting to exploit Belgium economically and cannot permit its workers and their families to starve. Another point on which Mr. Hoover's assurances are inadequate is the administration of his relief scheme. He promises complete American supervision but who will service the actual soup kitchens? We know that in Spain food provided by the American Red Cross is being handed out by a Falangist organization and used as a political argument. Would the same thing be done in Belgium by the Nazi "Winter Relief" or a Rexist organization?

✱

ADMIRAL DARLAN, VICHY DEPUTY PREMIER, recently made a bitter attack on the blockade and threatened to use the French navy to convoy foodships. He declared that the blockade was useless as a weapon against the Germans, whom he described as "more generous and more understanding of the needs of humanity than the English." And, as an illustration, he pointed out that Germany had released for consumption in the occupied zone two million quintals of French wheat out of 2,700,000 previously requisitioned for the German army. As an example of Nazi generosity this appears a trifle ironical: it seems rather a striking proof of the effectiveness of the British blockade. There is no doubt that Germany is egging on Vichy to break the blockade, hoping that embroilment with the British navy may bring France back into the war as an Axis ally. The United States could do much to spoil this effort by making it clear to Marshal Pétain that America's vital interests call for a British victory and that it will discourage blockade-running by refusing to sell food or provide financial facilities.

✱

THE RAID ON THE LOFOTEN ISLANDS, OFF Northern Norway, carried out last week by a joint British and Norwegian naval squadron, has a significance beyond its immediate results. Not that these are unimportant: 18,000 tons of shipping and an armed German trawler were sunk, a big glycerine plant—useful for explosives—destroyed, and 215 Germans and ten "Quislingists" captured. In addition, the raiders were able to recruit a number of volunteers for the Norwegian forces in Britain and leave supplies for the inhabitants of the islands. But, beyond all, this successful expedition must have sent a thrill of hope throughout Norway. We may be

sure that there will be more British raids of this kind not only on Norway but on other occupied countries. For if the long stretch of Europe's coastline which he controls is an advantage to Hitler, it also carries its hazards. Not all his men can guard every mile of it and a time will come when larger expeditions will be landed, bringing arms for those now fighting with bare hands. The first news of the Lofoten raid was a statement from Berlin saying that it lacked "any military importance whatever." To those versed in Nazi methods this nonchalant account clearly indicated an attempt to forestall the British story which could not be published until the return of the expedition. But now the Germans have exposed the falsity of their own report by a dispatch stating that the Nazi commissioner Terboven had ordered the burning of all property belonging to the families of men who volunteered to go with the British, and levied a large fine on the inhabitants of the island for the benefit of the families of those taken prisoner.

✱

WE CONGRATULATE THE STATE DEPARTMENT on its decision to close down two Italian consulates—a step which we advocated in these pages on February 22. We are glad also to note that the Italian embassy has been asked to restrict movements of consular officers to their own districts and to report to the State Department any journey by military and naval attachés. For all the formality of its diplomatic wording, Mr. Hull's communication to the Italian ambassador makes no attempt to conceal the fact that this action is retaliation for the closing of two American embassies in Italy and for the much more severe restrictions to which our representatives in Italy have recently been forced to submit. This firm action should serve as a salutary warning to the Axis against kicking our interests around.

✱

JOURNALISTIC BOOBY PRIZE OF THE WEEK goes to the editors of the *New York Times* for their handling of the press conference at which the President pointed out that strikes have affected only about one quarter of one per cent of defense industry at any one time. Had Mr. Roosevelt deplored strikes in defense industries, one may be sure it would have been in headlines. As it was, the *Times* carefully sandwiched the President's statement inside a story based on a War Department press release about a minor airport building strike at Dayton, Ohio. Neither the head nor the subhead referred to what Mr. Roosevelt had said. This is in accord with the policy of most newspapers in playing up every strike they can find. The purpose is to whip up hysteria for legislative action curbing labor's rights. The *Times* added hypocrisy to distortion the next day with an editorial expressing great surprise over what Mr. Roosevelt had said. It wanted to know his sources. The source is

the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Every Washington correspondent has been in possession of the figures for some time. In contrast to the phony surprise of the *Times* is the testimony of a conservative confidential news service from Washington, written for people who can afford to pay a big price and do not need to be fooled. It says that the only two serious stoppages on defenses have been the Vultee and Allis-Chalmers strikes. If the President's figures do, indeed, differ "so radically from the public impression regarding the situation," it is because the public has been given a distorted picture by its newspapers, the *Times* among them.

★

THESE SAME NEWSPAPERS WERE MUCH LESS reticent about playing up President Roosevelt's pronouncement on jurisdictional strikes a day or so later. We can understand the President's strong feeling over the hampering of defense production by walkouts based on no ground other than the employment of men belonging to a competitive union. But the problem is not always so simple; employers have been known to cultivate jurisdictional situations to their own advantage. Nor do we see the need for a new super-board to handle labor mediation. Philip Murray of the C. I. O., in a memorandum submitted to Sidney Hillman last week, forcefully argued the case against a new agency of this sort. If it is merely to mediate, Murray asks, why not add to the manpower of our efficient United States Conciliation Service? In the event of some major strike in a great industry, the President has power to name a special board, as he did in the case of the steel strike. But the proposal to establish a new labor board with power "to formulate policies on labor relations and practices in defense industries with a view to avoiding delays" opens the door to modifications of the Wage-Hour, Wagner, and Walsh-Healey Acts. No new agency is needed if these laws are to be enforced, and if they are enforced there will be less cause for strikes. Big business wants the board as a bulwark against unionism and a means of suspending labor reforms "during the emergency."

★

A FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION REPORT ON canning corporations is of interest in this connection. For it throws ironic light on the recent effort to use the canners as an entering wedge for suspension of overtime provisions on defense contracts. The effort was unsuccessful but may be renewed. The report shows that the canning industry is in an unusually profitable condition. In 1939 our ten leading fruit-and-vegetable-canning corporations earned a return of 13 per cent on their stockholders' investment after payment of all bond interest and taxes, including income taxes. Canning seems to be one of the few industries in this country of which the profits are as great as its wage bill. Production wages

and salaries in 1939 were \$24,641,523; net income after taxes was \$24,616,556. The ratio of wages to other items was unusually low; less than ten cents on every dollar of sales went to wages. This means that a 10 per cent increase in wages would amount to a one per cent increase in total price. The canners already have so many exemptions under the Walsh-Healey Act that less than one-tenth of government purchases from the industry has been subject to it; and so many exemptions from the Wage-Hour law that the canners can operate twenty-eight weeks a year without payment of overtime for work beyond forty hours a week. Like the Associated Farmers, the canners provide a useful front for big business.

★

DESPERATE EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE BY conservative commentators to erect the molehill of rebuke in the Supreme Court's 5-3 decision in the Express Publishing Company case into a mountainous obstacle to the Labor Board's powers. A sweeping board order against a San Antonio newspaper was reduced by the majority of the board to a restraint against the practices of which the paper had been guilty. The majority, speaking through Justice Stone, agrees with the minority that the violator of a law "may be restrained from committing other related unlawful acts." But on the facts of this case it saw no reason for an order which went beyond instructing the newspaper to bargain with its employees. The minority—Justice Douglas speaking for himself and Justices Black and Reed—seem to agree with the majority on the facts in this case. But it fears that to restrict the order might invite the employer to evade other provisions of the Act. The danger is obvious; the remedy for violations is but slowly obtained. We prefer the minority's reasoning but the majority leaves little comfort for those seeking new ways of hamstringing the Wagner Act. It warns that though board restraining orders cannot go beyond the practices of which the employer was guilty, the court will not permit evasion of the order "by indirections or formal observances which in fact defy it."

★

ONE RESULT OF *THE NATION'S* EDITORIAL on housing in its issue of February 1 is that the White House has asked Harold E. Pomeroy, formerly executive secretary of the Associated Farmers, to resign as aide to Defense Housing Coordinator Charles Palmer. Palmer placed Pomeroy in charge of the home registration division. It is the job of this division to advise local defense-housing bodies and aid them in taking legal steps to maintain normal rentals for housing. As *The Nation* said, Mr. Pomeroy is "not a vigilante or a thug or a fascist" as his connection with the sinister Associated Farmers might imply. He seems to have found working for them distasteful, and resigned after but a year in office. But his long associations with reactionary busi-

ness and political circles in California make him a poor choice for a job that calls for a certain militancy, independence, and willingness to buck powerful interests. Mr. Pomeroy, we are informed, has refused to resign, and it remains to be seen whether his chief will oust him. A correspondent claims that our editorial did some injustice to Coordinator Palmer's housing record in Atlanta in the past, and on investigation we believe the objection well taken. It is also encouraging to report that recent criticism seems to have left Mr. Palmer less ready to compromise. Maybe he will yet prove that the National Association of Real Estate Boards was too hasty in supporting him. We hope so, but we are still keeping our fingers crossed. After all it was Palmer who picked Pomeroy.

★

WE HOPE THAT THE HOUSE WILL APPROVE a resolution introduced by Congressman John J. Sparkman of Alabama to extend the life of the Tolan committee investigating conditions among our migratory workers. A large amount of migration has been made necessary by the defense program. About 65 per cent of primary defense contracts, as Federal Security Commissioner Paul V. McNutt points out, are in the Northeast and Pacific states, which have only about 40 per cent of our unemployed labor. McNutt joined with Defense Commissioners Chester C. Davis and Harriet V. Elliott in urging that Congress continue the work of the Tolan committee. For the problem of defense labor migrations, with the burdens they may impose locally on community facilities for housing, education, health, welfare, and recreation, can be met effectively only if we are in full possession of the facts. Inquiry is needed not merely to help in the reallocation of labor but also in laying the groundwork for solution of the problems inevitably created for the post-war period by these temporary shifts in population. Serious situations have already developed at many points. The Tolan committee and its staff, with a year's study behind it, is the only governmental agency qualified to deal with these special problems.

★

SHERWOOD ANDERSON, WHO DIED LAST week at sixty-four, was one of the leaders in the literary revolt against the American small town which gave us the "Spoon River Anthology" and "Main Street." His "Winesburg, Ohio" was no less sharp in its strictures about the frustrations and consequent distortions of life and of the individual constrained in village mores, but as Carl Van Doren pointed out in *The Nation* at the time, Anderson still cherished the memories of some specific Winesburg. He revolted personally against his own small town of Elmyra, Ohio, where he had "settled down" as manager of a paint factory after a turn in the Spanish-American war. He went to Chicago where he

met and came under the tutelage of the group which included Theodore Dreiser, Carl Sandburg, and others. During the next decade, he wrote his best books, including "Winesburg," living in various cities at home and abroad. But as soon as he could get the money together he bought a newspaper in the small town of Marion, Virginia, and his last book was "Home Town," a nostalgic celebration of the "specific Winesburg" he continued to cherish. This does not mean, however, that he had come to accept the poverties and the stupidities of small-town life. It was rather that, as he wrote in "A Story Teller's Story," he wanted "as all men do, to be long," a desire which finds no satisfaction in the rootlessness of life in American cities.

Road to Asia Minor

HITLER'S ostentatious diplomatic offensive in the Balkans may be a feint but we are inclined to regard it as the prelude to his major spring campaign. This would mean that he had accepted the fact that, for the time being, the Western front is deadlocked, just as it was by the trench system of the last war, with the Channel taking the place of No Man's Land. In these circumstances attempts at invasion would have to be postponed until aerial bombardment and the submarine blockade had weakened the island's powers of resistance.

Meanwhile, where could the German army, which is eating its head off, be more profitably employed than in sundering Britain's imperial life-line in the Near East? It is difficult to regard the massive movement of German troops into the Balkans as a mere rescue party for Mussolini. Yet if the Nazi march stopped at the shores of the Aegean, that is about all it would accomplish. For the British would be left in possession of Crete, their navy would still be master of the eastern Mediterranean, and they would continue to control the oilfields of Iraq and Iran. It is impossible, therefore, to explain the efforts now being made to take Yugoslavia and Greece into the Axis unless it is planned to use these countries as way-stations for the invasion of Turkey and the use of that country in turn as a base for still wider conquests.

In the Balkans the role of the German army is still secondary to that of the diplomatists and propagandists. It remains very visibly in the background, spreading out over Bulgaria and along the Greek and Turkish frontiers, consolidating its positions for a spring offensive when the word is given. Meanwhile every psychological device known to the Nazi masters of terror is being used to hammer on the taut nerves of those countries which have not yet submitted to the Axis. A stream of rumors pours forth day after day from the German agencies and the many news sources in Belgrade, Budapest, and other cities which are under German control or influence.

A few days ago Yugoslavia seemed really to succumb, at least to the extent of signing a non-aggression pact which would effectively neutralize that country during German operations against Greece. But some hitch in the negotiations has occurred which at the time of going to press has not been explained. According to some accounts, Hitler is not satisfied with the compromise proposed by the Yugoslav government in the hope that it would be allowed to remain a bystander in the Balkan troubles, but insists on full adherence to the Axis, and, presumably, on the right to occupy the country. Other reports speak of growing popular opposition to any deal.

Until this matter is settled, the Nazis will be unable to turn their full heat on Greece. There are rumors of a German ultimatum to Athens but this seems unlikely. Hitler does not usually present an ultimatum until either its acceptance has been assured by "unofficial" representations or the invasion of the threatened country has actually started. But no doubt the German envoy in Athens is hard at work combining bullying with cajolment. One moment he will draw attention to the *Panzer* divisions waiting at the border and to the planes ready to take off from Bulgarian airports; the next, he will praise Greek valor in the war against Italy, hint that all has been done that honor demands, and suggest that co-operation with the Axis now will give Greece a preferred position at the peace table.

So far there is no indication that the Greek government is weakening. Its position, truly, is difficult in the extreme. We do not know what undertaking Mr. Eden was able to give during his recent visit but it seems improbable that enough British troops can be spared to make certain of checking a German invasion at the border. Britain cannot afford to risk another Dunkirk at Salonika and it may feel bound to hold such reserves as it has for the eventual defense of the Straits in conjunction with Turkey.

Yet desperate as their situation appears, the Greeks continue to insist that they will never surrender but will fight for every inch of their country. And while they make preparations to meet German invasion in the Struma valley they continue to press the Italians hard in central Albania. It seems likely, therefore, that Hitler's hope of a bloodless conquest of the Balkans will be dashed by a nation who, in the proud words of a Greek journalist, "will show to the world how to die as she has shown the world how to fight."

It seems improbable, too, that Turkey will respond to the Nazi spider's soft invitation to "walk into my parlor." Special messengers flew to Ankara last week bearing, it was reported, an assurance from Hitler that he had no intention of invading Turkey and was only anxious for friendship and peaceful trade relations. The Turkish government has yet to respond officially to this overture, but very wisely, considering the fate of those who have

previously listened to this siren message, it is mobilizing more troops and making other defensive preparations. As a correspondent points out on page 294 of this issue, Turkey is in a difficult dilemma. It has a large army but is short of equipment and is particularly vulnerable to air attacks and ill-prepared to meet them. If it fulfills the strict letter of its obligations to Greece, it may leave its own flank open to attack. At present it seems to be playing for time and possibly it has assurances from Britain that aid is on the way. But whether or not Turkey takes the initiative when Greece is attacked, there is general agreement that any assault on its own independence would be resisted to the end. And since Turkey commands the only land route for the conquest of the Near East, that assault seems inevitable in the near future unless Russia, whose interests are also at stake, plucks up courage to oppose Hitler with something more awesome than *post facto* protests.

Which Way Japan?

WITH Vichy's acceptance of the Japanese-imposed peace terms, Tokyo achieved another bloodless victory in its campaign for the mastery of Southeast Asia. Under the settlement, the French surrender to Thailand all territory in Pakse and Luang Prabang provinces west of the Mekong River as well as a strip varying up to twenty-five miles in breadth along Cambodia's north and west frontiers.

Details of what Japan obtained for itself as a result of the agreement have not yet been released, but they are probably more significant than Thailand's gains. It may be taken for granted that Japan's previous penetration of the northern portion of the colony will be extended southward to include the strategic area around Saigon. Whether Japan will be granted access to the naval bases now existing in that region is not yet clear, but it may be assumed that it will take over the bases as soon as they are required. Furthermore, as a price for obtaining Vichy's capitulation, Tokyo is expected to exact heavy payment from Thailand. Not much is likely to be said publicly about the terms of this payment, but if Japan's next step is to be, as many observers believe, a drive against Burma, Thailand will doubtless serve as the chief base for the drive.

It would be dangerous to assume, however, that such a drive is inevitable. Despite the ease of its Indo-China victory, Tokyo is obviously at odds concerning its next step. The military clique wants to move on; it believes that there will never be another time more suitable for Japan to achieve its historic destiny. But naval and civilian elements have opposed precipitant action, preferring to await the outcome of the Battle of Britain.

That Japan's next drive is still unsettled despite innu-

merable bellicose statements regarding Japan's future in Southwest Asia may be surmised from Foreign Minister Matsuoka's sudden decision to visit Berlin. The trip is open to many interpretations. Some commentators assume that he has gone to Berlin to receive orders from headquarters. This, however, hardly seems likely. Japan probably received its orders quite some time ago, and it may be guessed that they called for an attack on Britain's Asiatic possessions prior to, or simultaneously with, the Nazi drive in the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic. But the Navy group asks why a weakened Japan should risk a simultaneous conflict with Britain and the United States when it is evident that neither Berlin nor Rome is in a position to aid their eastern Axis partner. And they argue that the least Berlin can do is bring pressure on Moscow forcing the Soviets into a non-aggression pact with Japan so as to prepare the way for a drive to the south. The Japanese have been trying to get a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union for six months, but the most they have been able to achieve so far is a temporary fisheries agreement and the settlement of one or two minor trade matters. Matsuoka is scheduled to stop in Moscow, and it is no secret that he hopes to return with some sort of general treaty in his pocket.

Faced with a demand for concrete assistance, Hitler is likely to bluster and threaten to cut Japan off from the benefits of an Axis victory in Europe. Six months ago these tactics might have been successful. Germany was then confident that it could win without Japanese aid, and the Japanese themselves seem to have been persuaded to this viewpoint when they signed the Tripartite Pact. But the situation has changed and no one knows it better than the clever Matsuoka.

In the end Hitler can hardly escape making concessions to Japan, and it may be assumed that renewed pressure will be brought on Moscow to achieve a Soviet-Japanese treaty. Moscow is reported to be making stiff demands for such a treaty, and Tokyo is said to be prepared, in part at least, to grant them. These appear to include restoration of the North Manchuria railway to Soviet control, and surrender by Japan of the southern part of Sakhalin Island. But the larger question of continued Soviet aid to China remains a stumbling block. Moscow has made sacrifices to prevent Japanese domination of China, and it is hardly likely to yield on this point at a moment when its bargaining position is stronger than it has ever been. A Soviet-Japanese pact, then, would almost certainly make some vital provision regarding China. What this provision would be can only be guessed. It is known that Japan has offered peace terms to China on several occasions, and it is reported that these terms have been increasingly liberal. It is not impossible therefore that Matsuoka will ask Germany to undertake settlement of the Chinese war as a price for a Japanese drive against Britain in the South Seas.

Insurance Under Fire

THE shortcomings of America's traditional forms of life insurance have never been more thoroughly demonstrated than in the summary, just released, of the hearings of the Temporary National Economic Committee. Life insurance is shown to be America's greatest business enterprise. The 365 companies engaged in this business have an annual income totaling more than \$5 billion, or only slightly less than the receipts of the United States government. The face value of the 124 million outstanding policies is \$111 billion—nearly double our national income in recent years. Assets of the twenty-six largest companies are \$28 billion and are expected to reach from \$37 billion to \$40 billion by 1950, which is about the size of our national debt before the present emergency. The ten largest companies control 70 per cent of the assets possessed by all the companies—a concentration of wealth and economic power comparable only to that enjoyed by our great banks.

Some idea of the extent of the economic power wielded by the life insurance companies may be gained from the ubiquitous presence of directors and executives of these companies on the boards of other business enterprises. The 135 directors of the five largest life insurance companies were found to be serving as directors of 100 other insurance companies, of 145 banks and other financial institutions, and of no less than 534 industrial, real estate, or other corporations—a total of some 780 other corporations. Many instances are cited in which this interlocking had definite influence on the apportionment of funds or other business favors. In general it was found that the life insurance companies—with their huge accumulations of money saved by men of moderate means—favored big industries as against small industries in making their investments. Life-insurance executives are quoted to show that industrial loans of under \$100,000 are not wanted and are practically never made. The bulk of investments are in United States government bonds, mortgages, railroad and public utility bonds, real estate, and policy loans. Antiquated laws governing the legal investments of such companies are, of course, chiefly responsible for the essentially unproductive use of the life insurance companies' huge reservoir of capital, but the companies themselves were found to be largely uninterested in the broader economic and social implications of their investment policies.

If the life insurance companies were efficiently performing the task for which they were established, we might be disposed to overlook some of the evils which have arisen in connection with their growth and operation. For there can be no denying that the protection of families against want arising from the premature death of the family breadwinner is of the greatest social

importance. Yet despite the 124 million policies, the investigation shows that the companies have failed conspicuously in their main task. The great majority of American families are virtually unprotected against the economic hazards associated with the death of a chief wage-earner, and those who have protection pay far more than they should for this essential service. This is most evident in the case of industrial insurance—which is the only insurance carried by most low-income families. Out of nearly 200 million industrial policies terminated between 1928 and 1937, only 4.45 per cent were terminated by death and less than one per cent by maturity. "Thus," the TNEC report observes, "only slightly more than 5 per cent of the policies which go off the books . . . terminate in a manner which represents the accomplishment of the purpose for which the insurance must be deemed to have been taken out." Taking all insurance together, ordinary as well as industrial, we find that 78 per cent lapses or is surrendered, and that only 22 per cent is paid out either as death benefits or as matured policies. The lapses represented a loss to the policyholders—and a gain for the companies—of some \$66 million a year between 1918 and 1937.

The cost of insurance to policyholders is shown to be high beyond any economic justification. This is attributed to a number of factors, including the costs of blundering, high-pressure salesmanship; unnecessary multiplicity of policies; the difficulties placed in the way of the prospective policyholder who seeks to compare costs between

policies or between companies; and excessive overhead. Amazing differences are revealed in the costs of similar policies taken out with various companies—differences which are not revealed by merely studying the rates. For example, we find that the net cost of a standard \$1,000 policy from the most expensive company is more than three times that of the company granting the most advantageous terms.

Apart from suggestions for the remedying of minor abuses, the TNEC report carries no recommendations for the solution of the grave problem arising from the failure of legal reserve life insurance to do the job set out for it. Savings-bank life insurance is praised for its economy, but its record in Massachusetts does not suggest that it will ever meet the insurance needs of the majority of the population. On the contrary, that state's thirty-eight-year experience shows rather conclusively that the families needing protection most cannot be relied upon to take the initiative in seeking it. Nor can they safely be left to the mercy of high-pressure salesmanship. As with unemployment, old-age, and health protection, voluntary and private methods have been tried and found wanting.

All experience, both here and abroad, points to the need of compulsory, low-cost survivors' insurance if basic protection is to be afforded. A start in this direction has been made in the revised Social Security Act. But it is evident that this protection needs to be extended and liberalized.

Wheeler's Cliveden Set

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 8

THE lease-lend bill, a measure no more extraordinary than the times in which we live, finally passed the Senate tonight. The future is in the hands of Mr. Roosevelt. Within a few weeks, it is probable that there will be a declaration of emergency, a move likewise without precedent. It will be imposed for its psychological effect. The hope is to obtain war-time powers at home, as abroad, without actual participation in war, a step which no responsible spokesman for the Administration regards as other than a last step, to be avoided as long as possible. The chances are that before the issuance of a declaration of this kind, a triple-barreled attack by the Axis powers, against England, in the Mediterranean, and in the Pacific, will amply provide the sense of urgency so necessary to an effective effort. The President, in his address tonight to diners commemorating the eighth anniversary of the New Deal's agricultural pro-

gram, used the phrase which is the key to the period we are entering, "Total Defense."

Though it will interfere with business-as-usual, the adjective is total, not totalitarian. An opposition crystallized and united by the fight against the lease-lend bill will do its best to represent the defense effort in a sinister light, although this opposition is itself infected with the totalitarian virus. Senator Wheeler, with his excursion into Coughlinite demagoguery, seems tempted to complement his record for tolerance in the last war with a little sly dabbling in anti-Semitism in this one. Last January 11 in the columns of the *Washington Daily News*, Senator Wheeler debated the lease-lend bill with Senator Wagner. The Senator from Montana was generous. "There are those," he admitted, "who are honest, sincere, patriotic, Christian gentlemen who oppose a negotiated peace at this time—certainly among them is my good friend, Senator Wagner." In a radio

address delivered March 3, the Montanan said, "Now we find these same international bankers with their friends the royal refugees and with the Sassoons of the Orient and with the Rothschilds and Warburgs of Europe in another theme song . . . 'Our investments in India, Africa, and Europe must be preserved. Save democracy!'"

It is becoming increasingly difficult to believe that the resemblance of such remarks to the ranting of Father Coughlin is wholly coincidental. A prominent New Dealer recently told me that when he was at the Senator's home a year ago a telephone call came in from the Detroit priest and that the conversation was long and friendly, though the Senator, after it was over, seemed somewhat embarrassed. Even more disturbing to one who wishes to believe that the Senator's recent tone is due to a temporary hysteria and not a considered position was the conversation I had with Mrs. Wheeler, who is said to exert a strong influence over her husband. The Senator, she said, was in her opinion much too tolerant of the Jews, often defending them unjustifiably in conversations in the Wheeler home. She also told me that she thought the Jews were 100 per cent for the lease-lend bill and agreed to except only one Jew—an aide of her husband's—from her sweeping allegation.

Voltaire said if there were no God, we should have to invent one. If there were no Jews, Hitler would have to invent some. In the past Senator Reynolds of North Carolina—whose "courage and ability" are praised by Senator Wheeler on page A 887 of the *Congressional Record* for February 25—was the only member of the upper House to show the benefits of the Third Reich's higher learning. Senator Holman of Oregon seems to have joined the happy little band. He was Reynolds's stooge on the Senate Immigration Committee in the fight against the Wagner-Rogers Child Refugee bill and he would like to save American labor from the Wagner Act. He expressed himself in opposition to Nazism but thought Hitler ought to be given credit for breaking "the control of the international bankers and traders over the rewards for the labor of the common people of Germany." Not in the same class with Wheeler, Reynolds, and Holman but in strange company lately is Senator Nye. The Senator seems to have been too busy doing research into the misdeeds of the British to catch up with those of the Third Reich. He is strongly opposed to aiding the "despotic" British Empire, but spoke at a Gerald L. K. Smith mass meeting in Detroit recently—rather odd auspices for so fervent a democrat.

We have our own Cliveden set, and its outlines became clearer during the lease-lend debate. Most of those who opposed the bill did so from considerations whose weight cannot be denied, however much one may disagree with them, and their patriotism cannot be questioned. But there was also a minority of appeasers,

pro-Hitlerites, and a few native fascists who have begun to develop a vested interest in defeat, for it is only in the event of a British or Anglo-American reverse that they can hope to take power. Their anxiety is to "make the record clear"; their strategy is to inherit power in a debacle. A little anti-Semitism fits in with their plans. Their chief campaigning grounds will be in the isolationist farm belt; all Senators from Kansas, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Idaho, and Colorado voted against the lease-lend bill and one each from South Dakota, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Michigan, and Ohio. The states of the Far West and all the states of New England but Maine cast one vote against lease-lend. Only Senator Reynolds from the South and "Puddler Jim" Davis from the industrial East voted against the bill. These sectional differences are likely to grow less as new victories bring the Nazis closer.

The appeasers, and their allies, have lost the battle against the lease-lend bill but intend to fight the President every step of the way as he puts it into effect. The bill itself authorizes the expenditure of but \$1,300,000,000, and it will soon be necessary to ask for more. The Administration's first concern under the bill will be how to get war materials to the British, and there will probably be a fight in Congress over that as well. Convoys of American sub-chasers—the Canadians have found these small fast boats effective for the purpose—may be used to escort shipping part way across the Atlantic, not into the war zone itself but perhaps to the Azores. Long-range bombers may also be used for this purpose. More shipping may be transferred to the British, for they will need it badly, and we may soon see a heavier burden thrown upon our railroads, with freight priorities and probably government operation as in the last war. All this will coincide with a speaking tour by Wheeler, and there are reports that John L. Lewis will go back into action with a series of speeches, starting with the "shrunkened bellies" and winding up with an attack on aid to Britain.

These sour reflections aside, there is more hope now for energetic action on all-out aid than ever before. Harry Hopkins has been working for the past two weeks on plans to put the lease-lend bill into effect. The Bureau of the Budget is drawing up suggestions for a new organization of defense which will largely supersede the present set-up. The real problem, of course, is personnel, but a change in organization provides an excuse for a shake-up. Other plans are being presented to the President. The chances grow stronger that Justice Douglas will step down from the Supreme Court to become top executive of defense. It looks as though Tom Corcoran, whose energy, devotion, and enthusiasm have too long been left idle, will share direction of aircraft production with Robert Lovett. The pair of them can be trusted to see the possible uses of idle automotive equipment a good deal more clearly than Mr. Knudsen.

Yugoslavia Yields

BY R. H. MARKHAM

ADOLF HITLER has the Balkan states where he wants them. He intensified their mutual animosities, isolated them from each other, and picked them off one at a time. In fact, he hardly had to pick them at all—they just fell into his lap. Each in its turn. Now it's Yugoslavia's turn.

In each case, the Nazi Fuehrer used a special kind of squeeze. Or rather, he took advantage of a squeeze that already existed. History put a strong noose about each Balkan state, and all Hitler had to do was pull it. Pulling Yugoslavia's noose has been easiest of all. Not only is that state almost completely surrounded by Axis armies, but within it, also, are many internal Axis agents, while the Yugoslav masses, opposing the Axis, are not united among themselves.

The name Yugoslavia means South Slavia and designates the land of the South Slavs. Nearly two-fifths of all the inhabitants of Europe are Slavs. They are all marked by common traits, but are also divided into many units, widely differing one from another. In their early history they wandered over much of the continent and eventually three groups of them settled in the mountains east of the Adriatic Sea. Two of these, the Serbs and the Croats, speak languages that are as nearly identical as English and American. The third language, that of the Slovenes, is as near Serbo-Croatian as Spanish is to Portuguese. However, even though these closely related Slav peoples lived side by side in the Balkan Peninsula for a full millenium they never formed a common state until December, 1918, after the first World War, when they created the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia). It was natural that after so many centuries of separation, they should find themselves faced with an extremely difficult task of consolidation and unification.

The country now embraced in Yugoslavia has always been marked by conflicts of extreme violence. There lay the chasm separating the Eastern Church from the Western, there Europe met Asia, there the cross clashed with the crescent, there Hapsburg fought Sultans. Those ferocious struggles left flaming fires of enmity in South Slav hearts. So, when these groups joined with one another in a free state of their own, they had to quench very persistent hatreds.

The twenty-two years that have passed since have not proved a long enough period for that. During this time Serbs and Croats opposed one another with violence and fury. The Serbs shot Stephen Raditch and many other noted Croatian leaders. They also threw hundreds

and thousands of humbler Croats into prison. On the other side, a Croatian revolutionary organization brought about the murder of the Serbian king, Alexander. Shots were fired in Parliament, shots were fired at the throne. The Yugoslavs passionately killed each other. The Croats repeatedly threatened to secede from the new kingdom and form a state of their own.

A year and a half ago, a reconciliation was effected, a large degree of autonomy was given to the Croats, a

plan was adopted for redressing their worst grievances, and an all-Yugoslav government was formed with Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes heartily co-operating. It was a decisive step forward, but even that could not at once create complete trust. The South Slavs, still mindful of centuries-old hatreds among themselves, are not able to face their



Prince Paul, Regent

enemies with any real unity. Each group still fears that the others may let it down.

Another matter of extreme importance is the fact that more than two million inhabitants of Yugoslavia do not belong to any of these three South Slav groupings. There are, for instance, half a million Germans permanently living in Yugoslavia. Most of them—especially the young men—are ardent and aggressive Nazis. Their loyalty is to Berlin and they take orders from there. Like the Germans of the Sudetenland, they are the vanguard of the Nazi army. They would like to help destroy Yugoslavia in order that large parts of it could be annexed to the Reich.

In addition, there are half a million permanent Hungarian residents in Yugoslavia. Most of them inhabit areas contiguous with Hungary. Many of them feel unreservedly bound to Budapest and would like to have their cities, towns, and counties restored to the "motherland." Though they are Yugoslav subjects, they would come eagerly to the aid of Hungary in a war against Yugoslavia.

Besides these groups, there are about two-thirds of a

million Macedonians, who do not feel at home in Yugoslavia and whom the Bulgarians claim as their own. Many of these Macedonians would like to be liberated from "the Yugoslav yoke." Finally, there are at least two-thirds of a million Albanians in Yugoslavia, who see no reason to sacrifice their lives for a South Slav army commander or a South Slav government. All these powerful destructive forces of foreign racial origins among the South Slavs might well prove the fatal factor in a time of crisis for the Yugoslav state.

Further, it should be noted that some of the South Slavs themselves, both Serbs and Croats, are Nazis. A number of educated, organized, and revolutionary Croatian separatists are as fanatically authoritarian as German storm troopers. They would join the devil, if thereby they could take vengeance on the Serbs, and they are very adept in using bombs and guns. These Croats would cooperate with the most desperate local Germans in opening the gates of all citadels to Hitler's invaders—and the Serb Nazis would likewise help Hitler destroy their own state. There are not many such Quislingovitches, but they are dangerous.

Finally, there is no strong king to curb all this dissension and rally the loyal forces. Yugoslavia is ruled by three regents in the name of a boy sovereign, whose father was assassinated six years ago. Prince Paul, the chief regent, is a very cautious man.

The German army, disengaged in both the west and the east, is free to throw its full force against the South Slav kingdom and there are no strong natural barriers to prevent its advance. As it swept in with tanks and stukas, it would be welcomed by local Germans scattering flowers, waving swastikas, and shrieking "Hail, Victory!" It could reduce Zagreb and Belgrade to Coventries in two days if Yugoslavia were to resist.

Side by side with the Nazi invaders would march the armies of Hungary, another member of the Axis. For twenty years the Hungarians have been shouting with all their might, "Everything back! Everything back!" Now that cry is reaching the fury of a tempest. Hungarian soldiers have whetted their swords and are restless to swoop down the Danube valley, charge across plains as level as a floor, and reoccupy Yugoslav areas which all Hungarians consider an inalienable part of the millennial kingdom of St. Stephen. That king's Magyar crown is considered holy by Hungarians, and some of its choicest jewels, Subotitsa, Voivodina, Bachka, and Croatia, are all now in Yugoslavia. For two decades these jewels have been absent from the crown, for two decades Hungarian flags have drooped sadly at half mast, and a sorrowing statue has stood in Freedom Square in Budapest pointing dramatically in the direction of the lost southern provinces.

Now the moment of restitution seems to be near, and

if Yugoslavia should defy the Axis, Hungarian soldiers would plunge into a "war of liberation" beside German Nazis. These avid enemies would cut as a freshly sharpened scythe through all the wheat fields of northern Yugoslavia.

On the east, too, Bulgarian soldiers, shouting songs of vengeance and battle cries of restoration to give added force to their gleaming bayonets, would join the onslaught against Yugoslavia. In 1913, Bulgarian soldiers attacked along that line and were driven back. In 1915, when Serbia was hard pressed by huge Austrian armies, Bulgarian soldiers again attacked, poured over Serbia's borders along its whole length, drove the Serbs into Albania, and pushed the British-French armies into Salonika. Then in 1918 the Greeks and Serbs drove the Bulgarians back and out, ending the World War, and retaining not only most of Macedonia but even parts of old Bulgaria. Now if Yugoslavia should refuse Axis demands, Bulgarians, with a fury nursed by their twenty-two years of humiliation, would make every effort to settle those old accounts.

That is the sword of Damocles that Hitler has held over Yugoslavia's head all winter. And beside it has dangled another weapon—Salonika. The Nazi Fuehrer has warned Belgrade that even if the general assault on Yugoslavia were postponed, Greece would be smashed, and Bulgaria might get Salonika as its reward. Bulgaria's possession of that port would be as disastrous for Yugoslavia as Germany's possession of Ireland would be for Great Britain.

And Hitler has slyly added, "But if you Yugoslavs come with the Axis it is possible that you'll be the ones to get Salonika."

Rarely was a state in a more helpless position. The Axis on the east, the Axis on the west, the Axis on the north volleyed and thundered, as only Hitler and Mussolini can thunder. Hungarian students marched on Budapest's boulevards, shouting, "Everything back!" Bulgarian students paraded in Sofia's squares, crying, "Macedonia back!" Croatian separatists threw bombs before the British consulates in Zagreb and scattered leaflets demanding "Down with Yugoslavia." Russia, the traditional protector of the little Balkan peoples, was weak and frightened. And terrific Nazi forces stationed at the German border only seventy miles away from Salonika crouched for a *Blitz* charge against Greece. No possible help from any source was available. England was almost beleaguered. American Senators were spending days and weeks in repetitious declamations, holding up action and darkening hopes. What could Yugoslavia do? What would any ruler in Prince Paul's place have done? He had to choose between an at least temporary break-up of his unstable kingdom and leading his state into the darkness of political and economic slavery. He is not the first to whom life imprisonment

has seemed preferable to immediate execution. Maybe there will come a day for the opening of prison gates, he thinks.

Now Hitler nears the end of his spring training in the Balkans, and prepares for the season's real contest. The winter is over, spring has come, the Danube ice breaks up and floats downstream, the time for action has arrived. And Hitler, when he acts, moves with terrible swiftness.

Practically all southeast Europe has fallen through squeeze plays, almost without the firing of a gun. Bismarck declared the Balkans weren't worth the bones of a German soldier; Hitler has got them almost without sacrificing a soldier. He squeezed Czechoslovakia to pieces and marched into Prague; he lured the chauvinistic Magyars into subjection and stole into Budapest; he let Russia terrify Rumania and was summoned to Bucharest as a savior; he huffed and he puffed until Bulgaria's gates blew away and then rode over the Balkan mountains into Sofia. Yugoslavia had no choice.

To pretend that this easy conquest of the Balkans isn't a terrible blow to the cause of freedom, would be very shortsighted. Attempts to explain it away are like weak alibis. Hitlerism is marching on, with destruction

as terrible as that of ancient conquerors. When the Turkish sultans, more than half a millennium ago swept into the Balkans, that was a world disaster. And they did not depart for five full centuries. No local power could drive them out. Nor will any local Balkan power be able to throw off the new Nazi yoke.

When Germans press into the southeast, they usually stay. Hapsburg emperors settled them in Hungary, Transylvania, the Banat, Bessarabia, and they are still there. They settled Germans in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and they are still there. Now Hitler has taken Germans even further down the Danube and he plans that they shall remain there.

This is barely the beginning of Hitler's spring, a preliminary for his real fight. The operations of 1941 have just opened. The Balkan mountain passes are all roads to other places, to Asia and Africa. Hitler is moving out over the trails that have often led to the conquest of continents. Only those people who are asleep can fail to see that he has begun a march which he expects, before this year ends, will place world dominion within his grasp. Budapest, Bucharest, Belgrade, Sofia are stations on a through route that Hitler believes will lead to the ends of the earth.

Chemicals for War

BY JACK SCHUYLER

WITHOUT chemical products in adequate quantities, no effective defense program would be possible. The products of the chemical industry are needed for every basic industry and, directly or indirectly, for every article of commerce. Agriculture needs chemical fertilizers and insecticides; the textile industry needs bleaching materials and dyes. Transportation, communication, medicine, the electro-chemical industry, and even the arts—all must have chemical supplies.

Yet very little is written of the importance of the chemical industry. Generally speaking, the large chemical corporations employ public relations men, not to gain public good will, but to keep information out of print. Logically so, for the industry touches the consumer at comparatively few points.

Today the United States has one of the most powerful chemical industries in the world, producing a wide variety of both heavy chemicals and synthetic organic compounds, ranging from dyes to explosives. The industry could be expanded to meet our war-time needs. It already meets the peace-time demand and has something left over for export to other countries.

The national defense program will stimulate not only

the manufacture of explosives but that of a thousand and one chemicals. Chemicals are used to treat steel and metals, and are also used in the leather, coal products, rubber, shipbuilding, and aircraft industries. Sulphuric acid has been called the "pig iron" of the chemical industry. It is certainly important in all kinds of products incidental to defense. It is required for the making of military explosives; for pickling iron and steel; for the manufacture of high-grade aviation gasoline, and so on.

Coal, air, salt, and sulphur are the four basic materials used for the manufacture of most of the chemical substances necessary for national defense—and for peacetime industries. When coal is heated in an air-tight chamber, it gives off illuminating gas, coke, and tarry vapors. From the tarry vapors comes coal tar, which is treated and distilled to yield products that are the main base of a large part of our synthetic organic chemical industry: toluene, necessary for the production of both T. N. T. and dyes; phenol, essential to the manufacture of explosives and plastics; picric acid, vital to the making of explosives, poison gases, and dyes; aniline, basic to the production of poison gases, dyes, and medicinal supplies—all are derived from coal tar.

The next essential raw material for chemical warfare and peace-time industry is air, the very air we breathe. By various processes, ammonia produced from air is used to make both fertilizers and refrigerants. Nitric acid, made from ammonia, is essential to the manufacture of nitroglycerine and other explosives, dyestuffs, plastics, artificial leather, and fertilizers.

Salt is used to make caustic soda and chlorine. The rayon, soap, and petroleum refining industries are all dependent upon caustic soda. Chlorine is important as a water-purifier, disinfectant, bleaching agent, and in the making of war gases.

Sulphur is basic to the manufacture of certain explosives, each pound of which requires two pounds of sulphuric acid. Sulphur is also used as a vulcanizer in the rubber industry and to make sulphur dioxide, a bleaching agent in its own right but more important as the basis for the manufacture of sulphuric acid, vital in oil refineries, explosives manufacture, metal pickling, and dye making.

The chemical industry is well organized to contribute its share to the national defense program. Almost two years ago several committees were set up by the Army and Navy Board to make a series of surveys of the chemical needs of the military program. Long before that, the Chemical Warfare Service established its own procurement program on a comparable basis. Five geographical districts were organized, each with advisory boards made up of from eight to fifteen leading industrialists. Educational orders, that is, small orders giving the producer a chance to work out the problems arising in a shift from peace-time to war-time goods, were placed for gas masks and related equipment, and a chemical defense program was outlined.

The chemical industry is not a munitions industry and has not made munitions since the first World War. It does make enormous amounts of chemicals for peace-time markets. However, these chemicals can be made into explosives just as steel can be made into guns. The making of military explosives in the United States calls for new plant capacity, now being built to the tune of \$50,000,000 or more, plants to be run for the government by chemical companies.

Meanwhile, the industry holds itself able to supply the vastly greater demands consequent on the stepping up of the defense program. For last year, when production of chemicals of virtually every sort was at the highest level on record, plant expansion not only kept pace with the increased demand but anticipated, in part, added requirements of this and future years. In the first eleven months of 1940 contracts for new plants amounted to \$142,159,000, and construction of plants reached a new high in the same year. One synthetic phenol plant, six synthetic rubber plants, three aluminum plants, one bromine plant, and one magnesium plant were built by

private industry. Government money built three smokeless-powder plants, two T. N. T. plants, one ammonia plant, one toluene plant, and one ammonium nitrate plant.

The present crisis therefore finds the chemical industry in a far better position than that of 1914. At that time our chemical industry, enormous as it was, lacked coal-tar chemical plants and was pitifully dependent on Chile for nitrates and on Germany for potash. We have since discovered and developed sources of potash in California and New Mexico that are ample for all our needs.

In 1914 only 10 per cent of the dyes consumed in the United States were made here. During the subsequent war years the textile industry, the medical profession, the photographic industry and scores of others became acutely aware that the most vital of their raw materials came from abroad and that these sources of supply had been cut off. When the German submarine *Deutschland* appeared in Newport harbor we were startled but also jubilant. The submarine had run the English blockade with a cargo of coal dyes and other then rare and scarce chemical products. These were bought for fantastic prices.

Domestic chemical manufacturers rose to the first World War emergency and spent millions of dollars in research and experimentation. Today, after less than twenty-five years, America has a dye industry second to none, whose products equal any produced by other nations. It no longer follows, but leads the way.

The American dye industry is a key industry. Not only does it provide color for many materials—textiles, leather, and even paper—but continuous research in it gives to our physicians and hospitals countless new products in the drug and medical field.

The establishment of this self-contained synthetic organic chemical industry at last emancipated our research, our medicine, our agriculture, and our industries from the domination of the German chemical trust.

All the basic raw materials for chemical warfare are used in the making of dyes. So closely is the making of dyes connected with the manufacture of war gases and explosives that most of the dye plants need only to be enlarged, and many of them require no new technics in order to manufacture war gases. Moreover, men trained in dye manufacture are men who can easily be shifted to the manufacture of explosives.

Chemical engineers will play an important role in industrial mobilization for national defense. Products of their ingenuity are, for the most part, products even more essential in war than in peace. The list of essential chemicals required in large amounts by the army and navy for the manufacture of explosives and war-agents is a considerable one. Included in it are acetic acid, wood alcohol, nitric acid, acetone, benzol, caustic soda, chlorine, grain

alcohol, hydrochloric acid, phenol, picric acid, potash, soda ash, sulphuric acid, and toluene. The bulk of these chemicals go into the manufacture of explosives of various sorts.

The methane of natural gas, crude petroleum, alcohol from the fermentation of molasses or potatoes, sugars, coal tar, and sulphur are all raw materials used in the manufacture of explosives and are quite plentiful in this country.

One of the primary raw materials for the manufacture of high explosives is glycerine. During the first World War this basic material was obtainable only from animal fats, and its scarcity is supposed to have contributed to the defeat of Germany. We are no longer dependent on animal fats for our supply of glycerine since we are now able to synthesize this organic substance from coal-tar derivatives or from gases obtainable from crude petroleum.

Practically all modern explosives are mixtures of nitrated organic compounds which require the use of sulphuric and nitric acids in their manufacture. Ammonia is necessary for the making of ammonium nitrate, which is likely to be most widely used in high explosives, and into ammonium picrate, used in armor-piercing projectiles because of its insensitive character. Acetone, acetic acid, and the alcohols are used as solvents for smokeless powder. Chlorine is the basic raw material used in the synthesis of most chemical war-agents such as mustard gas and chlorpicrin. Toluene is used not only for the manufacture of T. N. T., but for other, less widely known kinds of explosive.

The chemical industry is remarkable for the way it has substituted synthetic for natural products. The plastics industry, of which the United States possesses one of the largest in the world, is essential for the production of material for telephones, telephonic equipment, electrical devices, switches, auto parts, spectacles, photographic film, safety glass, wire insulation, radios, refrigerator parts, surgical instruments and sutures, aircraft, cockpit windows in military airplanes, gun parts, gas-mask lenses, and other parts. The chief raw materials, of which we possess an abundance, are derived from such substances as air, water, coal, petroleum, salt, sulphur, cellulose, and limestone.

DuPont synthetic coatings, Duco and Dulux, are used and needed in the airplane and automobile industries. DuPont also produces the glass-clear plastic, Lucite, used for windows in airplanes.

Efforts to discover substitutes for vital imported materials and to develop products formerly imported from countries now occupied by the Nazis, were highlights of industrial research in 1940. The chemical industry has relieved us of dependence upon foreign sources of supply for some important raw materials—rubber, particularly. In addition to the normal demand of 600,000 tons a

year, our preparedness program calls for mechanized instruments of warfare for land, sea, and air in which rubber is an essential material. Various synthetic rubbers—neoprene, buna, Ameripol, chemigum, thiokol and koro-seal—are the more important synthetic rubbers now produced in the United States. Production of these synthetic rubbers will probably reach a total of 15,000 tons this year.

Charcoal made from coconut shells is used for gas masks. Almost our entire supply comes from the Philippines. An adequate substitute has been developed from sawdust, coal, and hardwood charcoal, and we are no longer dependent upon a foreign source for this most important material in our defense program. Contracts for gas-mask charcoal made by this new process, as well as other chemicals used in gas-defensive appliances and amounting to about \$10 million, have been closed or are being negotiated. In warfare silk is used for parachutes. Practically all our raw silk comes from Japan. A wholly satisfactory substitute, nylon, is now available for parachute manufacture. Synthetic resin enamels are being used instead of tin for coating certain types of cans, lessening our needs for imported tin. Chemically coated cardboard containers have also to some extent taken the place of tin cans. Toluene, basic ingredient in the manufacture of T. N. T. and important in the making of dyes, drugs, lacquers, varnishes, and enamels, comes largely from by-product coke ovens. But methods of obtaining it from petroleum have recently been developed, and in 1940 the Shell Oil Company opened a plant at Houston, Texas, which will produce 2 million gallons annually.

Our organic chemical industry can produce all the explosives, dyes, drugs, photographic chemicals, rayon, and plastic materials which this nation might need in war. Other large-scale chemicals which are produced synthetically are wood alcohol, camphor, and tanning materials. Glycerine is now produced synthetically. Today we obtain our iodine from our own brine wells in California instead of importing it from Chile. We have looked to other countries for much of our paper, but the South is now doing its bit to displace this dependency. Our industry can supply all of the various kinds of war gases—lung irritants, lachrymators, vesicants, and toxic smokes.

The chemist's contribution to warfare is more than that of supplying explosives, war gases, and flame-throwers. The airplane, tank, ship, and submarine have been brought to their present state of perfection by the combined efforts of the chemist and physicist. The defense leaders look to these scientists to produce new materials of construction, new fuels, better lubricants, and improved instruments. Greater speed in airplanes, more powerful fuels, more destructive explosives—and better drugs to restore the wounded soldier—are problems to be solved through scientific research.

Turkish Dilemma

BY PETER STEVENS

Istanbul, February 17

THIS is written on the Bosphorus in mid-February and the new Bulgarian pact with Turkey has just been announced. No doubt before this article reaches America the full meaning of the treaty will be clear. There are several schools of thought here regarding the immediate future; it may be revealing to know what they are:

There are the case-hardened cynics who feel that we are in the first stages of the great "sell-out" which will proceed in the pattern already set by Germany in Rumania. The Turks, they argue, are in desperate need of supplies; England has been unable to carry out the economic accord of early December, 1940; with Turkish shops nearly bare, the Turks must keep the Balkan route open to receive from Germany and Italy the necessities which they themselves cannot manufacture.



President Inonu

Take, for example, transportation in Istanbul: one by one the street cars are being withdrawn from service. England can send neither replacements nor parts, and the Turks cannot go on hanging like grapes from overcrowded cars.

The net effect of Turkish neutrality, argue the cynics, will be the protection of the left flank of the German army as it moves down across Bulgaria to annihilate Greece before General Wavell is free to send any real reinforcements. Turkey on its side, will gain peace, manufactured goods from Germany, and a ready market for her agricultural surplus.

The Turkish treaty with England called for "all possible aid" to England if it were involved in hostilities over its guarantee to Greece. The cynics smile and say, "Turkey did not move on October 28 when England was involved in hostilities in Greece and Albania over its guarantees to Greece. It never intended to. It won't now." These people, and some of them are Turks, like to end their argument with the quotation from *Time*,

which is so well known here, to the effect that Turkey "will stay bought only so long as England continues to pay."

Then there are the Friday-night quarterbacks and arm-chair strategists who say that Turkey will aid the Greeks and has made an arrangement with Bulgaria whereby the latter will protect the Turkish border from Adrianople to the Black Sea, while the Turks send aid to Greece through Thrace. These people have no answer to the obvious question of whether the Germans will allow Bulgaria, once they have occupied it, to tell them where and how they may move their troops. It is a weak argument put forward by those Turks who hate to swallow their boasts about what they would do to the Bulgarians and the Germans, if the former allowed so much as one German in uniform to come into the country.

Finally there is the British interpretation which here and at this time sounds like whistling in the dark. It says that Turkey has merely "restated" her amicable intentions toward Bulgaria and that Bulgaria has promised Turkey it will not aid the Germans in a possible attack on the Bosphorus and Turkish Thrace. "This treaty," the British say, "has not affected British-Turkish treaty relations." Turkey has promised England all aid if Germany attacks Greece, and they add, "No doubt the outcome of the recent Anglo-Turkish staff talks in Ankara was a decision that Turkey could best help by holding its Thracian border."

Now each of these points of view has obvious holes in its logic. The hole in the first is to be found in Turkish public opinion. It is perfectly true that there is no independent press in Turkey, let alone any opposition press; it is equally true that the government makes and remakes public opinion through its orders to the press. But it would be most foolish of Turkey—and the Turks in authority are neither ignorant nor foolish—to change sides so suddenly and at the end of a long violent anti-New Order and pro-British press campaign. The government radio and press have convinced all Turkey that Germans and Italians are evil and that Britain is good; that the Axis must inevitably lose this war and that England cannot lose it. It will take a long and delicate campaign to change the Turks who have a deep-seated dislike for the Germans and Italians.

The second argument, that Turkey is playing a very clever military trick on the Germans, is patently ridiculous. One has only to look at the map and to know the pitiful state of the Turkish army to dismiss it as absurd.

The third one may have some truth in it; but its inevitable conclusion that the best help is no help and that the way to save Greece is to abandon her, is difficult of acceptance.

I think that the best explanation is one which does not altogether contradict the third argument. I think that the Turks are desperately short of all sorts of war material and that they are playing for time in the belief that Britain will send via Busrah-Bagdad, or through an Italian-free Mediterranean, a generous share of American supplies and help. The Bulgarian-Turkish treaty is the best means through which to freeze the *status quo* here until Turkey is ready. This theory would also account for the persistent rumor that Turkey recently refused an offer from Yugoslavia to make a joint statement that any occupation of Bulgaria would be considered an act of war.

It is also possible that the Turks would look on a German occupation of Bulgaria as releasing them from the commitments under this new treaty. There are an endless array of possible explanations; but unless the British are very good actors, they are not disturbed much by this move. For this reason I am inclined to think that the best explanation is that Turkey is playing for time to accumulate mechanized equipment and to acquire some aerial defense for defenseless Istanbul, which is built mostly of wood and so is peculiarly vulnerable to incendiary attack.

One thing is certain, no treaty can make Turks love Bulgars or Bulgars trust Turks.

Putsch in Java

BY GEORGE PEPPER

FEW people realize that Java, in the remote Dutch East Indies, was the scene of a coordinated Nazi plot to seize power in those islands as early as last spring. Not many more even knew where the islands were until Cordell Hull's sharp notes to Japan catapulted them into the limelight. The world's suicidal struggle has done more for geographic knowledge, if for nothing else, than all the atlases printed since the first world war, and today we know that this group, aside from seductive Bali, contains vast natural resources. Borneo's rich oil fields; Sumatra's rubber; 97 per cent of the world's quinine; tea, coffee, tobacco, sugar, tin, copper, gold, and iron—all these make the East Indies a prey of aggressor nations.

When Hitler stunned the world by invading Holland last May all eyes turned to that tragic scene. Few stopped at the moment to wonder about its island colonies out in the remote southeastern Pacific, colonies that felt safeguarded by the British navy and American diplomacy. Counting on this false sense of security and the confusion

their latest offensive had created, the Nazis naturally prepared to seize them; yet a few hours after Holland was invaded every German and every Nazi sympathizer in the Dutch East Indies was under arrest. The story behind the plot's failure must be recorded as an odd twist of fate.

For an understanding of why the German coup nearly came off, it is well to realize that there have always been a good many German residents in the Indies. They were splendid colonists, assiduous workers, keen business men, and, having lived in the Indies for several decades, they held many key positions in the colonial government. Last year saw many new arrivals at the German colony there. Some carried Dutch passports; others wished to settle permanently for business reasons; and still others claimed to be "refugees" from Nazi terror. The Dutch Colonial Government, always tolerant once the head-tax fees have been collected, pocketed the new revenue and continued to dream of fresh profits from coffee, rubber, and tobacco. The newcomers wasted no time dreaming, but set to work undermining the entire governmental structure. Dutch Nazis were contacted and employed; Germans in high offices were ready at a moment's notice to sabotage any coordinated effort to resist; the long suppressed nationalist movement in Java was geared to rebellion, and munitions appeared from nowhere to be placed in secret caches or stored in private homes. As usual, the web had its spider in the form of German consular offices. There a certain Baron von Plessen grasped diplomatic respectability with his right hand, and with his left managed a tangle of underground activity. A suave handsome man, long known in the Indies as a sportsman, hunter, and ethnologist, he managed to steer an even course to the very last.

Time in the tropics usually has little significance. However, one must remember that Java time is a full day ahead of European time on the calendar, and May 10 in Germany was May 11 throughout the Indies. Action synchronizing with the German invasion of Holland had been planned, and when May 11 dawned over Java all strategic spots were covered by hidden machine-gun emplacements; well-known hotels were the sites of secret barricades, and all short-wave sending sets were in readiness to flash an instant order for the uprising. The cream of Dutch society had received cunning invitations for a party at the home of Baron von Plessen. There, according to the Nazi scheme, they were to be confronted by a *fait accompli*. The one remaining question was: at what moment will the order to strike come from Berlin? Advance information led the plotters to believe that Hitler would choose May 12 (Java time). Perhaps it was a miscalculation that caused him to move one full day sooner.

Batavia, the chief city of Java, has a large, modern post office. On the morning of May 11, the postmaster was away and an obscure subordinate was in charge. A lengthy cable from Berlin addressed to the German

Consul-General passed across the acting postmaster's desk. Well aware of the cable's diplomatic immunity, he hesitated to have it decoded, but nevertheless felt uneasy, and he decided to withhold delivery until the postmaster returned—although the Nazi consular offices twice sent anxious inquiries by messenger asking for mail. When the door closed on a third messenger, this alert Dutch clerk called the military in order to have the cable decoded. Once decoded, the entire conspiracy lay before the authorities. They read orders for an immediate uprising throughout the Indies, orders calling for the co-operation of some twenty-three German ships lying in the neutral waters of Java, and finally, an order calling for the utmost speed and precision in attaining all "planned objectives." The last order was further elucidated by the statement: "Germany will invade Holland in three hours. Der Fuehrer expects news of your success before that time."

The authorities immediately informed the Governor-General. He issued an order for the instant arrest of every German, regardless of age or position, and further cautioned those who knew not to divulge the fact that an invasion of Holland was imminent. Within two hours all arrests had been made, all German ships seized, and Dutch citizens with known Nazi sympathies were being arrested. By this time the first news of Germany's move on Holland began reaching the outside world—news withheld by the Governor until every arrest had been made. It was late afternoon before he made a radio address telling of Holland's great tragedy. He also described the last-minute rescue of the Indies and praised the obscure clerk whose intelligence had made this possible.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

German Oil Supplies

IN THE last war it was once said, "the Allies floated to victory on a wave of oil" and there can be no doubt that in the present conflict oil will prove one of the decisive factors. Operations by land, air, and sea are all absolutely dependent on a constant supply of oil products, while for the industries which lie behind the fronts it is also a vital necessity, particularly in the form of lubricants. But Europe's own resources in oil are very limited and, excluding Russia, Rumania is the only producer of importance. Rumania in 1938, however, was able to furnish only about one-ninth of Europe's import requirements or about 4 million tons out of 36 millions. The balance had to be brought by sea either from this hemisphere or from east of Suez, and from these sources Germany and the countries it dominates are now, of course, entirely cut off.

Britain, on the other hand, can obtain all it is able to con-

voy through the German counter-blockade, for in both America and Asia there is a surplus rather than a shortage of oil. Nor, in spite of Hitler's submarines and bombers, is there any lack, at present, of tankers to carry it. Britain and its Allies control at least 50 per cent of the tanker tonnage of the world, or considerably more than was employed in pre-war days to fill British needs. Another British advantage is the proximity of oilfields it controls to the Near Eastern war area. Its forces in North Africa and Greece can draw on the refineries at Haifa, the terminus of the pipeline from the Irak fields, and additional supplies can be shipped from southern Iran. Haifa, of course, is somewhat exposed to air attack and has been bombed several times, but the Irak and Iran oil districts are beyond the range of effective raiding.

Consider, in contrast, Italy's problem in fueling its North African army. It has practically no domestic supplies, and its Albanian oilfield, always a very minor affair, has probably been closed down by British and Greek bombings. Aside from reserves, its only resource is import from Rumania, which involves a long overland haul to Italian ports. There it must be loaded on tankers to run the gantlet of the British navy to Tripoli. There is good reason to believe that not the least of the causes of Graziani's collapse in the Libyan campaign was insufficient supplies of oil.

Germany is far better off than its partner in the matter of oil supplies, yet this question must be among the constant worries of the Nazi war-lords. Before the war the annual oil consumption of Greater Germany and the occupied countries of Western Europe is estimated to have been around 17 million tons, of which German military and industrial requirements amounted to 6 million tons. From the very beginning of the war civilian consumption of gasoline was severely restricted in Germany, as in all other belligerent countries, and the conquered areas are of course even more tightly rationed. But the internal-combustion engine has become so integrated with modern economic life that its use cannot be banned altogether without industrial consequences that Germany cannot face. It needs the factories of the defeated countries and so must supply them with some means of transport as well as with lubricants for their machinery. Taking such factors into account, it has been estimated that the strictly civil requirements of the territory Germany controls amount to 5 million tons of oil annually. Thus, since the army can hardly be using less than it used in peacetime, it must find by one means or another a minimum total of around 11 million tons annually.

Germany has long been working frantically to increase production of synthetic oils. We have no exact figures of the supplies available from this source, but in 1939 output is believed to have been about one and one-half million tons, and new plants coming into operation last year may have added another half million. There are also a few small oilfields yielding some 750,000 tons, while benzol and fuel alcohol production might supply the equivalent of an additional one million tons. In all, then, domestic sources, according to these figures, which I owe to Maurice Seldman, would supply something under 4 million tons. Another estimate, this one by E. M. Friedwald, the French petroleum authority, quoted in the *New York Times* of December 22 last, places the total at 4,280,000 tons.

How far these figures have been affected by British air raids we cannot tell. We know only that oil refineries and synthetic plants have been among the targets most frequently assigned to the RAF, and it is impossible to believe that all their bombs "fell in the fields." On the other hand, Germany is no doubt continuing to add to its productive capacity, building plants as nearly out of range of the British planes as possible. Thus a hydrogenation plant capable of processing 5 million tons of coal annually is reported under construction at Brux in the Sudetenland.

Making every possible allowance, it seems certain that Germany must obtain more than half its oil from Russia and Rumania or from reserves. The latter were no doubt very considerable at the outset of the war, and they have been swollen by the loot of the conquered countries, which had also laid in considerable stocks. Russia's total exports were not much over one million tons in 1939, and it is doubtful if Germany obtained as much from this source in 1940. The recent trade agreement provided for a total of one and one-half million tons in 1941, but the fulfilment of this undertaking depends on the ability of the Russian railroads to deliver.

Rumanian production today is completely under German control, and it amounts to the very considerable total of between 6 and 7 million tons. It is unlikely, however, that the Germans can get out anything like this amount. Three-quarters of Rumania's exports were normally shipped by sea and only about a million tons by rail or Danube barges. The Germans have made great efforts to supply additional tank-cars and river carriers, but with all the physical difficulties involved they will be doing well if they extract a total of 3 million tons from this source in the current year, and a part of this total will have to be spared to Italy.

One can only conclude that Germany cannot cover current needs for oil from current supplies, domestic and foreign, and consequently must eat all the time into reserves. How long these will hold out depends on the tempo of the war. This is one explanation of Hitler's patient effort to take the Balkans with terror tactics. For *Blitzkrieg* campaigns burn up gas in terrifying quantities and, if he is to attempt to invade Britain this year, or to drive through Asia Minor, he must economize this most vital of war materials.

In the Wind

BRITISH AGENTS: When the Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation went on strike, several agents of the British government were in town. They went immediately to the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and assured the men that they would do no business with Bethlehem until collective bargaining prevailed.

GREAT BRITAIN keeps 5,000 good military planes grounded, according to observers who have recently returned from England. They are to be used if and when the Nazis attempt an invasion. Military observers believe that, in case of an all-out attempt on Britain, many planes will be needed

to fight off Nazi bombers, fire the English Channel, and bomb German invasion ports.

AT THE LAWYERS GUILD dinner in Washington a standing vote of applause was given to Justice Reed, one of the guests. Of those present only Carol King, attorney for Harry Bridges, refused to honor the liberal jurist.

COMMUNISM AS RELIGION: For several days after Earl Browder was sentenced to four years in prison, the *Daily Worker* published whole pages of letters protesting the decision. One of the letters said that even while the party chief was behind bars, ". . . whenever two comrades come together . . . Comrade Browder will be the third."

AND WHEN Robert Minor was appointed as Browder's successor, the *Daily Worker* printed a statement congratulating the party on its choice. That statement was signed by William Z. Foster—and Robert Minor.

FOR SEVERAL MONTHS the FBI has been investigating new employees in government agencies and key defense industries. Recently the investigators have been demanding that workers sign waivers permitting examination of their bank accounts, safety-deposit vaults, and personal papers.

THE CAMPAIGN for Liberty Bonds, although they will not be called that, is getting under way in Washington. It is under the direction of Harford Powel, an advertising executive, and Gail Johnstone, formerly a Metropolitan Life Insurance Company official.

CALIFORNIA has a new panacea group known as the Monetization of Food. The Food Dollar *vs.* The Gold Dollar is their slogan.

THE LORD HAW-HAW of Italy is Lt.-Col. Cecil Rocke. Before the war he was living in Italy on a British army pension. When his voice was heard over the Rome radio and his identity established, his pension was cut off. In the British "Who's Who" he is listed as having two recreations: "rearmament and anti-communism."

IN GENERAL KRIVITSKY'S last letter to his wife the press reported one sentence as "friends will help you but enemies will not." Photostatic copies of the suicide note show that what he really said was, "friends will help you, but enemies of the Soviet Union will not." The police, for reasons of their own, suppressed the reference to the Soviet Union.

FALSE RUMORS, apparently started in an effort to keep American money out of Canada, are spreading that food is being rationed there and that gasoline is selling for ninety cents a gallon and more. Canadian government officials assert that these stories have appreciably affected the tourist trade.

[The \$5 prize for the best item in February goes to Mr. N. F., 927 Grant Avenue, Bronx, for his story about Jan Valtin, published on February 8.]



A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

\$21-a-month Men

THEY put it in the papers so it must be news: William Martin, bachelor, New York City, thirty-four years old, will ask for no exemptions and take his turn when his number comes up in the draft. It is entirely incidental to the defense of America that he is also head of the New York Stock Exchange and gets \$48,000 a year. Off somewhere in a camp in Jersey or Georgia, he will be giving up that big pay check and may be homesick for the West Side Tennis, Yale, Brooklyn Heights Casino, Island Court, and University Clubs. Of course, there are other young men, not getting \$48,000 a year, who have also begun to make some little success, who are comfortable where they are, who have no desire to go soldiering, but are going with as much sacrifice and patriotism as William Martin is. William Martin is important, nevertheless. As a \$21-a-month draftee he will be an example worth regarding, not by other young fellows pulled out of their jobs by the draft, but by those who belong to the same clubs and the same income-tax brackets and have become dollar-a-year men in Washington. I like \$21-a-month William Martin better.

Some weeks ago I wrote about the return of the dollar-a-year men to Washington in a process which perhaps gave Washington the use of great talents but also set up again, in the process of defending democracy, the same sort of plutocratic patterns which helped make democracy very elegant when we defended it before. Since then Lord Halifax, serving without salary, has come over to the British embassy to give a sort of British approval to the plan. But there have been signs of less approval in Congress. Even some department heads have been apparently working as gently as possible to limit the legion of such well-to-do patriots as want place, not pay, in the exciting center of the land. Their number is still described as "a host." A writer in the *Washington Post* says that "dollar-a-year men, who have come to town to help with the defense program, are fighting for office space." Certainly you can see them resting from sacrifice in every fashionable bar in the capital. The ladies from the tool and steel towns are looking for houses and apartments and making bright paragraphs and comely pictures on the society pages. The hotels are so crowded that the Statler Hotel organization is pushing ahead with its plans for building the biggest new hotel yet to be seen in the city which

has swollen along the beautifully landscaped swamps by the Potomac.

It gives me pleasure to contemplate William Martin across that scene. I think he makes a pleasanter spectacle than the cherry trees which will be blooming soon. He may be a gilded young man but, for the moment at least, he shines in a way to throw light on the questions: Why should a government which can pay millions for a battleship be interested in saving a few thousand dollars on the salary of a man? Why should such a man be or seem above taking those few thousand dollars for service, while William Martin looks like a patriot going to his soldier's pay?

Some of the dollar-a-year men in this crisis are rendering splendid service—as some did in the previous war. (No evidence has been presented that they would not have done just as well if they had been paid.) But once again, others, according to reports from Washington, have not hesitated in the midst of their charitable services also to sell goods to the government, exert pressure for their industries, even interfere with government monopoly action against a vast corporation—all from the inside. Even so, I do not think the dangers of crookedness in dollar-a-year clothing is so serious, serious as it might be, as the confusion and snobbery in a great national effort that might be the creation of a special class of gentlemen in office, who use their office space to look down on such men as have to be vulgar enough to take the government's pay for the same or better work.

If the government needs any man's service in a crisis, there should not be any question of its getting by, any more than there is any question about taking the youth and body of young William Martin or young John Jones. And in the defense of a democracy those services should be taken on a democratic basis—and the whole dollar-a-year system is a rejection of the idea of democracy in defense service. Fortunately this "short-of-war" time gives us opportunity to make our mistakes "short of war," if war is coming. But it may not give us much time to correct them. One mistake which can be corrected, and promptly, is this dollar-a-year foolishness. The process might not improve the parties at the Mayflower but it would help put a democratic spirit into the whole defense effort. If dollar-a-year men are good, put them on the payroll. If they are merely free, send them home. This is a crisis, not a party. Washington should be crowded by the best brains, not by the cheapest ones.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

"BUT I really mean it," insisted the man with the tired look about the eyes. "Even a great novelist has no right to write a book a thousand pages long!" His voice was tense, his face was drawn, he seemed on the point of tears. Presently he moved on and I heard him telling other people that long books are inexcusable. It was a one-man crusade. And no wonder; it turned out that he has one of those monstrous jobs—for a digest magazine—which requires a human being with only two eyes and one assimilating system to read half a dozen books a week and review them in ten lines each. That week the list included "The Thibaults."

Books are certainly getting longer and longer and though Martin du Gard, from all reports, has the "right" to fill a thousand pages, publishers tend to "bring out number, weight, and measure In a year of dearth"—to use Blake's scornful lines in a different connotation. But I have just finished one book which seems to me too short. It is "Kabloona" by Gontran de Poncins. (Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.) Kabloona is the Eskimo word for white man, and the book is the account of fifteen months spent in the Canadian Arctic. It is one of those rare travel books, like Osbert Sitwell's "Escape with Me," in which we are taken on a double journey. Gontran de Poncins was not searching merely for strange sights. His concern was with the Eskimo,

with his life and traits, his broodings and ruminations, his invincible serenity in the face of the hardest physical existence lived by man anywhere upon earth. It was because of the simplicity and directness of his existence that I went into the Arctic to live with him; and living with him was not easy. Hardest of all was not the severity of the climate, not the intensity of the cold, not the physical anguish which, often, I endured as every man from Outside must endure it. The cold was a problem; but a very much more difficult problem was the Eskimo mentality. There was no getting on with the Eskimo except on his own terms; and as I was not a tourist concerned with externals, but a man concerned to find himself with the aid of the Eskimo, I had to get on with him. . . . I sought to *live* the Eskimo life. . . .

De Poncins succeeded, in so far as it was possible for a white man to succeed, in living the life of a people still in the stone age; and though he records enough "sights," strange and wonderful, amusing and repellent, to satisfy the most avid appetite, it is the story of his gradual absorption into the Eskimo existence, and the unpremeditated beauty of the telling, that yields the new-old reward of a good book—the sense of having shared a significant experience.

His first contact was with Eskimos whose mode of life had been softened and contaminated by poverty and by the standards and customs of men from the Outside; and it was like the thawing dirty edge of a glacier. Only after many weeks—and a grueling seventeen-day trip with sled and dogs—was he able to penetrate to Pelly Bay where he found the true Eskimo living as he had always lived.

The Eskimos of Pelly Bay are prosperous; their igloos are

spacious and they have devised a communal architecture which nevertheless provides full scope for private life.

Thanks to the abundance of seal, these people exhibited to me a powerful and dignified community. . . . The generosity and courtesy of their hospitality struck me as forcibly as the grace of their life. . . . True primitive hospitality consists not merely in welcoming the stranger but in seeking to incorporate him into the community.

Their friendliness also includes the privilege of making fun at his expense and they are wonderful mimics. De Poncins gives us portrait after portrait of individual Eskimos, men and women; scene after scene of family and communal life, and of the landscape, with its dogs and sleds, its furred huntsmen posed immobile—sometimes for days—over a seal's breathing space or a fishing hole in the ice; its nomad dwellers building an igloo with incredible speed and skill against time and the blizzard. One of the recurring images, since he was so often on the trail, is that of an igloo rising out of the waste, lighted from within by seal-oil lamps. And to those who read his book the frozen north becomes luminous too, lighted from within by the vigorous life of a proud people.

The sophisticate found among the primitive Eskimos the serenity he was looking for. He is no sentimentalist and he knew, even as he wished to stay, that he could not renounce his own world. But he brought back with him the profound realization that the serenity he had found was the fruit not of an "escape" to a primitive world but of a full participation in the communal life which is the price and the reward of existence in the Arctic. Civilization please note.

The book is illustrated by drawings, in line and color, by the author; and there is a sheaf of excellent photographs.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Eye-Witness

UNDER THE IRON HEEL. By Lars Moën. J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.75.

SUCH books as "Under the Iron Heel" are inevitable in Swartime. We must resign ourselves to a spate of them in the near future. People with an urge to write, and fated by circumstances to become eye-witnesses of the European inferno, will be unable to withstand the temptation to set down personal experiences which they, of course, consider unique.

There is nothing fundamentally wrong with Mr. Moën's book except that it comes a little late, after a dozen or so competent foreign correspondents have revealed to us the tragedy of the brutal Nazi invasion of the Low Countries and the ruthless Nazi administration of occupied territories. Almost everything that Mr. Moën has to say has been said by others, only better. But while the professional observers on the spot were chafing under a rigorous censorship and were compelled to give us the low-down between the lines, Mr. Moën has unnecessarily shackled himself to a sublime ideal of strict objectivity.

Only a scientist—and Lars Moën evidently is one—disciplined to work perseveringly according to a rigid formula, could so successfully have prevented his imagination, his emotions, and his nerves from intruding on his task. Mr. Moën possesses scientific self-restraint to a fault. Whenever anger or indignation threatened to overcome him he sternly curbed his impulse to succumb. Only rarely does he permit a conviction to sneak up on him. As a result "Under the Iron Heel" lacks human feeling, and because of his rather uneventful existence in a small hotel called "In the Shadow of the Cathedral" at Antwerp Mr. Moën's experiences are devoid of excitement—though it would be unkind to reproach the author for not having led a more heroic, adventurous life just to provide us with a more thrilling notebook.

After five months of a very uncomfortable existence Mr. Moën does permit himself a few conclusions, which are neither startling nor even unexpected. Thus he believes—very cautiously, however—that the Germans may crack if the war continues and England keeps on harassing them with air raids. He also ventures to state that the Belgians do not love England as much as they hate the Germans. His objectivity, however, compels him to report that the Nazi soldiers, with but rare exceptions, behaved in quite an exemplary manner toward the conquered population and tried their best, although very clumsily, to befriend the unfortunate Belgians. All in all, Mr. Moën's very distasteful five months in Antwerp add little to our knowledge on the subject of the Nazi occupation of Belgium.

Robotlike as Mr. Moën's reactions are to daily life under the Iron Heel of the Nazis, there still unfolds, despite his measured tone of objectivity, a sordid picture of destruction, chaos, and bewilderment in a land that, until the Nazi occupation, was happy and good to live in. It is perhaps not so much because of what the book reveals (Mr. Moën reveals very little that we do not know), but because certain events, such as the exodus of the Belgians before the German invasion, evoke in us memories of horror stories read elsewhere. Prosaic and pedestrian as the descriptions are, we cannot but be moved by even the objective tales of the hunted men and women whom the strategic plan of the German General Staff made innocent victims of the war against France and England. The sinister role of the Gestapo, which dominates Nazi occupation in the Low Countries, was hardly observed by Mr. Moën from his hotel room or his laboratory, where he experimented with a new film color process. Whether this was due to his insistence on recording merely the surface life of this Belgian city, or whether at the time of his stay in Antwerp the Gestapo had not yet taken charge, is something I cannot say. But even the first day of Nazi occupation inaugurated a strict anti-Semitic policy which Mr. Moën might have noted—even objectively.

A civilization is being torn asunder in Europe by Hitler's hordes. His iron heel is crushing all innocent humanity that stands in his way to world conquest. It means cynical looting, undisguised plunder, ruthless gagging of any and all independent life, systematic exploitation and enslavement of non-Germans for the benefit of the Nazi *Herrenvolk*. You must therefore forgive me if Mr. Moën's book, with its tiptoeing over the fundamental issues involved, rather irritated me. Not until he is in Portugal, on his way to the United States,

does he throw off his restraint and express his gratitude that there is still a world where butter, good coffee, sugar, and cabarets make life worth while.

No. "Under the Iron Heel" is too deadly a nightmare title for so gentle and objective a book as Mr. Moën's. Objectivity toward the Nazis is an artificial attitude which produces a reality that is out of focus. Even the best and most honest observer will produce a distorted picture if he uses an apparatus that lacks heart, memory, and a little, just a little, indignation.

PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

Tragic History

NIGHT OVER EUROPE: THE DIPLOMACY OF NEMESIS, 1939-1940. By Frederick L. Schuman. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

IN THIS remarkable book Professor Schuman unfolds with rare eloquence and penetration the tragedy of the last two years, tragedy from the point of view of the survival of the liberties of all democratic peoples. It is a continuation of his "Europe on the Eve," and shares with it the deep sincerity, the vigor of presentation, and the power of interpretation. It does not detract from the permanent value of the book that Professor Schuman, in writing his next volume, may find the guesses about the future which he ventures in the present book have left out of account certain important factors, as did the prognosis of his former book. Professor Schuman is probably right in saying that "any reversion to neutrality by America will almost inevitably mean the conquest of the world by the Triplice," but there seems to be little prospect of any such reversion, and Professor Schuman's book will have helped in clarifying democratic thought in that direction. And even louder than anyone's words speak the facts themselves.

The book combines an analysis of the past with a summons to the future. The most interesting passages of the analytical part are devoted to Stalin's attitude. As interesting though not as convincing is Professor Schuman's judgment on the motives of British policy before the outbreak of the war, which he regards as a well-laid-out, almost Machiavellian attempt to direct Germany against the Soviet Union.

At the root of the policy of appeasement was not primarily a class-conscious plot (though class concern and sometimes, especially in the case of Spain, an almost unbelievable class stupidity played a certain role), but a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of fascism. This misunderstanding was shared by many elements of the left; Lansbury and Faure (not to mention many American leftists) were more eager for "peace" than many of the conservatives. Right and left simply clung to the line of thought processes of yesterday, of least responsibility and least effort, and reflected in that the desire of the masses everywhere "for 'peace' through 'neutrality,' 'isolation,' and 'pacifism.'"

Professor Schuman has tried again and again to wake up the democracies. The pages in his book which he devotes to the United States are, like those on the Soviet Union, among the very best. They are a sharp indictment of isolationism, and of the pacifism which seeks to escape the terrors of war, not by organizing the world for peace but by refusing to

oppose war-makers. Without aid from America and the Soviet Union, Professor Schuman sees Britain lost, and America and the Soviet Union lost as well. "Every dictate of self-preservation counseled aid to Britain to crush the Triplice before its members had achieved in the world arena that invincibility which was already theirs in western Europe and eastern Asia. But in epochs of decadence, rulers and peoples seek safety not by doing what is requisite for safety, whatever the cost, but by avoiding all responsibilities and risks until too late and thereby insuring their destruction." Thus the book ends in unmitigated gloom.

Professor Schuman's impatience, his despair, are understandable. He saw the tragedy unfold, and he knows that it could have been averted again and again by an understanding of its nature and by courageous action. He has done his share to bring about understanding and action. But though his impatience is understandable, it does not seem justified. He underrates the power of democracy to think and to act; he overrates the intelligence and efficiency of the totalitarian powers. The experiences of the last months have clearly shown that Hitler and Mussolini do not always have their way. It is a myth that totalitarianism means efficiency or is the form of survival in the twentieth century. The Japanese so far have been unable to conquer China and, though the German people are highly efficient, totalitarianism has proved its claim to efficiency neither in Italy nor in Russia. The new "élite" in Moscow, Tokyo, Rome, and Berlin are in no way superior to the people in office in London or Washington, except in their utter ruthlessness in the use of secret police and in their disregard for all human values and all objectivity of truth. The fact that the English last June and the Greeks last October said "No" to the apparent "owners of the future," may have changed the future. Totalitarianism in the long run can produce only apathy and lethargy in the masses, for fascism is not a revolutionary movement, but the first sustained and consistent effort to make all revolutions impossible and to freeze mankind in an "order" for a thousand years.

Professor Schuman rightly draws a distinction between tyranny (Hitler's, Mussolini's, Franco's, Stalin's rule) and dictatorship as a form of power resorted to voluntarily and temporarily by democracies to meet emergencies. He rightly argues against the "disposition of Democrats to regard 'Dictatorship' in time of crisis as fatal to Democracy rather than as fundamental to its preservation." But how different is this temporary and voluntary dictatorship from the vaunted totalitarian unity maintained with the help of Gestapos! Once the danger was realized in England, English democracy offered the spectacle of moral stamina which took the fascists by surprise and which was achieved with an astonishing degree of political and personal liberty and humane decency. English democracy stands up infinitely better under infinitely harder blows than does fascism in Italy; nobody knows how totalitarian Germany or Russia would stand up under similar blows. There is no reason to despair of London or Washington. They pay a terrible price for their late awakening, but since last June they have traveled a long way toward full awareness. Many today will agree with Professor Schuman that "the prime prerequisite is recognition that the world society is one, that it must be recon-

quered from the barbarians and reordered as a single polity in which justice for each is protected by the organized might of all." More and more recognize that the great withdrawal of America in 1919, the "realistic" abandonment of Wilson's "ideal," the shirking of responsibility for world peace and world order, were essential causes which made it possible for the Caesars to arise.

The world order to which Professor Schuman aspires is fundamentally opposed to the Caesarism which Spengler foresaw as the state form of the future. For Caesarism promises no stable world imperium. "What looms ahead [in Spengler's vision] is titanic and timeless strife among the empire-builders in ever wider arenas of combat. Beyond looms disintegration and the coming of the long darkness." In spite of all fascist assertions of the inevitability of this future and of the decadence of democracy, it is by no means certain that the future will belong to Caesarism instead of to a democratic world order. We do not know the outcome of the struggle; the future is unforeseeable; but those who believe in world democracy and in the values of liberty, equality, fraternity, have no reason to be overcome by gloom. They will carry on, "strong in will to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield." The world of the Spenglerian future is in his own estimate meaningless and insipid. The dark forces of the ages scorn as absurd—to use words of the Pétain regime—the belief in the equality of men and in government by the people, the great heritage of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' revolutions. But in a similarly decisive period of struggle between liberty and authoritarianism Fox wrote to Lord Holland: "I believe that the love of political liberty is *not* an error; but, if it is one, I am sure I shall never be converted from it, and I hope you never will. If it be an illusion, it is one that has brought forth more of the best qualities and exertions of the human mind than all other causes put together; and it serves to give an interest in the affairs of the world, which without it would be insipid." There is night not only over Europe, but over the world; Professor Schuman has written the great epic of that night; his eyes are so fascinated by the darkness, which he describes in a masterly way, that he does not see the dawn which he himself has helped to bring about.

HANS KOHN

A New Reading of Shelley

SHELLEY. By Newman Ivey White. Alfred A. Knopf. Two Volumes. \$12.50.

FOR many of us the life of Shelley has meant Maurois's "Ariel" and Elinor Wylie's biblio-flirtation with "The Orphan Angel." Though nineteenth-century readers could accept his poems, for his private life they always thought with Carlyle that "yon fellow Shelley was a scoundrel." But since 1920, though indifferent to the poetry, we have found stagey personifications of our own moral shell-chipping in the "true stories" of Ariel Shelley, Glorious Apollo Byron, and the rest of their circle. As both the preface to this new, two-volume, twenty-year work and the body of the biography itself make clear, Professor White's "Shelley" is in an altogether different genre, a picture of the most considerable

sort. The working credo recited in the introduction should be a mirror for all engaged in serious biographical studies. And the reconstruction of the life is a job done to meet all requirements, I should guess, for another century.

It is now fifty years since Dowden wrote the last thorough life of Shelley. Much new material has appeared; in letters alone, the chief source for Shelley, White has used 600 to Dowden's 150. This fact, added to his belief that the perspective of time on the old material is of critical value, constitute White's apologia. His procedure is equally unassuming and authoritative: "to keep myself as far in the background as possible, allowing the readers every opportunity of forming judgments of their own." He admits that the biographer's absolutes, "fidelity to facts" and "justice to personality," are unattainables. His devices are: an over-use of "perhaps," "apparently," and "it seems"; abstention from invented conversations and imputed thoughts; a common-sense, pre-Vienna psychology, "the only one yet proper to biography." With these he has singularly realized his hope of "adding to and refining the body of truth which is necessary to understand so great a poet and personality."

I do not rehearse these merely as prefatorial pieties, but rather because they have so nervingly informed with sensible liveliness what in similar works often remains just more information. Revealed, not obscured, by careful documentation; its thoroughness proportioned to the pace of events; candidly dignified, sensitively unprejudiced—the familiar story has never come through better. P. Shelley, atheos and Oxford expellee; the two Harriets and Hogg, and the elopement with Mary Godwin; the Italian group—Byron, Claire

Clairmont, Trelawney, and the Hunts; Emily Viviani; Jane Williams with a guitar; the boat, toy, and symbol; Sophocles and Keats in the drowned man's pockets; the heart that would not burn; and aftermath of widow and wrangling friends. D. H. Lawrence comes to memory—the misinterpreted pure-in-heart, and so many women. Professor White's especial contributions are an emphasis on the childhood because of many carry-overs, Shelley's lifelong sense of mission, his well-recorded readings, his health and mental peculiarities.

Such definitive portraiture of the poet and man, however, only makes more urgent the present need for some new anatomizing light on the poetry itself. Not until the last two chapters does White permit himself to approach this problem. Believing that "great poetry is degraded by prose commentary," he satisfies himself by quoting throughout many passages which "assert their greatness better than any attempted exposition could." Not necessarily, of course; that depends on the expositor. And less friendly critics have not shown similar hesitation in exposing some of those same passages as examples of plain bad writing. White graphs the rise of Shelley from an early popularity among non-poetic, "radical" groups, to a place among the five or six greatest English poets—a rise curiously accompanied by an ever-increasing rejection of the beliefs he held, lived by, and wrote of in most of his poetry. The criticism of the detractors is fully acknowledged—Arnold, Leslie Stephens, P. E. More—as well as the kindlier but no less deadly variety administered by Francis Thompson. For a poet's boobification the epithet of "an enchanted child peering over his metaphysics" is quite as sufficient as that of "an ineffectual angel beating

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THE WORLD OF THE THIBAUTS

by Roger Martin du Gard NOBEL PRIZE WINNER

For the first time in English, the complete text of the eleven French volumes which won for their author The Nobel Prize. The first—and smaller—section, *The Thibaults*,

was published here in 1939. Readers of that volume may obtain the new volume, *Summer 1914*, separately at \$3.50. TWO VOLUMES BOXED \$6.00.



his luminous wings." White makes out his case for the future of Shelley's poetry—in so far as he makes one or feels the need for such—on three points: "a peculiar intensity which, with his music, makes Shelley one of our most hypnotic poets; a unique sense of loneliness; a superb faith in human destiny." Howsoever it is, he says, Shelley's reputation is ever on the increase. Where—except perhaps in university presses or the pages of the P. M. L. A.?

The apathy, if not actual antagonism, toward Shelley's poetry at the present time is a fact not to be minimized. And if one believes that criticism does bear a real, efficient relationship to the health of the body poetic, then this is certainly the moment for its utmost operation by pro-Shelleyan critics. Of the true, two-faceted nature of the poetic faculty Shelley's own definition will do as well as any. The mature poet is both a discoverer of poetry and a maker of poetry; "by the function he creates new materials for knowledge, by the other he reproduces them according to rhythm and order." It is not often though that this ideal of the *whole* poet is either sought or commended. Shelley's own practice emphasized markedly the first half, as did most of the poets who followed him for almost a hundred years. Our own poets have leaned heretically toward the second; descending rather in a Keatsian line, we have tended to produce a poetry of words, the dense, starch-stiff *factibile*. Accordingly, the first century of Shelley critics, in genteel conspiracy, eliminated his poetic "material" as too tenuous for consideration. Our latter-day precisionists, taking up at that point—some of them even finding his ideas "repellent"—have proceeded from their own new bias to attack his craftsmanship, his "music." That about brings the obituary notice full-round. The best, for instance, that the barometric Eliot can say for Shelley (whom he cites as the typical schoolboy "crush" poet) is that "toward the end of his life he was beginning to profit by his reading of Dante." There have been a few voices raised in resuscitation, for the most part those of scholars. But in those higher councils where the tastes of a period are formed, almost no one has made any effort to see Shelley's poetry plain and new.

The beginnings of a fresh, helpful approach to this body of work might well be found in Yeats, both for useful comparison and as one of the few congenial commentators. A similar attempt is already starting to enjoy Yeats "as" poetry, while spoofing about the Besant-ific "vision" which the poems exactly reflect. This is not possible, finally; and it is wrong—wrong because wasteful of the very value in that vision there contained. It seems as if no prophet is so without honor as he who is at once a poet. And yet the poet-seer has always been a familiar conjunction, and in the nature of human psychology must continue to be. In his "Essays" Yeats writes of Shelley: "One cannot help thinking him a vague thinker unless one compares passages till one has discovered the system of beliefs that lay behind them. He soon became more than a Godwinian revolutionist . . . he foresaw more than political regeneration. Having experienced all but the most profound mystical states . . . he awakened in himself the age of faith."

Yeats sees in Shelley's technique, his language, an instinctive and fairly advanced attempt to find, "as the poet of pure ideas and essences must," a vocabulary of precise symbols.

Just as he constantly sought an expression of human spirituality clearer than any possible in the provided forms of his times, so he persistently experimented with a new poetic speech "uncorrod by custom." Rather than being just clichés, picked up in his reading of Gothic horror tales, his recurrent *lamp, cave, ship, river, veil* are the initial entries in that new lexicon—a multi-denotative language—which poets ever since have been trying to piece together. Yeats, himself, closer in his methods to Shelley than any other, and following them out to the furthest reaches, evolved a symbolic vocabulary uniquely successful among modern poets.

The usefulness of Yeats's remarks on Shelley—and I have only suggested the directions he indicates for a rehabilitation—is that they show Shelley in a different, wider context than is usual. A recent book by B. Ifor Evans, "Tradition and Romanticism," trying to break up the conventional categorizations of English literature, does the same. Because he carried certain tendencies to their greatest extremes, and because in the argot of lecture hall and literature outline these tendencies are termed "romantic," Shelley's poetry has been made a clothes-rack for the whole wardrobe of the "romantic period"—that mythology of old embroideries. We are now almost unable to see the text, what for the textbooks. Because of curricular exigencies, the arts must all be mustered into a presentable order, and history set going like a pendulum that we may tell school time by poets. The case of Shelley, as well as the other "romantics" from whom we have now been for some time "reacting," demonstrates how necessary it is to uncatact our reading from these formulas. We must for

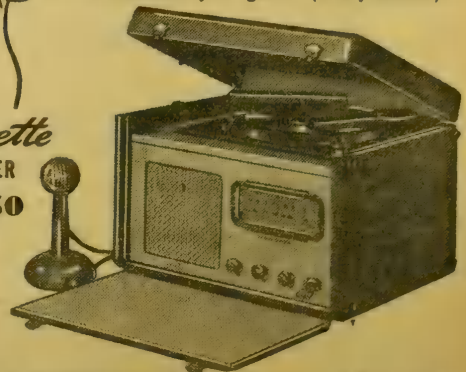
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a time accustom ourselves, in the widest possible extent, to apparent disassociations, "a powder of particularities." Then we may slowly come to have, rather than a table-of-contents knowledge, a *sense* of and *friendship* with an enlarging, inviolable unity where ride the superficial cycles, the ticking antinomies, "in their green going, a wave interminably flowing." History then might be seen as "a stream of biography"; writing one of its vocalities, as so many testaments, incalculably, ever-changingly interrelated. One of the jobs of criticism would be to observe these free associations as they reveal each other and the mystery of their common buoyancy.

Seen in some such way, the whole phenomenon of Shelley and his poetry will be of much greater meaning and use to us. He lived at a time when the world's last great picture-order was cracking apart from the pressure of internal energies. Those fissures completely sundered now explicate the dead level where we ourselves walk. It was his especial grace that he was freed almost at once from the hindrances of the old life, and that in his short maturity he tried almost all of the successive adaptations which the eruptive new life was to take for a hundred years to come. He mastered the science of his time; he worked at social reform; he trained himself in philosophy; his personal difficulties came from his effort to find a human relationship that might fill his peculiar needs. In retrospect he seems to have described in sizable dimension that "ordeal" which a self-appointed succession of men have been undergoing ever since—"the heroes' journey to the cinders," in Hulme's phrase.

Shelley did not live out this experience under the vacuum-bell intension of Rimbaud's season. Nor did he achieve that "bisexual" maturity that Mann suggests in his Goethe-Joseph ideal—though Edward Carpenter analyzes many of Shelley's emotional troubles as a failure to so realize himself. Like Lawrence he did insist that "conversion does not operate through negation of passion but through its aid and for its affirmation." And his Love is certainly that Eros which is not the destroyer but "the builder of cities" in Christ and Freud, Blake and Auden. He came to believe that the supernatural could inbreak upon time only through individuals, individuals freed from those "desires that cannot live with wisdom." His last letters show how completely he had lived through and past, one after another, the false, old heteronymous refuges. Shortly before he died he wrote, "I live from day to day." He did not live long enough to issue forth from that passive vacancy; Rilke, alone perhaps, has been permitted through endurance to hear his angels speak. Nor could Shelley see with the same specific clarity what Henry Miller has begun to say: "When the old hierarchies are finally broken down, there is the drift to the new unthinkable order, the era of the Holy Ghost." Shelley's Hellenism thus is no nostalgic looking back at the broken columns of Greece, but rather his latest and not yet adequate symbol of the future, so much of which lay already half-open in his intensely apprehended present.

This lengthy coda to the consideration of Professor White's work is not aimed to imply correction or derogation; nor is it merely an indulgence of personal vagaries. White's lens has been occupied, and rightly, only with certain aspects of one man. All that I have suggested, though pertinent, is either unknown or unmentioned by him. This has seemed the proper and urgent time and place, however, to suggest the picture in

a different pair of eyes, binoculars that sweep a longer, less detailed stretch. Maritain says, "As the world breaks up we see the things of the spirit gather together . . . art and poetry, metaphysics and wisdom." Shelley is one who belongs there in that gathering. We cannot afford to lose any part of his rich participations: either through faulty knowledge or divisive attitudes.

SHERMAN CONRAD

The Finnish-Russian War

INVASION IN THE SNOW: A STUDY OF MECHANIZED WAR. By John Langdon-Davies. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.50.

M^{R.} LANGDON-DAVIES is a British journalist who was assigned to report the Russo-Finnish War. Immediately after the end of the war, in April, 1940, he wrote this book and it was originally published in England under the title of "Finland: The First Total War." Instead of a chronological history—more emphasis on the time sequence would have been helpful—events are classified under three headings, each of which is studied as a separate entity: the guerrilla fighting, the position warfare, and the attack on the civil population. There is a fourth and final section on the social and economic structure of Finland, in which the author discovers the source of the high Finnish morale.

One is constantly impressed by the ingenuity of the Finns—their careful exploitation of every advantage of terrain and environment, their "winter roads," their Suomi pistols, their stoves which burned without telltale smoke or sparks. Ample evidence of their skill in warfare is the fact that on one occasion they annihilated 36,000 Russians at the total cost of 150 of their own men. The fighting on the Carelian Isthmus was similar to the Meuse-Argonne offensive of 1918. On each battleground a greatly superior force attacked along a narrow front against an entrenched position in a heavily wooded region, and the results were much the same in both cases. The war demonstrated plainly that Soviet Russia is as barren of military genius as was Imperial Russia. Seldom did the Russian operations show any trace of skill, let alone brilliance. Stalin, like his Tsarist predecessors, apparently relied for victory upon the inexhaustible reserves of Russian manpower, and in consequence the same stupid, costly frontal attacks with which the world had become familiar in 1914-18 were repeated in Finland.

The author went to Finland convinced that Soviet Russia could not be altogether bad. He would not believe that "the Red Army could treat the common soldier precisely as the Tsar had treated him," nor that a proletarian government "would willingly sacrifice human life with a liberality usually attributed only to profit-making merchants of death." He dismissed as propaganda the stories of Russian bombings of hospitals, women, and children. But he came back from the war completely disillusioned, despising the Russians, and earnestly determined to prove to those who had thought as he had that the Russia they had envisioned was wholly imaginary. To the latter project he devotes much of the book, and it should be required reading now, when we are inclined to overlook the Finnish war, the land-grabs in Poland, Rumania, and the Baltic states, and to welcome Russia into the fold.

HARVEY S. FORD

FILMS

Academy Awards

• *Hollywood, March 6*

THE Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences is best known to the public for its annual awards dinner. The institution was founded in 1927 with the late Douglas Fairbanks as president, ostensibly to promote and reward artistic endeavor in the industry, and for this purpose it introduced the custom of annually handing out gold statuettes for the most outstanding achievements in various branches of motion-picture work. The academy, actually, had other functions besides prize-giving and served as a most convenient producers' organization. The formation of the academy, in fact, coincided rather significantly with an attempt by Actors Equity to enter the Hollywood field. The purpose of the academy was so apparent that it came to be recognized as a sort of producers' guild and it was partly in opposition to this that, in 1933, the Screen Actors Guild embarked on its career. The main show-down between the guild and the academy occurred in 1935 when members of the guild decided to boycott the awards banquet; however, some sort of compromise was effected at the last moment and a sprinkling of players did attend. Nevertheless from that time on the strength of the guild rapidly increased, and in 1937 it successfully negotiated a contract.

Last Friday found producers and actors sitting down to the thirteenth annual academy dinner with an admirable display of amity and solidarity. Thirteen hundred people attended the festivities; two hundred of them were guests of the academy while the remainder had paid either twenty-five dollars each to sit at a ringside table or eleven dollars for a rather more distant view of the proceedings. Among the recipients of gold statuettes were Ginger Rogers, James Stewart, John Ford, Preston Sturges, Donald Ogden Stewart, and "Rebecca." Highlights of this year's dinner were President Roosevelt's speech, which was delivered to the guests by radio before the dinner started, and the suspense created by the unusual procedure of keeping the winners secret until the actual presentation of the awards.

The winners are now chosen by an elaborate balloting system: first, the various branches of the industry send in nominations for the awards and then everyone regularly engaged in the pro-

duction of motion pictures—actors, directors, writers, producers, and their staffs, cinematographers, etc.—is sent a ballot sheet on which he records his votes. This year the ballot sheets were sent to Messrs. Price Waterhouse and Company, the accountants, who returned the result of the 12,000-odd votes at the last moment. The announcements this year were as usual received with acclaim, the award to Miss Rogers being particularly popular. Miss Rogers, who found the experience altogether too much, dissolved into tears, as did Mrs. Jack Oakie when her husband failed to capture the award for the best supporting actor; otherwise, with one exception, all went happily.

The only serious spot on the tablecloth was made by Quentin Reynolds, whose monophonic and slightly lugubrious commentary to "London Can Take It" caused such a furore. Mr. Reynolds had been chosen to present the writing awards and made a short facetious speech about the academy's having the votes added by Messrs. Price Waterhouse. He doubted, he said, if many of the people present could count up to 12,000 and then added "Yes, there are a couple of producers who could count—but not in English." Mr. Reynolds, who has arrived in town to a fanfare of favorable publicity, departed to the tune of very different music.

It is interesting to note in connection with the academy awards that Dr. Gallup has recently conducted, through the American Institute of Public Opinion, a poll on the most popular movie releases of last year. The public selected as the best pictures of 1940: "Boom Town," "Knut Rockne," "Northwest Passage," "Rebecca," "Strike Up the Band," and "Fighting 69th," a very different selection from the nominations for the academy awards which were: "All This And Heaven Too," "Foreign Correspondent," "Kitty Foyle," "The Grapes of Wrath," "Our Town," "The Great Dictator," "The Letter," "The Long Voyage Home," "Philadelphia Story," and "Rebecca."

It is difficult to draw any conclusion from this vast discrepancy between the public's taste and the industry's estimation of its best achievements. However, one begins to regard the industry's more ambitious production with something approaching awe. With the average movie-goer mentally arrested somewhere near the pre-adolescent adventurous stage, the industry's sallies into sentimental adolescence (the highest common factor of production and public

taste), are impressive, while the adult offerings of the industry on its more conscious levels are of staggering boldness. The trade papers have pointed out that Dr. Gallup's survey represents box-office opinion, but the producers probably won't forget that the public has a way of growing up a little every year and that it's well to keep ahead of it.

THE PRESIDENT TO THE INDUSTRY

Roosevelt's speech marked the first occasion on which a president has addressed the film industry. The speech stressed the importance of the industry as an instrument of propaganda (without using the objectionable word) both over the entire continent and abroad. The President expressed his thanks to the newsreels for clarifying the issues of the lease-lend bill to the public, and to the industry as a whole for its Pan-American good-will policy. He wound up by saying, "For all this and for your splendid cooperation with all who are directing the expansion of our defense forces, I am glad to thank you. In the months and weeks that lie ahead, we in Washington know that we shall have your continued aid and support." A very nice thing to know.

Hollywood is delighted, up to a point, with the speech, and enchanted with Walter Wanger who is acting as a kind of self-appointed liaison officer with Washington and who is reported to be getting along there famously; however, some people have found the speech tinged a little with paternalism and, jealous of Hollywood's independence of governmental influence, are slightly annoyed at the publicity given to its cooperation in the defense program. The defense set-up in Hollywood is an interesting study and will be dealt with shortly in this column.

RECENT FILMS

"Nice Girl" disclosed Deanna Durbin in a series of familiar situations. She sings in a very pretty voice to her family, to the guests at the Boat Club Ball, and to an entire regiment of draftees. Meanwhile, she finds time to fall in and out of love with Franchot Tone. Recommended to Durbin fans.

Preston Sturges does a very remarkable job with his latest picture "The Lady Eve." He first writes for himself a script neither particularly original nor very subtle in its humor, chooses Henry Fonda and Barbara Stanwyck, both noted for heavy dramatics rather than for comedy, to play the leads, and then proceeds by prodigies of direction to

concoct one of the most amusing and delightful films seen on the screen for a long time. The almost Rabelaisian gusto with which Mr. Sturges works, communicates itself most successfully to the audience, and the cutting and tempo of the picture should be studied by every director in the industry.

"Rage in Heaven" is a rollicking melodrama masquerading as a psychopathic study. Perhaps James Hilton's novel treated the psychopathic angle more seriously; luckily the film concentrates on telling an exciting story, which it does with some success. Ingrid Bergman, in the most hideous clothes imaginable, looks enchanting and acts with conviction while Robert Montgomery makes an engaging if somewhat nonchalant appearance as a paranoiac.

Bowdlerized by the Hays office, rewritten for the screen by Nunnally Johnson, directed by John Ford, "Tobacco Road" emerges as a rather slapstick, castrated version of the murky stage play. It would seem that John Ford, after a lengthy screen experience with landless workers and farmers of a different caliber (in "The Grapes of Wrath"), just could not bring himself to believe that the Lesters and their neighbors were nearly as black as Erskine Caldwell had painted them. Perhaps he is right but in this version they are certainly less entertaining than ever before—though the film is worth seeing for the superb photography.

ANTHONY BOWER

MUSIC

EACH time that I hear Webster Aitken play the piano I am astonished all over again by what distinguishes him from other pianists of equal talent. What his playing offers—as against the warmth, the plasticity, the fluency of theirs—and what is heard with a shock after those qualities, is the sharp contours and powerful tensions of a concentrated style that gives the music the impress of individual, forceful, and extraordinarily matured qualities of mind and feeling. In the middle section of the second movement of Mozart's Concerto K. 595, which Aitken played recently with the New York Philharmonic under Walter, these contours and tensions—created with the utmost subtlety in phrases that revealed themselves with the utmost quiet—made the long cantilena one of the most exciting things I have ever heard.

In a properly organized musical life

such a musician would be heard constantly and everywhere—in solo recitals, in performances with orchestras, in broadcasts, on phonograph records. In our commercialized musical life such a musician has almost no place. A man who plays Beethoven's "Diabelli" Variations and Schubert's sonatas is not material for commercial exploitation by the two huge concert-management combines which monopolize concert activity throughout the country by their own system of block-booking, and which use this system to fill the ears of the population eternally with the easy effectiveness, the sentimentality, the flashy virtuosity of standardized programs of Chopin Nocturnes, Liszt's Rhapsodies and "Liebestraum," and, at most, Beethoven's "Pathétique" and "Moonlight" and other early sonatas. A superb musician who is not built up into a commercially valuable property by these managements is not worth anything to broadcasting and record companies which traffic in currently celebrated names. Nor is he worth much to symphony orchestras; and if he chooses to give the audience and critics subtlety in a Mozart concerto instead of thundering imposingly for them in Beethoven's "Emperor" he is not likely to be engaged soon again.

Nor—from the story as it has reached me—is even the one experience what it should be. Concerto performances as perfectly integrated—which is to say as carefully worked out in rehearsal—as those of Schnabel with the New Friends of Music Orchestra last year, and with the National Orchestral Association the year before, are exceptional. A conductor, as I have pointed out on occasion, normally does not put a concerto on a program as something worth doing for itself, like a symphony. It is, instead, something he has to accept with the soloist, and something he has little interest in, since its purpose is to show off the soloist, not himself. If, then, he has two and a half hours in which to rehearse a Mozart concerto and a piece of rubbish by Korngold for orchestra alone, he will give most of the time to the rubbish by Korngold—unless the soloist is important enough to command the time necessary to achieve some degree of homogeneity of phrasing and style and some degree of integrated execution in the joint performance. If the soloist is only a young American he will get the last thirty minutes of the rehearsal for a work that requires that long merely to play through—time enough, in fact, merely to rush through it once, and not

time enough for the soloist to make his wishes known, or for the conductor, himself a Mozart specialist with his own sentimental way of playing the music, to discover that the soloist is one whose wishes merit consideration. The result is an all but improvised performance in which our young American must concentrate all his attention and effort into merely fitting his notes smoothly into the work as the conductor creates it in accordance with his own conception of it. Mr. Walter—by the evidence of his recent performances with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and the Metropolitan Opera Association—is a man of impressive gifts as conductor and musician; but that performance of Mozart's K. 595 was, among other things, an example of a virtuoso conductor's artistic consciencelessness and personal ruthlessness.

The Ballet Theater has offered competent, lively performances of "Les Sylphides," "Swan Lake," and "The Bluebird," but performances which, inevitably challenging comparison with those of the Ballet Russe, have lost by one's recollection of the aura of stylistic brilliance about Toumanova's every movement in these classical ballets, the unique lightness and fluent grace of Riabouchinska, and other things of the sort. More successful and enjoyable have been the Ballet Theater's productions of the modern ballets in which the dancers' limitations have been less apparent or of less consequence. The best of these, I would say, is Eugene Loring's "Billy the Kid," taken over from the Ballet Caravan, with music by Aaron Copland that is almost unbelievably good to listen to and admirably contrived for the purposes—which is to say the theatrical point, the wit, the atmosphere—of choreography that is as strikingly original and effective in the simple *pas de deux* as in the most complex counterpoint of differently paced movement. Original also is the vocabulary, the style which Antony Tudor uses with beautiful effect for the expression of the intensity and agony of "Jardin aux lilas," with Chausson's nostalgic "Poème" as a sort of musical backdrop. With Tudor's "Dark Elegies" I had the difficulty that I was occasionally aware of the words of Mahler's songs referring to specific things which the movements had no relation to; but I also found the movements pointless or inadequate in relation to the music, of which they were presumably a visual interpretation, and unimpressive in themselves.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Communists and Unions

Dear Sirs: Your editorial, *Communists and Unions* (March 1 issue), seems to be based on the presumption that the Communists are to blame for all the new and exasperating troubles that labor unions have had to face during the past decade. Trade unionism once "seemed a fairly simple proposition" of a movement to obtain "fair wages and decent working conditions," but now it has become a complicated and bewildering struggle because "them damn Communists" are boring from within. Such seems to be the grounds for your approbation of the purge which the Counts faction in the American Federation of Teachers tries to accomplish. Your premises are too simple. They are like the explanations that labor-union politicians of the old bureaucratic school are giving for the perpetuating of their regime.

But even you seem to be conscious of the contradiction in the purge as a means of resolving internal union problems. You recognize that Communists in unions are "willing and efficient brothers" who "do whatever of the hard work of the organization they can lay their hands on." Is it possible that you and Brother Counts mistake any zealous, hard-working unionist for a Communist? You intimate that getting rid of Communists is not enough. So does Brother Counts. The fellow-travelers are not amenable to bureaucratic discipline. Then there are the honest liberals who refuse to join in the hue and cry against Communists. You will have to get rid of all of them to restore the unions to their former static and relatively peaceful condition.

Now that Counts, with the help of labor bureaucrats, has started his purge, where can he end it? He started out to get rid of Local 5. Already he has had to purge the College Teachers Union, Local 537; the New York WPA Local 453; and the Philadelphia Local 192; that is, about 25 or 30 per cent of the membership of the Federation. There are a great many members of the American Federation of Teachers throughout the country who take old-fashioned American principles of tolerance, democracy, and freedom seriously, and to whom a purge is exceedingly distasteful. How can the Counts faction

have any peace if it does not get rid of all of them? Yes, he has "taken the bull by the horns," and he is likely to lose much of his professional dignity before he is through with it. His course certainly does involve "dangers and painful precedents."

Your statement that the Counts faction will get "rid of a growth that has been sapping it (the A. F. of T.) internally and exposing it to attack from without" is wholly contrary to fact. The history of the American Federation of Teachers during the past decade shows conclusively that it has grown in membership, prestige, and effectiveness during the period when the four locals that are to be expelled were flourishing. As for the attacks "from without," most of them have been from labor-union politicians who are exploiting the red issue on the slightest pretext. And, of course, any *bona fide* militant union inevitably runs afoul of such attacks as Dies and Coudert make.

CHARLES J. HENDLEY, President,

The Teachers Union of the City of
New York, Local 5, A. F. of T.
New York, March 8

Dear Sirs: Your editorial *Communists and Unions* is an illuminating and fair analysis of the problems faced by unions in general and the American Federation of Teachers in particular. Your distinction between closed-shop unions and those in the field of civil service and education and the statement that membership tests which might be valid in the latter would be unjust in the former are, I think, helpful.

Without knowing the answer to the problems you raise I should like to offer my testimony on the difficulties which prompted the action of the American Federation of Teachers. I had what must now seem the dubious honor and privilege of helping Dr. Counts organize a "save-the-union" committee in 1935. Our purpose was to prevent elements now organized in the Teachers Guild from "purging" the union and applying tests. We succeeded, but also we failed. (It may be important to call attention to this service of Dr. Counts, in view of the Communist attacks upon him.) The Communists were in control of the union in a fairly short time. I have known members of the union to admit this in private years ago and to

deny it in public in order to prevent "red baiting." The control was not so apparent during the days of the united front when Russian foreign policy dictated Communist policies in general conformity with those followed by other groups. It became crystal clear with the signing of the Russian-Nazi pact.

Some of us have been challenged recently by those who have not been "through the mill," to wrest control of the unions from the Communists "by the democratic process." But it is difficult to find enough people with the time or energy to devote themselves to the purely negative task of preventing a trade union from falling under the control of a determined and disciplined minority. They would rather resign than be engaged in this thankless and uncreative task. Incidentally, some of us now smile sardonically when the Communists protest against a membership referendum as undemocratic, for we remember when they insisted on more "delegate assemblies" and fewer meetings of the executive committee. The assemblies were supposed to be more democratic but they were preferred in fact because a disciplined minority could count on a larger proportion of absentees among its opponents in the general body.

There is no solution for this problem which may not be subject to abuse and which may not seem undemocratic to the uninitiated, that is, those who do not know with what chicanery a determined minority can use and abuse the democratic process for the purpose of destroying it. We must be careful to preserve essential democracy, but we will hardly be impressed by the touching solicitude for democracy, expressed by elements in the union which have for years practiced every trick of the trade in keeping a minority in control.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

New York, March 7

Dear Sirs: To those of us who have been engaged in the thankless task of reestablishing democratic principles and purposes in the New York teachers' unions, your editorial of March 1 came as a welcome harbinger of change in the climate of American liberal opinion.

One further point might have served as support for your argument. Any union must stand or fall on the basis of

its ability to organize the workers in the industry under its jurisdiction and to effectively represent their interests. On this basis alone the New York locals of the A. F. of T. stand condemned. The College Teachers Union claimed 1,100 members at the time of its formation in 1938. At the present time there are, from all indications, not many more than 600 in good standing, and many of these are from the non-instructional staffs. Local 5 has experienced an even more drastic loss in membership. It once boasted a membership of around 6,500. Recently the national office of the A. F. of T. communicated with 6,300 persons still on its mailing list, asking them to indicate by return postal whether or not they considered themselves members of the union in good standing. Although the administration of Local 5 conducted a vigorous campaign to have the cards returned with affirmative answers, only about 2,100 so replied. Making all possible allowances, it is fair to conclude that the membership of Local 5 does not now greatly exceed 3,000. And there are some 40,000 teachers within its jurisdiction. Furthermore, Local 5 has been expelled from the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations, an affiliation of which it was so proud only two years ago. Both New York City locals have been expelled from the Central Trades and Labor Council.

A final word of commendation for your comments on that form of political blackmail by which all opposition is branded "red-baiting." If the members of the A. F. of T. understand this tactic for what it is worth, it will again be possible for such outstanding liberals as John Dewey, John Childs, Reinhold Niebuhr, and hundreds of others to return to teacher unionism—where they rightfully belong. JAMES LOEB, JR.

New York, March 6

Dear Sirs: Your editorial (Communists and Trade Unions) in the March 1 *Nation* shocked and distressed us. At a time when trade unionists should be bending all their efforts to maintain and strengthen their ranks, at a time when the enemies of labor are doing their best to strip the unions of their hard-earned rights, at such a time it is discouraging to find the voices of the "liberals" beginning to join in the hue and cry.

For six years most of us have been members of Local 5, A. F. of T. We have tried to be good trade unionists by attending meetings and taking as active a part as possible in the work of the

union. We have been affiliated with no faction and have always voted independently along the lines which seemed best for the union's growth and effectiveness.

At all times there has been full and free discussion of important issues. At all times decisions were reached by the democratic process. The administration of the union was elected last spring by 80 per cent of those voting. The election was honest and represented the free choice of the membership. Isn't it still part of the democratic process to stand by duly elected leaders till they are denied at the polls by their own responsible electorate?

ELBERT LENROW, JULIA HAMLIN,
HARRY HELLER, DOROTHY EMERSON, and others

Fieldston School Chapter, Private
School Section, Teachers Union,
Local 5.

New York, March 7

The D. A. R. Protests

Dear Sirs: A letter signed by certain of our members, in the *New Republic* and in *The Nation* (February 22), accuses the National Executive Committee of the Descendants of the American Revolution of undemocratic procedure in adopting the resolution opposing H.R. 1776. This action was taken in accordance with the statement of policy adopted by the National Council on January 12, 1941, and with paragraph (a), section 3, of our constitution, in our capacity as the duly elected executive body of the organization.

The National Council's statement of policy was passed unanimously. It had therefore the vote of two members who signed *The Nation* letter.

Our constitution states it is our principle "To reaffirm the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, to uphold the Constitution of the United States, and actively to defend the liberties guaranteed therein by furthering the principles of democracy in the political, social, and economic life of the United States of America."

On the question of a referendum of the membership before any resolution is adopted, it is the function of the national executive committee to act for the membership as their duly elected representatives by applying the policies of the organization to specific and immediate legislation.

The National Executive Committee in its statement on H.R. 1776 made it clear that it did not take a stand on the issue

of foreign policy, which is outside of its scope. In the statement released to the press the National Executive Committee made clear that they opposed the Bill because "it is an undemocratic abdication of their powers by the people and their elected representatives."

The National Council and the National Executive Committee opposes, and will continue to oppose, any bill which in any way endangers the Bill of Rights or the Constitution of the United States. MARION BRAND,

Recording Secretary for the National
Executive Committee, Descendants
of the American Revolution.
New York, March 7

CONTRIBUTORS

R. H. MARKHAM a native of Kansas, has spent twenty-five years in the Balkans as an educator and foreign correspondent.

JACK SCHUYLER has contributed science articles to the *Survey Graphic*, *Current History*, and a number of other publications.

PETER STEVENS is the pseudonym of an American writer now residing in Istanbul.

GEORGE PEPPER is a Californian who has recently returned from a year's visit in the Dutch East Indies.

PIERRE VAN PAASSEN, author of the widely read "Days of Our Years," has long covered critical events in Europe and the Near East.

HANS KOHN, professor of modern European history at Smith College, is the author of "Not By Arms Alone" and other books.

SHERMAN CONRAD is an associate of the School of Letters at Iowa University.

ANTHONY BOWER, formerly film critic for the *New Statesman and Nation*, is to contribute a regular fortnightly column from Hollywood for *The Nation*.

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Editor and Publisher

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HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager

MARY HOWARD ELLISON

The Shape of Things

309

THE PAST WEEK MAY WELL PROVE TO HAVE marked the turning point of the war. Our sometimes lumbering democratic machine was shifted at last into high gear as Congress rushed through the last stages of the Lease-Lend bill. Without a moment's delay Mr. Roosevelt asked for a round seven billion dollars to implement the measure and the House quickly went to work on the appropriation bill. Money on this scale not merely talks; it shouts in tones that rouse the dictators to spasms of psychotic rage and spur those resisting them to new efforts and new hope. And before the echoes of these explosive billions had died down the President rubbed in their meaning in a message that reached every corner of the earth. His speech was a challenge to the Axis powers, a warning that from now on material aid would pour forth in ever larger quantities until the forces of democracy prevail. It was also a challenge to ourselves—a challenge to overcome all obstacles, to speed up production to the utmost, and to accept cheerfully the temporary sacrifices which the job we have undertaken demands.

✱

BRITAIN RESPONDED TO THE PASSAGE OF THE Lease-Lend Act by a renewed offensive against Germany and the invasion ports. Assured of new supplies from this country the RAF went into action over Berlin, Hamburg, and the Ruhr on a larger scale than ever before. New types of bombers carrying heavier loads and with a longer range were employed and reports suggest that they have caused heavy damage to industrial plants, docks, and communications. The *Luftwaffe* has also speeded up attacks against Britain, striking particularly at the western ports which are the gateway for American material. No doubt these attacks have caused losses but the British are encouraged by the greater effectiveness of their defenses, which are now proving really dangerous to night-raiders. Although Hitler in his latest speech boasted that Germany was stronger than ever before, there is good reason to hope that its relative strength has diminished. It is noteworthy that, while he once again assured his audience that no power on

earth could prevent Britain's fall, he did not repeat the promise made in his last speech that victory would be achieved this year.

★

THE ASSURANCE OF AMERICAN AID HAS proved a factor also in the diplomatic struggle taking place in the Balkans. For weeks Yugoslavia has been balanced on a knife-edge but with every indication that the weight of the Axis would be decisive. But now the balance seems to have swung the other way. Prince Regent Paul and his principal ministers have been attempting to maintain an equilibrium between the demands of Germany, which wants Yugoslavia to follow the Bulgarian example in submitting itself to protection and occupation, and popular opinion, which is growing increasingly antagonistic to any form of Nazi domination. An attempted compromise by which Yugoslavia would sign a treaty of friendship and non-aggression with Germany and Italy has proved unsatisfactory to the Germans while it is opposed inside the country as *de facto* surrender. The news from America and reports that strong British forces are landing in Greece have increased popular pressure on the government and there now seems a chance that negotiations with Germany may break down entirely. By asking too much Hitler may have suffered a diplomatic setback in Belgrade which can only be retrieved by military measures. But this would mean the opening of a broad Balkan front—just the end which he has striven anxiously to avoid. The Yugoslavian army is now being mobilized. It is numerous and composed of tough fighters capable of occupying the attention of many German divisions despite poor equipment. No doubt the mechanized Nazi troops could rapidly overrun the northern plains but the mountains of the south and west are ideally suited to defense by troops schooled in guerilla warfare. Moreover, with Yugoslavia ranged against the Axis, the resistance of Greece would be further strengthened and Turkey would be encouraged to throw its weight against the Axis. During the past week the Greeks claim to have thrown back a large-scale Italian counter-offensive. The advent of Yugoslavia as a Greek ally would at once endanger the rear of the fascist army, making its position in Albania untenable.

★

MUSSOLINI'S LEGIONS IN EAST AFRICA ARE being rapidly cut into disconnected pieces. Since the British victory in Somaliland which yielded 31,000 prisoners, the largest body left intact seems to be the garrison at Cheren in Eritrea. This force is estimated at 40,000 and is believed to include the most reliable native and Italian regiments remaining in this war zone. The British strategy appears to aim at containing this position, constantly battering it from the air and with artillery but refraining from an assault which might prove costly.

With limited manpower the utmost economy is essential, and General Wavell has already shown what can be accomplished on these lines. Meanwhile, several columns aided by Ethiopian tribesmen, some under British officers, are harrying the Italians in western Ethiopia and pushing them back toward Addis Ababa from which their only remaining avenue of retreat will be the railroad to French Somaliland. However, still another British column driving rapidly forward from conquered Italian Somaliland is threatening to cut the railroad at Dire-dawa. If this move succeeds, the final disintegration of Mussolini's East African empire will not be long delayed.

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AMONG GERMANY'S "GIFTS" TO FRANCE, according to the official Berlin list, were 225,000 tons of wheat, 100,000 tons of potatoes—and 500,000 tons of newsprint. Even Mr. Hoover would have difficulty proving that the potatoes were actually delivered; but the news that has come out of Paris and Vichy of late makes us feel quite sure that the figure for newsprint is correct. Admiral Darlan himself must have used up a good deal of it trying to prove to the French people that the Germans have been "more generous and humanitarian than the British"—in his larger attempt to win support for his obvious desire to put the French fleet into the service of the Axis. Incidentally, the comparative figures for newsprint and potatoes are an accurate reflection of the five-to-one ratio between food and propaganda which prevails in the provinces of the "new order," including Germany itself where the master race dwells.

★

RECENT REPORTS FROM CHINA INDICATE that the dispute between right-wing Kuomintang elements and the former Red Army units is still far from being settled. There is a sharp divergence in the statement of issues as reported by official Kuomintang circles and independent American observers such as Edgar Snow and Major Evans Fordyce Carlson. The Kuomintang charges the Communists with breaking the united front agreement by seeking to establish themselves politically in the territories recaptured from the Japanese and refusing to submit to orders from the Minister of War. In reply the Communists accuse Chungking of seeking to destroy the Fourth and Eighth Route armies, which have played such a conspicuous role in defense against Japan, and with retarding democratic progress in China. It is obvious that a real cleavage has developed in which each side is convinced of the justice of its cause. In such a controversy there is nothing to be gained by trying to assess the relative share of blame. A break could serve no one's interest except Japan's. If civil war develops, there will be no China for either Chiang Kai-shek or the Communists to rule. And the United States will have lost its chief defense against Japanese dominance of the Pa-

cific. This country has no direct concern in the outcome of the factional struggle in China. But it is vitally concerned that China should retain its unity in the face of Japanese aggression. To this end it might well make it clear to both factions that the continuation of American aid depends on a peaceful settlement of their dispute.

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REJECTION BY THE SOFT-COAL OPERATORS of the eight-state Appalachian region of the United Mine Workers' proposals for a new contract does not necessarily foreshadow a shutdown on April 1 when the present agreement expires. It was merely part of a preliminary and almost formal skirmish, following which the joint conference appointed a subcommittee to discuss a new agreement. Although Charles O'Neill, spokesman for the operators, suggested that the financial cost of the miners' program would be crippling, the proposals put forward by John L. Lewis do not appear exorbitant. He asked for a blanket increase of one dollar per day for regular classifications of day-workers with corresponding increases for piece-workers. Contrary to expectation, no change in hours was proposed but there were demands for a minimum guarantee of 200 days' work a year, two-week vacations with pay, and rigid safeguards against accidents, including the right of workers' safety committees to inspect any mining operation and authorize a suspension of work when dangerous conditions were discovered. This last proposal is of especial importance. As Mr. Lewis pointed out, mine fatalities in 1940 reached 1,400, an increase of 342 over 1939. Non-fatal accidents number tens of thousands, putting an untold burden of suffering on the miners and their families. Even in unsentimental terms of dollars and cents this "blood on the coal" is costly, involving a charge of 20 cents a ton or, in 1940, of \$90,600,000. This, incidentally, is only some \$18,000,000 short of Mr. O'Neill's estimate of the cost of the new wage schedules asked by the U. M. W. Yet the operators seem to have brushed the question of safety aside. We do not think such callousness will help their relations with the public any more than will their refusal to accept a non-stoppage resolution stipulating that any increase in wages finally determined should be retroactive to April 1.

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THE CHOICE OF JUDGE CHARLES B. SEARS TO preside at the new deportation hearings for Harry Bridges would seem to guarantee a trial fully as fair as that conducted by James M. Landis. Judge Sears, who recently retired from the New York Court of Appeals, is a jurist of high repute. At the New York State constitutional convention he led the fight against the proposed amendment which would have hamstrung administrative agencies. Although Bridges is now to be tried under a law which makes

it a deportable offense ever to have been a member of a party that advocates overthrow of the government by force, the issue this time differs little from last. It is useful to recall that Landis did not pass merely upon the question of whether Bridges was a Communist at the time of his arrest. "The defense lawyers," Landis said on the closing day of the hearings, "have taken the stand that Bridges never was affiliated with the Communist Party, and that therefore he is not now affiliated with the party. Since the defense takes that stand, it follows that if the government does establish that he was at any time affiliated, that affiliation must be deemed to hold true now." Only the split hair of a legal technicality distinguishes this retrial from the double jeopardy against which the Constitution protects citizen and alien alike.

Speed British Aid

PASSAGE of the aid-to-Britain bill commits the United States belatedly, but irrevocably, to the policy of making this country the arsenal for the democracies. As opponents of the bill never tired of pointing out, this policy carries certain risks. While we do not believe that the risks are nearly as great as those involved in failing to help Britain, they undeniably exist. But they are serious only in case of an Axis victory. So far Germany has practically ignored the passage of the bill, but press comments in Rome make it clear that the Axis partners regard the bill's enactment as bringing the United States into the war on a non-belligerent basis. They also make it clear that the Axis will retaliate with whatever weapons it may have at its disposal.

It is evident also that the Axis has no intention of forcing the issue to the point of a declaration of war as long as Britain remains unconquered. But our security depends more than ever on a British victory. Having taken the plunge, we dare not leave a stone unturned in the effort to give Britain full assistance in the least possible time. The President has shown that he understands the gravity of the situation by asking for an immediate appropriation of \$7,000,000,000. No intimation has been given as to how long the Administration expects this appropriation to last. Some press comments have suggested that it might last until 1942 or 1943. We cannot believe that this view is shared by the President. Estimates that have appeared in these columns indicate that Britain will need assistance to the extent of approximately \$1,000,000,000 a month if it is to hold its own against the Axis during the remainder of this year. And the need will be greatest in the next six months. If Britain is to make up its deficiencies in armament as compared with Germany, our aid must exceed the \$1,000,000,000 level during the vital spring and summer season.

Such a task can be achieved only by a fundamental

shake-up in our defense program. Shipments to the British Empire in the past six months have been averaging only about \$200,000,000 a month. In January they reached a peak of \$224,000,000. The transfers now under way from army and navy stocks—the amount is still unrecorded—will doubtless bring the March and April figures substantially above the earlier ones; but it is doubtful whether we are yet in striking distance of the \$1,000,000,000 level.

The reaching of this level is largely a problem of production. Despite recent gains, the industrial capacity of the country is still not fully organized for defense. Plane production in February was under that of January. A recent report by William S. Knudsen shows that 784 industrial plants have added to their capacity by an estimated total cost of \$2,138,000,000 with the aid or encouragement of the United States or British governments. This is but a small fraction of the 175,000 manufacturing plants in the country, a large proportion of which could aid in the defense program if a more adequate system could be organized for farming out parts.

Some stepping up in aid to Britain is also possible within the limits of present production. For some months we have been proceeding on the assumption that England was to receive half of our defense output while half was to be reserved for the American armed forces. In some types of armament this figure has undoubtedly been surpassed. Britain has been receiving from 80 to 90 per cent of our output of combat planes. But except for a few special categories, Britain has not even come close to receiving half of our defense output. This may be seen from the figures of our defense expenditures. From July to September, 1940, American military expenditures amounted to about \$200,000,000 a month, which was about equal to our shipments to the British Empire. But beginning with October our military expenditures began to rise. In November they rose to \$375,000,000; in January they amounted to \$572,000,000; and in February they reached \$596,000,000. Thus in February we were spending nearly three dollars for domestic defense for every dollar's worth of goods shipped to the British Empire. It is true our military budget includes such items as the building of barracks for the new draft army and advances for plant expansion which can scarcely be compared with actual defense production. But even allowing for these items, the fact remains that our defense expenditures greatly exceed our material aid to Britain in these critical months. If we were wholly realistic, this situation would be reversed. If we get sufficient aid to Britain and get it there quickly, there would be little need for an expansion of our own defenses. But if we fail to aid Britain adequately, we shall have to increase our present rate of defense expenditures manyfold to obtain the same protection now afforded by a free and powerful Britain.

The Vichy Front

ADMIRAL Darlan's recent threat to convoy foodships through the British blockade and to fight for their protection "so that France can eat" was clearly inspired if not ordered by Berlin. Twenty-four hours before he made his statement the German-controlled Paris radio announced he would take a threatening line, and immediately it was published the Nazi press voiced lip-smacking approval. A long step forward had been taken, in the German view, towards bringing about a clash between France and Britain that would put the former in the war on the side of the Axis.

Hitler, and even more Mussolini, has lately been made aware that sea-power is by no means obsolete. In the eastern Mediterranean the British fleet is a preponderant factor and the two dictators would dearly like to divert at least part of its strength to the task of watching the still powerful remnants of the French navy. Better still, of course, would be an actual sea battle between the former allies that would give Pétain an excuse to turn to active collaboration with Germany.

The biggest obstacle to that development hitherto has not been the Vichy government, which is wholeheartedly anti-democratic and composed of men who, in effect, have bet their shirts on a German triumph, but the strongly anti-Nazi and pro-British attitude of the French people. That was the real reason for Laval's dismissal. He was so loathed and distrusted that no policy he advocated had a chance of approval. There is now reason to believe that the Nazis recognized this fact and that their apparent struggle to reinstate him was no more than an elaborate piece of stage play which served to strengthen the popular position of Pétain and to dissociate the comparatively unknown Darlan from his predecessor.

Every day, however, it becomes more certain that, whatever Frenchmen may come and go at Vichy, the Germans remain in charge of policy. The advent of Darlan has brought no change in official propaganda, which remains viciously anti-British. The whole blame for the food shortage, from which unoccupied France is undoubtedly suffering, is ascribed to the British blockade. Nothing is said of the German requisitions of food and transport facilities and of the economic effects of the barrier dividing France. Yet even so consistent an apologist for Vichy as G. H. Archambault writes in the *New York Times*:

"France in her entirety could be self-supporting in the matter of food, were there no line of demarcation . . . From north to south no supplies cross the line; yet the northern section is by far the more productive, particularly in cereals. How far supplies pass from south to north is not revealed beyond the indication that much fruit goes to Germany."

Replying to Darlan's threat, the British Ministry of

Economic Warfare declared: "If there are any means of helping unoccupied France without helping Germany, the British government will always be prepared to consider them, but so far no proposal has been put forward." It is now known that last October London offered to discuss economic questions with Vichy on a *quid pro quo* basis. But the French government failed to pursue this opportunity owing, it is believed, to a Nazi veto. Recent dispatches from London make it clear this offer still holds, but it would not suit the German book for France and Britain to get together.

So now Darlan asks the United States to supply France with wheat and demands free passage through the British blockade. But he offers no concessions to Britain, no guarantees that food for France will not be the means of supplying aid to Germany, beyond a promise that the wheat in question will be consumed wholly in unoccupied France. Again and again Vichy spokesmen have bid for American sympathy and have appealed to this country for moral and material assistance. Clearly they are hoping either that Washington will put sufficient pressure on Britain to force a breach in the blockade or that a British refusal will weaken Anglo-American understanding.

According to Messrs. Alsop and Kintner "the best opinion" in Washington inclines to the view that the recent French move against the blockade was not made in Germany. Both the State Department and the President, they further report, have been working to convince the British "that something could be done about Vichy." If this be so, we hope that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull will make certain, before interceding further with London, that Pétain's government is not acting as a front for Hitler. Will they demand proof that factories in the unoccupied zone are not furnishing war materials to Germany? Will they ask why the Italian armistice control commission in North Africa has been replaced by German officers? Will they ascertain to what extent French diplomatic missions are being forced to carry out orders from Berlin? With regard to this last point we have recently been informed on first-hand authority that the French legation in Cairo has, on instructions from Vichy, acted as paymaster for German agents in Egypt and has forwarded to the Italian representative in Syria particulars of British military and naval dispositions. Any government which undertakes such tasks for other powers can hardly be regarded as independent.

We feel that, in the circumstances, the State Department ought to be extremely chary of accepting Vichy's assurances as a basis for urging Britain to make concessions. We ought rather to press on Marshal Pétain our view that a British victory is as vital to the independent future of France as it is to our own interests. Hence if he is expecting any help from us he must prove, at least, that his government is doing no more to assist Hitler than it is compelled to by the armistice terms.

Sherwood Anderson

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

Guatemala City, March 12

I NEVER knew Sherwood Anderson personally until I met him eleven days ago on the Santa Lucia bound for Panama and the West Coast of South America. I had known his books since my youth; indeed, they were among the books that helped to educate me—into a sort of honest confusion about sex and social problems and life in general. You couldn't help liking the man who wrote those books; you knew him as a person of great integrity and warmth and generous feeling. And after that I met him two or three times at parties—the kind of parties that effectively prevent people from getting really acquainted. But I came to know him as a person only in the last week of his life, on the way from New York to Cristobal, where I was to disembark.

It was stormy the second day out and I was happy to find him and his wife, Eleanor, in the half-empty lounge. We talked for a while before lunch. Sherwood said he was on his way to South America to meet writers in several countries and to get closer to what was going on in various cultural fields. He was not on an official errand. Although he carried letters of introduction from people in the State Department, he was on his own, a writer going to meet his fellow craftsmen on terms of friendship and common interests. He and Eleanor and I talked about the baffling problems involved in creating quickly a strong hemisphere front, counteracting influences which had been allowed a long head start, and doing the job on a basis of honest collaboration and understanding, not on one of North American dominance. If ever a man was enlisted with his whole heart in the fight for equality and freedom and a union of the democratic forces in every country, it was Sherwood Anderson. But he saw the complications too.

The next morning he was ill. From then until we reached Cristobal, where he was carried off the ship on a stretcher and taken to the hospital, I saw him only for a few minutes once or twice each day. But I felt that I knew him well by the time I said goodbye to him on the afternoon we landed. Through those three days of pain and growing weakness, he was uncompromisingly optimistic. He dismissed impatiently the suggestion that he might have to go ashore at Panama to have a proper examination. While his wife worried about the limited facilities the ship could provide, Sherwood viewed his ailment with amiable contempt. He swallowed doses and endured treatments and came through spasms of pain without relinquishing his certainty that the attack would be defeated in the end by his determination to do what he had set out to do.

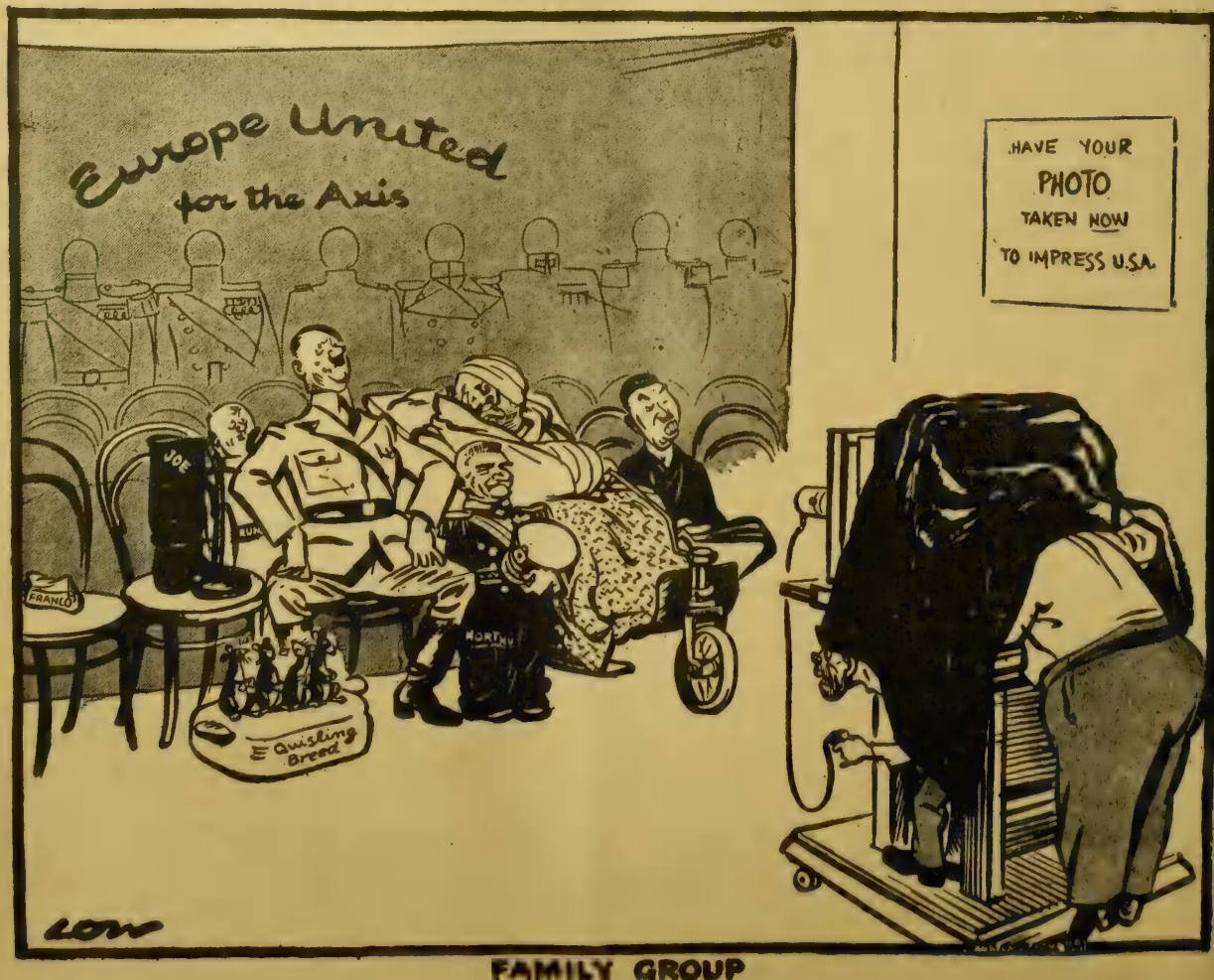
But perhaps he realized the seriousness of his condi-

tion more than he admitted. On the fourth day out he told me, with an air of humorous solemnity, that he had considered dying a noble death in the line of duty and being buried at sea. The whole event would have been written up under big headlines with crossed flags at the top of the page. "Noted author dies while carrying out mission of friendship to our southern neighbors." I told him that I thought it a poor idea and he'd get only a column in *The Nation*. He said he had decided against it anyhow, preferring South America to even the crossed flags.

On the last morning he seemed better. The barber shaved off a three-day beard and the doctor told him he might sit out in the sun for a while. When I went in to see him he eyed me with a pleased expression. "I'm feeling fine," he told me. "What you said did it. One column in *The Nation*—that settled it! I decided to call the whole thing off." But at noon he was seized with violent pains and his temperature went up. A shot of morphine did little good. Eleanor made up his mind for him and the doctor acquiesced. She began packing their bags after lunch and the purser radioed the hospital at Colon for an ambulance

to meet the boat at Cristobal. I saw Sherwood for a moment while the packing was going on. He was still in pain and still stubbornly cheerful. In a dismal attempt at lightness I said, "Well, I see you couldn't bear to go on down the coast without me." "You expect pretty costly tribute from your admirers, don't you, my girl?" he answered. "I'll let them examine me here at the Canal and do what they have to do and then I'll catch the next boat. They aren't going to spoil my trip." But I knew, and I think Eleanor knew, that Sherwood's journey had ended.

When I heard of his death three days later in Costa Rica, I felt as if I had lost an old friend instead of a recent acquaintance. I am glad I got to know him in that last valiant week of his life, for Sherwood Anderson had qualities that quickly drew him close to people he met. And I wish most earnestly that he had lived to carry out the mission he joked about. I can think of no other ambassador to Latin America who would have expressed more surely and naturally the characteristics we like to claim for our country—humor and friendliness and courage and a democratic spirit that is bred in the bone.



FAMILY GROUP



O'Mahoney Sums Up

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 16

THE investigation made by the Temporary National Economic Committee under Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney in the past two years and nine months will rank with the great inquiries of the past, with Frank Walsh's Industrial Commission and Samuel Untermyer's Pujo committee. Like its predecessors, the TNEC has shown the extent to which this country and its institutions, to echo Lincoln, no longer belong to the people who inhabit it. The facts are vividly summarized in Senator O'Mahoney's final statement, a document which deserves to be read by every American. To a greater extent than ever before, our economy is dominated by the corporation rather than by the individual entrepreneur. These corporations are collective enterprises without collective responsibility. "In popular discussion," Senator O'Mahoney says, "they are regarded as 'private enterprise.' But how private is such enterprise after all?"

The Senator closed the work of the committee, as he began it, with "a declaration of faith in the traditional institutions of our country." But he makes it clear that when he says "traditional" that is what he means. He does not intend to endow monster corporations, which have often irresponsibly revolutionized our ways of doing business, with the basic immunities with which we protect personal property and personal liberty. "When one considers the number of policyholders who are the owners of mutual life insurance companies like Metropolitan and Prudential, wholly national in their operation and effect, the number of stockholders and employees of a utility like American T. & T., or of an industrial like General Motors, and the stockholders, employees, and natural resources of industrials like the Standard Oil of New Jersey and United States Steel, it becomes immediately clear that there is no justification whatsoever for thinking of those units or of dealing with them as though they were natural persons clothed with the rights which are guaranteed to flesh-and-blood persons by the Constitution of the United States." We have passed, in the opinion of the Senator, as of most intelligent people, "from an individual economy to a corporate economy" and must act accordingly. The alternative before us, he says, is "free private enterprise or government planning."

The chances are that the choice, as in most epigrammatic antitheses, will not prove a real one. Given time, a measure of good will, and a minimum of stability, and the solution will no doubt combine a good deal of both.

The Senator himself is all for reviving free enterprise, i.e., enterprise free from interference by corporate monopoly as well as government official. But the possibility of turning back the clock is certainly a slim one, and his own remedy seems a puny one for so gigantic and revolutionary a change as has taken place since the 'seventies in our economy. He wants federal incorporation of all corporations operating in interstate commerce, a measure he and the late Senator Borah long championed. "The first and foremost step," the Senator says, "is to recognize that we must have a national rule for national business." With that none will disagree. Nor with his statement that "it is idle to think that the huge collective institutions which carry on modern business can continue to operate without more definite responsibility toward all the people of the nation than they now have." But one wonders whether he has gone to the heart of the matter when he says that "The Insulls and the Hopsons, the Coster-Musicas have been able to prey upon the economic system of all the people solely because they were able to secure the separate state charters which enabled them to engage in national commerce, although their creators had neither the desire nor the governmental power to regulate the commerce in which we are engaged." The railroads have long been regulated by the federal government, through the I.C.C., but that did not prevent the operations of the Van Sweringens.

One may support O'Mahoney's proposal for federal incorporation without having any great confidence that it would prove effective. The Senator wants a national charter law drafted so "as to reduce materially not only the possibilities of evasion of the anti-trust law but the difficulties of its enforcement." He wants this law written to "make corporate directors trustees in fact as well as in law." He would regulate subsidiaries through this law and "standardize intercorporate financing."

A steady stream of monographs has been issuing from the crowded archives of the committee. They are well worth watching, as are the concrete proposals put forward by its chairman. Given the complexities of business enterprise and the difficulties involved in even so seemingly simple a matter as the maintenance of competition, it is increasingly likely that some kind of administrative regulation will be necessary. Perhaps an easier way to keep the great collective enterprises of the corporation socially responsible would be to provide by law that large, widely held corporations admit the federal government into a share of their management.

Who Are the Appeasers?

BY HERBERT AGAR

SPEAKING at Columbia University recently, Harold Ickes divided our appeasers into four groups: the native fascists, the German-American Bund, the Italian fascists, and the Communists, together with their fellow-travelers. The first of these seems to me to be easily the most important. The foreign organizations are only dangerous because America does not yet take the world revolution seriously, and therefore tolerates treason against democracy. The Communists are only dangerous when they can find some bandwagon to climb aboard. Left to themselves they are a small, confused, quarrelsome, discredited group. The real menace comes from our native, non-Communist appeasers. They can reach the big public beyond range of the Communists. They can reach the patriotic public beyond range of the foreign organizations. They are dividing and bewildering the country, spreading confusion on what is really a simple issue, preventing millions of our fellow-citizens from seeing that the revolution which rages across the world is aimed against everything for which our country stands.

With his usual bluntness Mr. Ickes calls these people "native fascists." I prefer to call them appeasers, not out of politeness, but because I think my epithet is more accurate. Fundamentally there is no difference, for I include among my appeasers all those whose words and deeds are helpful to Hitler. It does not matter whether, like Lawrence Dennis, they applaud the Nazi revolution, or, like Senator Wheeler, they deplore it. They are all giving aid to Hitler.

Before trying to classify our native appeasers, I want to repudiate the theory that it is unfair to ascribe motives to one's fellow-citizens in the midst of a life-and-death debate. I think it is not only fair but necessary to ask what makes a man like Lindbergh, or a man like Hoover, drag down his country's will to resist evil. While admitting that a complete answer cannot be given, I think that unless we seek at least a partial answer we cannot protect ourselves against the harm that these men do.

It has become a game among our adversaries—among the very men who call the rest of us warmongers and anti-Americans—to protest against any attempt to analyze the motives for their own beliefs. Mr. Dennis, characteristically, has been in the forefront of those who play this game. The rules of the game are that "anything goes" when it comes to undermining and discrediting and deriding democracy, or when it comes to ascribing the most bloodthirsty plans to those who would defend

democracy all across the world, but that no harsh word must be used about those who would persuade us to accept that dark "wave of the future" which is symbolized by the new ghetto walls in Poland.

Dividing the native appeasers into sub-groups, we come first to those who sincerely believe in appeasement as a way out of the world's troubles. These people still think the primary fact about Hitler is that he represents the legitimate ambitions of a country that has been greatly wronged. They still think of the war mainly as an attempt to rectify these wrongs. Therefore they still permit themselves to think of a world in which America can do "good business" with Germany after a negotiated peace.

The unconscious motivations behind these opinions are strong. Once it is admitted that this is not a simple war for land or money, or for rectifying the Treaty of Versailles, but rather a revolution in which the stakes are the mind and soul of man, the implications are disturbing. They are especially disturbing for those who have kept themselves from knowing that the world of the 'twenties and 'thirties is dead, no matter what the outcome of the revolution. All the comfortable people who thought that we would some time, somehow, return to the happy days when there was no Roosevelt, no New Deal, no dangers that could not be denied, were given a rude shock by the fall of France—so rude, in fact, that many of them began at once to deny the implications of this awful event. The Republican convention was gathering at the time, and almost overnight the politicians agreed that it was unpatriotic to admit America's grave danger. Newspapers which a few months before had been pointing out the treasonable blindness of the appeasing governments of Europe now began to use the precise language which those governments had used. Why should we try to settle the affairs of Central Europe? Why should we assume that the Nazis had unkind thoughts about America? Why not mind our own business and attain "peace" by means of domestic "security"? The Maginot Line was gone; but there remained the Maginot Ocean.

While the affairs of Europe seemed safely distant, the American press was the most intelligent in the world; the best informed, and the most mordant about the follies of the foreign appeasers. But when the front line of the war left the fields of Flanders and moved west into the Atlantic, the American press began to sound like the press of London in 1938. And the American politicians began to sound like the politicians of Britain in 1934.

It is not ignorance that makes sincere appeasers, that drives well-meaning men into befriending fascism. It is the awareness of a danger too great to contemplate. So long as we could persuade ourselves that our negligent society was good enough, that with all its sins it was still strong enough to survive, we were willing to see the evil in Nazism. But when France fell we had either to admit that our world needed to be reformed from the ground up or to pretend suddenly that the Nazi revolution was not as bad as it had been painted. Those whom I classify as the sincere appeasers, as the well-meaning native promoters of Hitler's revolution, are those who have accepted this easy way out. Rather than admit the sickness of our world, they minimize the wickedness of Hitler's.

Senator Taft is an example of this group. He is a sincere patriot and a man of wide knowledge. But he dare not see that Hitler has shown up the tawdriness of a democracy that is only in part democratic. He knows instinctively that the price of an all-out resistance to the Hitler revolution will be an all-out social and economic change at home. Believing that such change would be a catastrophe, he is forced to believe that Hitler does not have to be resisted, that by averting our eyes from the fate of all men everywhere we can snatch at safety in the midst of a perishing civilization.

"We know that in war there are no winners. . . . Don't let us suppose that necessarily there must be economic warfare between Germany and ourselves. . . . In my view there is room for Germany and ourselves in the trade with these countries." It sounds like Senator Taft today; but it is Neville Chamberlain in 1938. "Our will for peace is our first guarantee, our strength is our supreme guarantee. No matter what the circumstances, we are fully capable of assuring the inviolability of our frontiers." That sounds so much like Senator Taft that he has probably said it a dozen times; but the quotation is from Daladier in 1938. And in that same year Lord Halifax remarked, "Great Britain cannot be the policeman of the world."

Our Tafts, our Castles, our Vandenberges, are repeating belatedly the phrases that led France to death and England to the edge of hell. On a lower level of intelligence, our Lindberghs do the same. I suggest that there is hope of winning some of these people to the truth. They do not plan to betray their country. Sooner or later they will all know their mistake—as Chamberlain and Lothian did before their deaths, as Halifax does, as Daladier presumably does in his French jail. The question is whether we can convert them before our country is either dead or dying.

The second category of native appeasers is made up of professional peacemongers. These I think are lost souls. They have now a vested interest in confusing the American public, and there seems no reason to expect them to

relinquish their rights in this bad enterprise. They need not be consciously insincere; but they have attained a state of mental apoplexy which makes them impervious to evidence and which even deprives them of the knowledge which was once in their own minds.

The mark of this group is that its members make statements which no sane man could believe. Senator Taft has never said anything which Senator Taft might not believe. Even Lindbergh has never said anything which a Lindbergh might not believe. But those who belong to this group, such as Senator Wheeler, constantly make statements which their best friends must ascribe to overexcitement.

Senator Wheeler, because he went to high school, must have heard about the Monroe Doctrine and that it could never have been promulgated without British cooperation. Yet the other day he cried out in the Senate, "It's idiotic to say that we depend upon the British navy. We never have received any aid from the British navy." And Senator Wheeler, because he went to college, must have read about the British Empire. Yet he announced in the Senate that Canada is a "colony" of Great Britain and that the English king declares war "with Parliament not permitted to vote."

In the same speech in which the Senator made his nonsensical remark about the British navy, he told us that he has "never been under observation . . . never been in a hospital for the treatment of nervous diseases." If, therefore, we write off that excuse for his mistakes, and if we assume his sincerity, we are left with the conclusion that he must be overexcited. I suggest that the reason for this unbalancing condition is that the Senator has so identified himself with the cause of peacemongering that he can no longer tolerate the thought of a world in which that cause is lost. We have all seen similar breakdowns in the case of rich men and women whose "safe" investments have suddenly gone sour. It is not an experience which promotes the life of reason. The peacemongers, I think, will not be won to our cause in time to help save the world from destruction.

The third group of native appeasers is made up of the rabble-rousers, of which Father Coughlin is a pure example. They differ from the second group in that they are not committed to peacemongering. They are not committed to anything. In whatever field they can become a noisy nuisance, in that field they will operate. Father Coughlin has tried monetary reform, the New Deal, the anti-New Deal, the brotherhood of man, and anti-Semitism. Having failed in all these businesses, he is now setting himself up as a peacemonger. It is a mistake to call such people fascists—just as it would have been a mistake to call Father Coughlin a democrat in the days when he enthusiastically supported Roosevelt. Father Coughlin is a fascist only in the sense that

Goebbels is a fascist: They are both first-class hog-callers, ready to climb on any bandwagon—and to climb off when the going gets tough.

The next group of appeasers consists of a section of the Catholic Church. The Brooklyn *Tablet* gives voice to the views of this section, and so does Father Gillis. I am not trying to apply easy generalizations to the Catholic Church. That institution is too large and too old and too complicated for the quick classifications of journalism. Furthermore, an important group of American Catholics is among the front-fighters of our anti-Nazi, pro-democratic cause. The *Tablets* and the Father Gillises of our country are partly motivated by the ancient undying grievances of the Irish. These grievances are rooted in centuries of oppression. Nevertheless, if the Irish continue to indulge these grievances today, at the cost of forwarding a revolution which denies everything for which Ireland stands, the Irish are merely one more neurotic people who deserve the slavery which Hitler is preparing for them. The huge majority of American Catholics can be won to the cause of resisting the Nazi revolution. Many of them are already among the strongest fighters on our side. There is no insurmountable "Catholic problem" in regard to appeasement.

Composing the fifth group among the American servants of Hitler are the men who are defeatist by temperament. This is a small group, in terms of spokesmen, but it is immensely influential. It includes Lawrence Dennis, who knows that he is helping the Nazi revolution, and President Hutchins of Chicago University, who thinks that he is not. These two men would disagree on almost every problem that faces our world; yet they serve the same cause and for the same emotional reason. The emotion that binds them together is a fatalistic despair over the civilization of the modern democratic world. Dennis is glad enough to see that world go, and to ride the wave of the future. Hutchins looks out upon his opulent campus from his office window and murmurs that it is all doomed anyway, the whole great plant will soon be useless, but we can at least win a few more years for thought and self-cultivation by refusing to become tangled in the woes of our neighbors.

Robert Hutchins, the sincere democrat, is more dangerous to our democracy than Lawrence Dennis, the sincere totalitarian. For Hutchins speaks to the youth of America and tells them that democracy is so corrupt it has no right to seek to save mankind. The guilt which all true Americans must feel when they survey the American scene has afflicted Hutchins with a moral impotence. There is no man who can bewail our sins more eloquently; there is no man who can state more persuasively the hopelessness of redemption. We are so wicked, he tells us, that we are unworthy to defend democracy.

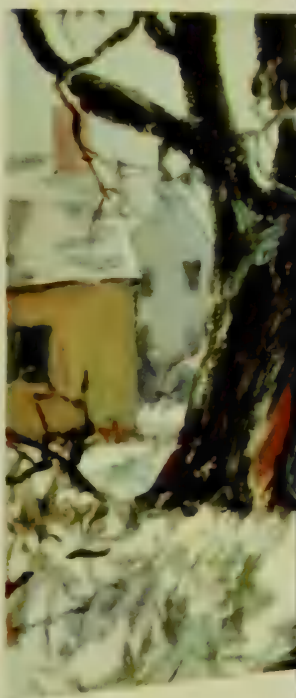
Until we have reformed at home, who are we to resist the revolution that enslaves man's mind and denies man's soul? There is no point of view that could more perfectly serve the plans of Hitler.

Finally, we have two American appeasers who fortunately do not represent a group and do not even agree with each other. Each of them stands alone in all the world, which is one of the few encouraging thoughts of our grim time. I refer to Henry Ford and Herbert Hoover. Neither of them could happen in any other country; even here neither of them has happened twice.

Henry Ford is a symbol of the American failure which so oppresses Robert Hutchins. In foreign policy he stands for ignorant American idealism, as in the peace ship plus ignorant American isolationism. In domestic policy he stands for the failure to accept social responsibility which has made American individualism a term of reproach. Again he is not a fascist in a literal sense; he is a fascist only in that he represents one of the main reasons for fascism.

Herbert Hoover is also an anomaly. Hitler has no more stubborn helper in all the world, yet Hoover does not intend that this should be the case. In his incessant efforts to put over his plan to feed Hitler's Europe, Hoover is carrying on a one-man revolt against the foreign policy of the United States. Yet Herbert Hoover is not a friend of Nazism. He is merely an egotist who dislikes the Administration, dislikes the British, and loves to be world-important.

We cannot stay out of a revolution. We cannot appease it. We can only resist it, or accept it. And the American people will not with open eyes accept a world revolution that denies the hope of freedom. But we cannot describe the revolution without admitting that it is the necessary result of our own failure to make our democracy democratic. It is this admission, of course, which scares Joe Kennedy even more than Hitler's bombs. To Mr. Kennedy a democracy is a country where a lucky gambler can hope to make millions on the stock exchange. Incidentally, this is what the word also means to the men who coined the phrase "the corrupt plutocracies of the West." France fell rather than face the perils of attempting a true democracy. England began to move toward democracy when the knife was at its throat. Since that eleventh hour, since the war in Britain became a people's war, Britain has become the world's marvel. We too can rise to greatness, can rise above our appeasers, but only at the price of carrying on two struggles at once: a struggle at home to show we mean democracy, and a struggle abroad to resist the murderers of freedom. If we do not make the first struggle we shall not have heart for the second; and if we do not make the second we shall not have time for the first.



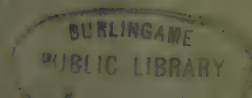
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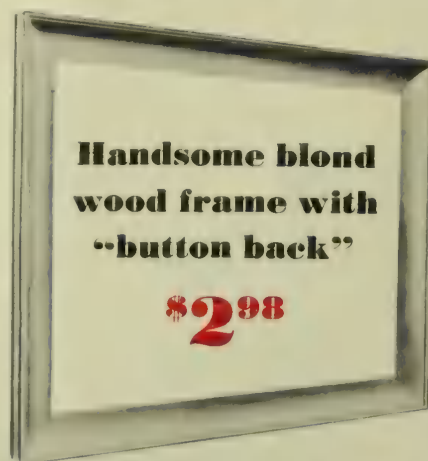
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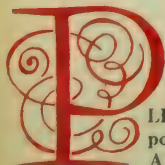
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A New World Literature

I. THE NOVEL IN INDO-AMERICA

BY LUIS-ALBERTO SÁNCHEZ

Like the majority of important Hispano-American writers, Luis-Alberto Sánchez, Peruvian, has had an active and varied career in addition to the fertile production of books. Before his exile from Peru, he was professor of American literature at the Universidad Nacional de San Marcos (Lima), the oldest university in the Americas. He was one of the most active younger allies of José Carlos Mariátegui, the great Peruvian revolutionary who gathered together in one movement the cultural and labor forces of his country, and who was cut off by death from becoming a formidable continental figure. With Mariátegui, he edited the famous magazine *Amauta* in whose pages the Indian-inspired art of José Sabogal and Julia Codesido appeared alongside literary texts which in breadth and depth of vision far surpassed the standards of *The Masses* and *New Masses*. After the fall of President Leguía and the death of Mariátegui, in 1930, Sánchez entered politics as one of the chief lieutenants of Raúl Haya de la Torre, founder of *Aprismo*. At the same time he practiced law, continued his teaching of literature, and wrote for the chief magazines of the Continent. *Aprismo* was suppressed and Sánchez was exiled. Except for a brief sojourn in Panamá, he has lived in Chile, where, in addition to his literary work, he is the editor of a leading publishing house.

Sánchez is an outstanding literary historian and critic; and his best in brilliance and scholarship is very good indeed. At little more than forty, he is the author of nearly a score of volumes, among them a history of the literature of Peru of which three volumes have appeared and "*Vida y pasión de la cultura en America*." His biographies have brought vitality to this undeveloped art form in America Hispana. Among the best are "*Don Manuel*," a portrait of González Prada, Peru's great nineteenth-century Socialist-poet; "*La Perricholi*," and "*Garcilaso Inca de la Vega*," "the first creole."—W. F.

TO SPEAK of the Indo-American novel is to speak of something contemporaneous. Although it was born at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the Mexican Lizardi's "*El Perequillo Sarniento*" (1816), it cannot be said to have evolved seriously from there. "*Maria*" by the Colombian Jorge Isaacs (1867) and "*Amalia*" by the Argentine José Marmol (1852) are also more like ancestors than fathers of the Hispano-American novel. Its progressive systematic evolution begins with the splendor of the realists, more strictly with the naturalistic school, about 1880. Which is to say that our novel is only sixty years old—a contemporary in the fullest meaning of the term.

This is true not only of non-Anglo-Saxon America, but also of your America. A novelistic art cannot be

said to exist merely because dozens of novels are published; but only when the novels achieve a common and progressing style. I feel that I must make this basic point (the theme of my book: "America: Novel Without Novelists") before I go on to present the state of the novel of my race in the new continent. As a common style and a durable expression, the novel in both Americas has had, indeed, little more than forty years of life. The precursors, however illustrious (a Hawthorne with you, an Isaacs with us) reveal admirable aptitude for the novel but not the *existence* of the novel as a literary genus, a collective cultural expression. The best proof of this is perhaps the pragmatic one: the average reader of a work of fiction will know by the mere text, the style, the metaphors, the mode of composition, whether the author is French, German, English, Russian; he needs as evidence the name of neither characters nor author. Is this true of the American novels before 1890-1900? I think not. They lack differentiation as a group expression of land or race. And more than any other literary form, the novel is a profound admixture of individual and collective elements.

More than any other literary form, the novel cannot free itself of its social medium; and requires both complexity and a social circuit. Where the population is thin, the novel rarely flowers. Like the orator and the dramatist, the novelist needs a dense audience. The poet can live on his own images. The novelist, although he shut himself up in a cork-lined room like Proust in order to re-live the scenes of his past, must have had beforehand much traffic with men, much friction in the world. If not, his novel will unconsciously approach the poem or the psychopathic confession. If the true role of the novel today is to replace the epic, its destiny leads it inevitably to dialogue and chorus. The interior monologue is really a stammering dialogue in which consciousness masks itself as "the unconscious" and the interlocutors take a single name to disorient the reader.

Our naturalistic Indo-American novel begins, then, at the close of the era of the great inter-American wars: those of Paraguay with the Triple Alliance (Uruguay-Argentina-Brazil); that of the Pacific (Chile-Peru-Bolivia), the wars of resistance to the Spanish reconquest, and of Mexico against the French forces of Maximilian. The "populist," quasi-sociological tone of this novel surely owed much to the sudden wide contacts of social classes in the grip of war. Thus only can be explained the

unheralded rise of the indigenous novel of Peru, which until then had been put off by a kind of tacit conspiracy. Doña Clorinda Matto de Turner's "*Aves sin Nido*" reflects and prophesies a multitudinous unrest. Something similar occurs in Mexico where romances of the war against Maximilian flourished. The novel in Argentina had a different beginning. Sudden wealth sent an "élite" to Europe (1880-1890); and they returned drenched with Parisianism. The novels of Eugenio Cambáceres, Lucio Vicente López, Leguizamón, etc., reveal this new passion. "*La Gran Aldea*" of López ("the big village," of course, is Buenos Aires) was not only a work of literary art but a notable human document. Typical also was the gallicized "*Música Sentimental*" of Cambáceres.

Born now as realism, the novel makes its way and within a few years reaches something like maturity. However, it does not yet become a focus of strong, individualized lives; it remains liquid before the external. In all the major examples of the Indo-American novel, the objective world rules over the personal, over aspiration, will, and spirit.

THE INDIVIDUAL AGAINST THE LANDSCAPE

If one factor better than another explains our American soul and, by the same token, our novel, it is this impotence of the individual before the cosmos, before society, and before the landscape. The European (in his novel) dominates his medium; so much so, that when (as in the tales of the Abbé Prévost and Chateaubriand) he crosses the sea and penetrates the prairies and jungles of America, he cuts his own personal path through chaos. The American, son of this European, when he would interpret and master his own world, falls under its spell; is overwhelmed, and muted. Witness the catastrophe in such works as "*La Vorágine*" by the Colombian José Eustacio Ribera, in "*Canaan*" and "The Illumined Voyage" by the Brazilian Graça Aranha, in "*Doña Bárbara*" by the Venezuelan Rómulo Gallegos, in Zalamea Borda's "*Quatro Años abordo de mi mismo*": the authors become bewildered and sightless catechumens under the overpowering mastery of the *ambiente*. In contrast to the Europeans, the natural chaos penetrates *them*, saturates and humiliates *them*. They are authors of great sensibility, of experience, even of wisdom: nevertheless, they succumb before the external world they have tried to picture. And this, in great part, is also the condition of the novelists of the United States; in their case the overwhelming jungle is not rural but urban—but on that account no less victorious over the artist who would describe it.

Of coincidences and discrepancies between North American and Indo-American novels, more some other time. Suffice it now to say that inferiority before his theme is characteristic of our novelists. One modern author, Eduardo Mallea of Argentina, scarcely gets out a stammer before his city, "*La Ciudad junto al Río inverosímil*."

If Ricardo Güiraldes in "*Don Segundo Sombra*" and "*Xamaca*" moves free through his Argentine pampas, this is because in great measure his landscapes are domestic, his own personal property, features of his paternal ranch rather than of the common panorama.

It may be said that terror is logical before such jungles and such plains. But compare the attitude of Guillermo Enrique Hudson, Argentine by birth, Englishman by race, culture, mentality, and language. His books—"Purple Land," "Long Ago and Far Away," "*El Ombú*" are of Argentina; "Green Mansions" is an idyll of the jungle of Venezuela—reveal tenderness, not stupefaction. The author, in order to dominate, holds himself aloof from his landscape, detached from his theme; whereas our writers with mystical gesture merge in their land and its dramas. The essential difference leads to another reflection: so immature are our novelists that they have not yet won the capacity of contemplation which requires immunization from what is contemplated. This trait (it holds also for the North American novel) is that of richly endowed, impetuous youth which still believes in magic.

The case of Hudson and of that other Anglo-Indo-American, Cunningham Graham, who pillaged the same regions, brings us to a generalization. Both Venezuela and Argentina are plains, immense, desolate, infinitely promising. Both have known the days, not yet extinct, of the wild plunging horse flung into frenzied assault. Both have become the source of vital novels. But for different reasons. Argentina, like Brazil, has a sturdy novelistic growth because it is an evolving nation of numerous population and of opposing forms of country and city life. In Argentina we find a various novelistic fauna: social and historical, as in Manuel Gálvez; studies of creole genre as in Güiraldes and Fernando Gilardi; picaresque-rural as in Roberto Payró and Benito Lynch; tales of passion, agony, domestic struggle—even of domestic ingenuousness in the novels of Gustavo Martínez Zuviria who writes his books "that his children may read them." In Brazil are novels of equal variety in style and theme. Without pausing over the chaste, smooth form of Machado de Assis, one of the great classics of Brazil, let me note the extraordinary distances (within a national mode) between the solid symbol-laden form of Aranha, the restless and poemetic texture of Jorge Amado, the subtle irony of Monteiro Lobato, to note only a few. In both Argentina and Brazil the novel is maturing within the still general Indo-American immaturity.

SOCIAL-POLITICAL THEMES

In Venezuela on the other hand, as in Mexico and Ecuador, novels (already numerous) cannot escape the direct social-political motive. The best of Venezuela (Dio Gil, Rufino Blanco-Fombana, Pocaterra, Otero Silva, even the later works of Uslar Pietri, Gallegos, Padrón,

and, in the past, of Díaz Rodríguez) reveal their immediate inspiration in contemporary events; often they are *romans-à-clef* with direct satirical objectives. Those of Uslar Pietri, Gallegos, and Padrón do not come under this last stricture. "*Las Lanzas Coloradas*," "*Canaima*," and "*Madrugada*" are good examples. In Ecuador the novel was tame and serene ("*Cumandá*" by Juan León Mera is the highest expression of this beginning); and in the past ten years has become a truly amazing voice for the country's social and sexual problems. Fernando Chávez writes of the Indians' exploitation in "*Plata y Bronce*"; but his voice is timid compared to the passionate outbursts of Demetrio Aguilera Malta, Joaquín Gallegos Lara, Enrique Gil Gilbert, Alfredo Pareja ("*Muelle*," "*Baldomera*")—all novelists of the Pacific Coast. In the high Sierra appears a political novelist, at times more propagandist than artist, Jorge Icaza, whose famous "*Huasi-pungo*," for all its merits, seems to me inferior to his book of stories, "*Barro de la Sierra*."

Not different is the case of Mexico. The generation of 1927 wrote Platonic tales, from which immediate reality had been refined away. Such are the elegant pages of Jaime Torres Bodet ("*Margarita de la Niebla*"), Xavier Villaurrutia ("*Dama de Corazones*"); now a generation more loyal to the drama of the land moves to the front. Jorge Ferretis confesses in one of his prologues that he is writing ethnography as well as fiction. Gregorio López y Fuentes ("*El Indio*" and "*Arrieros*") and Rubén Romero ("*El Pueblo Inocente*," "*Mi Caballo, mi perro y mi rifle*") use the æsthetic weapon to get to the essence of their people. And the same is true of Mauricio Magdaleno in whose "*El Resplandor*" high skill and beauty give birth to bitterness. The same bitterness inspires the work of the most famous Mexican novelist of our day, Mariano Azuela, whose works ("*Los de Abajo*," "*Las Moscas*," "*San Gabriel de Valdivias*," etc.) are scarcely songs of the revolution; or, if they are songs, they are accompanied by funeral drums; but not on that account less forceful and able. On the other hand, "*El Águila y la serpiente*" by Martín Luis Guzmán is a series of straight, living revolutionary pictures.

Other countries of our world have other accents. (The reader will not forget that limitations of space force me to be extremely schematic.) I shall say little of the embryonic novel of Peru. We have good short-story tellers; first of all Abraham Valdelomar ("*El Caballero carmelito*"), Enrique López Albújar ("*Cuentos Andinos*"), Fernando Romero whose promise is great ("*Doce novelas de la selva*"), José Diez Canseco ("*Estampas Mulatas*"). Less good can be said of our novel, although one novelist of high quality has appeared, Ciro Alegría, in whose work the relations of Indian and mestizo are illumined ("*La serpiente de oro*," "*Los perros hambrientos*"). This is a theme of central importance in a country whose ancient Inca culture reached a splendid maturity and still

deeply and visibly infuses the present. The novel of Peru is still a gesture, although titles are copious. "*Tungsteno*" by Peru's greatest contemporary poet, Cesar Vallejo, is a sketch for a novel. The talent and energy of the author save it perhaps from its inherent weaknesses; but neither its theme nor its frequently schematic and exhortatory tone justifies the enthusiasm, partisan rather than literary, that has greeted it as well as that other far superior tale, "*Fabla Salvaje*." The greatest number of Peruvian novels turn about the cant themes: anecdotes of creole and *zambo* life in Lima, or of stereotyped Indians of the Sierra. In this group, we must again mention Clorinda Matto de Turner whose precursor novel, "*Aves sin Nido*," without the huge resonance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," played a similar part in arousing our society by its pathetic picture of the humiliating condition of the Indians and the abuses of the clergy.

The war novel (after a whole literature inspired by the wars of Paraguay with the Triple Alliance, including a fine trilogy by the Argentine Manuel Gálvez) flourishes anew with the recent struggle in the Chaco. Both Bolivians and Paraguayans have striven to capture in pulsing pages the drama of their people. To be sure, this is a novel as yet too allusive and without horizons; both chronicle and story. Prematurely, Oscar Ceruto freed himself from the mere reporting of events, in "*Aluvión de Fuego*"; and on the other hand Augusto Céspedes, also a Bolivian, has wrongly confined himself to the story. But there are beautifully achieved tales like "*Repente*" of Lara, the romances of Toro Ramallo, Baldovinos: a whole young forest of novels fiery, impassioned, and above all quick with sorrow and revolt. On both its Bolivian and Paraguayan slopes, the Chaco novel is revolutionary and of small comfort to the patrioteer. What stands out is the cruel sacrifice; the sense that the horrible battles of the jungle could have been avoided.

TOWN VERSUS COUNTRY

The Chilean novel presents the problem of the rival *foci* of town and country; and until the present, the rural work predominated. In this genre, Mariano Latorre, author of "*Zurzulita*," "*Cuentos del Maule*," "*Chilenos del Mar*," has been unique and left a school whose best disciple is Luis Durand. Other important names in the group are Fernando Santiván, Januario Espinosa, Marta Brunet, Pedro Prado (more poetic), Rafael Maluenda, author of the delightful "*La Pachacha*." But today, the novel of Chile follows another trend. The rural novel was clothed in an apparent gaiety, gave a note of country holiday not unrelated to the gaucho novels of Argentina which painted happy gauchos like "*Don Segundo Sombra*" or contrite, sophisticated gauchos like "*Zogoibí*" of Enrique Larreta. In sharp contrast is the crude, rending pathos of the novel of the Chilean city. It begins perhaps with Baldomero Lillo, although already in the

classic works of Alberto Blest Gana the urban anxiety appears. The workers' suburb, poverty, the loom of the factory, were already present in "*El Roto*" of Joaquín Edwards Bello—a novel twenty-five years old and still timely. In this vein belong significant writers: Alberto Romero, Juan Modesto Castro; and, among the youngest novelists, Nicomedes Guzmán and Juan Godoy, whose "*Angurrientos*" is a story of both city and field, of both the outward and the inward man.

This brings us to the basic question: Is there *inwardness* to the Indo-American novel? or does it consist principally of anecdote, episode, detail? Alas! the second is closer to the truth. In addition to the fundamental reasons for this which I have suggested, this externality has circumstantial causes. The writer of our continent is hampered by many social taboos, by a poor economic status, by his frequent need of a bureaucratic job in order not to starve, by the lack of a broad public, by his ineptitude for truly intimate confession, by the congenital American extroversion. We have no autobiographical novels; except certain aspects of the work of Teresa de la Parra, Díaz Rodríguez, and one or more partially emancipated writers. Nor do we produce memoirs; or, if we do, the authors think more of the effect of their work than of the need of sincerity. Without these ingredients, the truly lyrical, truly profound personal novel cannot rise. A few modern writers strive to appear intimate, but they fail to hide their purpose, which is to equivocate and deform the deep impulse of self-confession. But if we lack the authentic novelized autobiography and the autobiographical novel, biography itself emerges, distinguished, since 1930. Here, the success of the Cubans, Jorge Mañach, Felix Lizaso, has been considerable as well as that of the Uruguayan Telmo Manacorda, the Argentine Galvez, and the Mexican Martín Luis Guzmán.

ANTHOLOGY OF THE IMPOSSIBLE

If, according to Thibaudet, the novel is "an anthology of the possible," the Indo-American novel has been, paradoxically, an anthology of the impossible. Not in the fantastic sense of Jules Verne, nor in the sense of free imagination as in the tales of Stevenson and Jack London; but because with excessive delight it has abused its literary instrument to give voice to the most unrealizable dreams, at times to the most bitter animosities, and only rarely to purposive aspirations. Reality remains on the margin, reduced to servant, vassal, slave, of the author turned prophet—a most regrettable phenomenon.

In all of which, despite many contradictions and within an analogous incipience and simultaneous old age, the Indo-American novel resembles the novel of the United States; through its chaos, its indiscipline, its shouts and outcries in lieu of voice; lacking both the articulation of the word and of truth. But now that Europe also throws out its heritage of measure and gives itself to an orgy

of inarticulate ejaculations, civilization begins to make us all alike. Sinking into chaos, the march of us all may be broken. A fecund pause may come alike to the Americas, to Australia, to Europe, to Asia, even to Africa. This forced truce in the disoriented forward lunge of life may well prove fertile. It may help us to get hold of ourselves; and then to place the right foot forward in the paths of the universal novel.

(Translated by Waldo Frank)

In the Wind

THE STORY is told of a Nazi agent who was captured in a Dutch East Indian colony and offered his guard a thousand guilders to set him free. The guard refused. The Nazi offered double the sum, and the guard hesitated. Taking this as a sign of weakness, the prisoner asked if the captor's silence meant that he accepted. "All right, you can go," said the guard, "I get half a guilder for every Nazi I kill."

IN THE REAL ESTATE section of the New York *Times* for March 13 the following headline appeared: Boris Karloff Rents East 66th St. Suite: Other Tenants Go to East and West Side Houses.

AMERICANA: A shining delivery wagon visits new inhabitants of Quincy, Mass., to deliver a free pair of silk stockings, face powder, a car greasing, a pound of coffee, a case of ginger ale, a suit or dress cleaned free, an alarm clock, classified ads in local newspapers, and flowers. This dispensation of the Chamber of Commerce is known as the Welcome Wagon Service and is being copied by many of the new boom towns.

A LAW CASE that has been tabled for ten years will soon be pushed to a final conclusion. It concerns one Abraham Friedman, a medical student who ten years ago was expelled from Flower Hospital Medical College in New York. Mr. Friedman will claim that the reason for his expulsion was his refusal to take an examination on a Jewish holiday. His lawyers and backers feel that if the college can be forced to pay damages they may succeed in breaking the back of the notorious anti-Semitism in medical schools.

EDWIN S. FRIENDLY, business manager of the New York *Sun*, recently spoke before the Advertising Club and condemned the use of misleading superlatives in newspaper advertising. Mr. Friendly cited five common examples. His speech was reported in his own newspaper on a page that also contained the advertisement of a large department store. All of Mr. Friendly's horrible examples were to be found in that advertisement.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be easily authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Schooling for Defense

THERE are also the children of defense. As everybody very well knows, the movement of young men into the camps has pushed the American army beyond the number of a million men. More men— young, middle-aged, and old—have moved into jobs in the increasing industries of defense. Their women have moved with many of them, the admiral's wife and the lady of the mechanic doing her washing at the rear of the trailer. Now the federal commissioner of education reports that, with their elders, 250,000 children have also been moved. The army and navy have joined him in asking for \$115,000,000 to help local school boards meet the problem.

No friend of these children of defense will object if the expenditure per child on the basis of the figures given amounts to \$460 apiece. That sum is only to help local school boards, though it will include new school buildings. It is interesting, however, that the latest available figures show that in the United States the average annual expenditure per school child in daily attendance was \$83.87. The highest figure reported was \$147.65 in New York, the lowest \$28.19 in Mississippi.

As money is being spent for defense, I am not objecting to a little lavishness in expenditures for the children. But the children who are the last line of defense are certainly not all congregated in defense centers. Even the schools they attend in the camps and the factory towns are not in general more crowded or more poorly equipped than are those which millions of other American children attend. Indeed, if the estimate of the children in defense centers is correct, they are a smaller number than the third of a million children of the migrants whom Dr. Will Alexander, former head of the Farm Security Administration, reported were living in transient camps, trailers, tents, and squalid tourist camps before the big movement of defense started in America. Some of them undoubtedly have moved with their papas to the eagerly sought jobs about the new camps and the new factories. There are still others moving to pick beans and pull up beets.

And not all the poor school conditions are in the places to which people move. Some are behind them in the places they left. In September, 1940, Fillmore County, Nebraska, reported: "Our problem is one of

decreasing population. Our people are moving from the farms to Iowa, Illinois, and Oregon. Several of our rural schools have been closed because the attendance would only be one, two, or three." Indeed, the first fact in America so far as its children are concerned is that the most children are in the areas where the population pressure on resources is the greatest. These children make problems which are not merely rural. In Philadelphia last June officials discovered that six or seven thousand children from six Southern states had come to the Pennsylvania city without their parents to attend the schools.

Like housing for defense, schooling for defense is, as the heads of the army and navy agree, a matter in which the federal government must assume responsibility. Increasingly, however, it is hard to see how such responsibility can be restricted to a few crowded defense towns. This has always been an America in movement. Defense has merely emphasized national responsibility to the nation's children in the few places where it is most dramatic, most appealing.

Education, of course, is provided not merely to meet the needs of the future of the children and the nation, but also to serve parents' contentment now. The best workers presumably will hesitate to take their children into crowded centers with crowded schools. Army and navy men, who are ordered to localities, presumably have a right to ask the government to see to it that their children have decent schools. I have seen some of the packed schools in the defense towns now and I certainly would not say a word against making them better. But the children of defense are not merely in the defense towns. Before the selective draft was instituted, the highest ratios of enlistments came from Southern states where the families are the biggest and the schools least adequate—from the areas which are providing the population increase of the whole country.

All I say is that schooling for defense must in any realistic sense include the schooling of all. Of course, the government should help the overwhelmed school boards in the towns it has crowded. But no dramatic, comparatively lavish expenditure in a few communities will meet either the responsibility or the task. There are not only the schools defense has packed but the schools it has emptied. And there is the whole body of the children of an America where the biggest families get the worst schools and hundreds of thousands of America's defenders tomorrow get no schooling at all.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Evil in Man

THE NATURE AND DESTINY OF MAN: A CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATION. I. HUMAN NATURE.

By Reinhold Niebuhr. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75.

THE fact that man is parceled out by the play of forces in our modern societies creates an appeal to collective tyrannies. But precisely when man wishes to be "total," the state will never be totalitarian. The first necessity of our time, then, is to rediscover the total man and his definition. The undertaking is in some measure facilitated by the present crisis, for this crisis makes violently manifest, even to the most myopic eyes, certain terrifying potentialities of man, which other more stable epochs were able not to see, and thus hastened to deny or to repress.

All anthropology is therefore important today—and that which Mr. Niebuhr gives us is doubly so, for if one accepts his central thesis it furnishes the key to almost all the errors committed by modern *isms*; and if one does not accept it, it nevertheless forces the reconsideration of these *isms* in a hitherto neglected aspect: in their aspect of evil, essential, inevitable, secretly desired.

Mr. Niebuhr's point of departure is the Biblical conception of man: a being involved in finite nature but at the same time possessing the liberty to transcend himself ad infinitum, to understand himself from a point outside nature, outside his finite self, and, finally, outside the very consciousness of his selfhood. Hence "the essential homeliness of the spirit" in a finite world.

The first part of the book wages a battle on two fronts: on the one hand, against rationalistic systems, idealist or mystical, which lose sight of the concrete limitation of the individual; on the other hand, against the materialistic and naturalistic systems which lose sight of the liberty of man. The common denominator of all these contradictory systems reveals itself, finally, in their incapacity to comprehend the reality of evil except as an "error" related to a bad society, to a bad ethics, to a backward culture. But to ignore the essential reality of evil is to ignore the reality of man.

The only defect of this first section is inherent in the fact that it is concerned with a didactic exposition. Despite all the realism of the author, the systems appear sometimes as entities deduced one from another. This can impair the polemic value for their time of certain ideologies which were more often undergone than dialectically composed. But this reservation does not apply to the excellent analyses of Marxism and of romanticism which conclude the first section, nor to the second part of the book which is informed throughout by a penetration at once acute and moving.

Following Kierkegaard, Mr. Niebuhr sees the origin of sin in the essential liberty of man, in the "dizziness" and anxiety which overwhelm the individual in the measure that he discovers the contradictory possibilities opened to him by his capacity to transcend himself and by his natural limitation. "The temptation to sin lies in the human nature itself.

This situation is that man as spirit transcends the temporal and natural process in which he is involved, and also transcends himself." Thus his freedom is the basis not only of his creative but of his destructive power—of his temptation. For the essential temptation "resides in the inclination of man, either to deny the contingent character of his existence (in pride and self-love) or to escape from his freedom (in sensuality). . . . It is not his finiteness, dependence, and weakness *but his anxiety about it* which tempts the man to sin." Sin is the inevitable abuse which man makes of his essential liberty, an abuse which shortly leads to the loss of his liberty. Sin then is neither a moral accident nor an error which could be corrected by a better education. Whether man sins out of idealistic pride, out of weakness in alienating his selfhood in the mass, in race, in sex, or in mystical nihilism, man lies to himself and knows it without admitting it. Moreover, this fundamental dishonesty is the only proof of the existence in man of the "*justicia originalis*."

Marx and Freud had already made us aware of certain attitudes of ambivalence or half-conscious dishonesty in our social or personal conduct. They came nearer than the bourgeois rationalists to the Biblical vision of man. But Niebuhr goes further than they in their own direction and thus makes clear the insufficiency of their systems. His critique encompasses, moreover, far more than the non-Christian ideologies. It also brings a radical accusation against the idealism and the complacency of a Christianity become the accomplice of bourgeois values which are essentially superficial, if one may risk that conjunction of words. An anthropology such as that of Niebuhr can become a historic factor, "active" in this sense, that it unmasks the fundamental weakness of our modern world: its naivete in the presence of evil. Why are our democracies so easily disarmed, helpless, and as it were fascinated before evil incarnated in Hitler? Why do they persist so stubbornly in seeing in him only an accidental aberration—which has the practical effect of putting to sleep awareness of the menace? Because the democracies are first of all blind to the evil which is also within themselves, to the nature of sin inherent in "the human situation in itself." The most open-minded of our intellectuals still recoil before what seems to them the greater extravagance: the Biblical affirmation of sin. This prejudice is explained in good part by the fault of Christians themselves who have held and encouraged the belief, for two or three centuries, that evil was a moral category, or that it simply comprised all who were opposed to the bourgeois world and troubled its easy conscience.

I have come to believe that the "essential superficiality" of the bourgeois world arises from the simple fact that our democracies—above all the American democracy—does not believe in the devil. But why do they not believe? Because of anxiety. Evil is a fact, but it is also a scandal. All of our modern optimism and perfectionism is in reality only a desperate flight, and as such profoundly ambivalent, before this unacceptable fact. And how can man not take flight and not lie to himself if he no longer has a vision of transcendent

salvation, of grace? *Somnium narrare vigilantis est*, wrote Seneca. By the same token, to confess the lie inherent in the sin would be the act of a man assured of pardon. Beyond this point I have no answer. But I believe the question to be correctly posed.

Dr. Niebuhr clarifies many confusions and introduces a preliminary and indispensable order. One may think, to be sure, that lectures, even Gifford Lectures, are not a very redoubtable weapon against the demoniac forces—but essentially human, I repeat—which are now unleashed. But if these lectures are read, they will contribute vitally to an unmasking of the reality of the demon among us. And the first trick of Satan, as André Gide so profoundly remarked, is to make us believe that he does not exist. DENIS DE ROUGEMONT

A Tribute to Milles

CARL MILLES: AN INTERPRETATION OF HIS WORK.

By Meyric R. Rogers. Yale University Press. \$15.

MILLES is a sculptor of vigorous energies, high spirit, and remarkably fluent and graceful invention, an enthusiast with taste, and a folk craftsman of instinctive sophistication who possesses a genuine aptitude for bringing the eccentricity of the present imagination and the archaism of the studio out of their traditional confines into the public uses of the park, the garden, and the modern city. He is a designer of predominantly decorative and architectural inclinations, a stylist in the tradition of Bernini, Barye, and Carpeaux, who is saved by his mastery of scale and dramatic motives both from the refined pedantry that limited the work of Eric Gill and from the inflationary grossness that lamed the gifts of Bourdelle and Manship. His heroic sense has been redeemed from mere ceremonial grandiloquence by the realism of his humanitarian feeling and from rhetoric by a native talent for gnomic humor and the grotesque. He has never found his best expression in the purely monumental or serious subject. His ideal occasion is the fountain. He has taken the low tank or watering-trough of the market-place and the most sumptuous bowls and urns of formal gardens and built within their confines the most brilliantly mobile arrangements of figures and allegories, the most ingenious constructions of spouts, water-sheaves, and raining sprays, that have appeared since Bernini brought the Roman fountain-art to its height in the seventeenth century. His work in this line is as brilliant a correction of the stolid unaquatic masonry of Carpeaux and the French school as of the sentimental trivialities of English or American garden art. His mannerisms never approach insincerity, his allegory is curbed from Manship's violence by the charm of his modesty and realism, and once he had learned the lesson of Rodin's monumental style, he recognized his weakness in the epic and purely plastic orders of imagination early enough to draw away from that master and thus to save his own talent from the brutality of massive force that afflicted most of Rodin's disciples. He is a master of fancy, a national stylist of the first order, a superb decorative manipulator of bronze and wood, and one of the foremost craftsmen of our time.

All this is superbly illustrated in Mr. Rogers's volume, one of the most beautifully printed monographs on sculpture

that have appeared in America. Its photographs lack the unity of style and brilliance of illumination that distinguished the recent Phaidon volumes on Michelangelo and Rodin, but they have been taken with sufficient care to exhibit the full range of Milles's inventions, technical methods, and the scope of his themes and motives.

They are far from showing all that Mr. Rogers claims for Milles's genius. He calls his commentary an "interpretation" but it might better have been called an homage or appreciation. It pays deserved honor to Milles's integrity, craftsmanship, and taste and to the personal courage of his career which has expressed itself in the variety and boldness of his public commissions, but it indulges so freely in an unqualified and officious order of homage that it misses a critical discrimination of Milles's talent and thus seriously misrepresents its special quality. Mr. Rogers writes in the language of a curator, and from curators we have come to expect little criticism. The remarks in his Foreword on "form" and "abstraction" may perhaps be taken as the axioms or prejudices on which the ensuing essay is based, but they are inert and mandatory beyond any usefulness. Mr. Rogers presents Milles as a master of "the paradox that is art," by which he means a revelation of "the essential simplicity of natural form so that we may be able to apprehend its infinite complexity." But this crude formulation only emphasizes what Milles falls short of and what Mr. Rogers has completely missed: the nature of genuine plastic authority and the special requirements of sculptural form. To compare Milles with a craftsman of his own type, sources, and purposes like Mestrovic is to see at once his shortcomings in vision and structural sensibility; to compare him with men of more intense humanistic or æsthetic capacities like Barlach, Meunier, Gaudier, Lehmbruch, or Rodin is to see how boldness of invention and ebullience of fancy can sap the strength of genuine plastic dynamism; to compare him with abstractionists like Brancusi is to set up a destructive antithesis of aims; to compare him, more reasonably, with the finest achievement of Maillol is to be abruptly reminded of what the central character of sculpture is and how far Milles has missed it.

His achievement is sufficiently secure without Mr. Rogers's extravagant claims and irrelevant arguments on original authority. The work of few modern sculptors can be more freely and pleasantly enjoyed, especially when Milles is working in his true medium and purposes. His Orpheus, Triton, Europa, Folkunga, Poseidon, and St. Louis fountains are among the most rigorous and graceful examples of public art in our time; his bowls, doors, and bas-reliefs are admirable examples of soundly applied structural decoration; the Rudbeckius, Swedenborg, Peace, and Swedish Tercentenary monuments sharply define his limitations; his isolated nudes and figures have difficulty in maintaining their formal independence; his recent "Nature and Man" figures in Radio City show, for all the beauty and intricacy of their woodwork, how badly mistaken his tendency to grotesque artifice can be. It is unfortunate that so honest and hearty a craftsman, so scrupulous a designer, and so genuine a revivalist of the best elements in the archaistic tradition should be made to suffer by the comparisons and references entailed by Mr. Rogers's extravagant claims in this sumptuous but critically uniformed monograph. MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

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Countermine Against Hitler

HOW TO WIN THE WAR. By "An Englishman." Alfred A. Knopf. \$1.25.

HITLER'S real secret weapon, the author of this book argues, is a political one—the disintegration of the social structure of his opponents. Analysis of his campaigns, beginning with that against Austria, certainly supports this view but there is all too little evidence that the controllers of British policy have made such an analysis and drawn the inevitable conclusions.

With a conviction that gains from the sobriety of his style, "An Englishman" shows how wishful thinking blinded the Foreign Office to the nature of the Hitler revolution from the beginning. Deluded by fears of Bolshevism, it treated Nazism as a rough but essentially conservative movement which could be placated and tamed by kind treatment. Even now, with appeasement dead and buried, the British government still hesitates to turn against Hitler his own methods of social disintegration.

Behind the German lines, even within the boundaries of the Reich itself, tens of millions of Hitler's victims provide explosive material for a democratic counter-revolution. This book sets out a program which could rally them to form a second, secret front against their Nazi oppressors. But to put this plan into action the British government must strengthen democracy at home by showing its willingness and ability to subordinate the rights of private property to national needs. And it must convince the people of Europe, whom it would attract to its side, that it is not merely aiming to restore the *status quo* but has a real alternative to Hitler's super-state.

In order to carry out a democratic counter-revolution, "An Englishman" suggests, three departments of the government must be entirely reconstructed—the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Information, and the Home Office. Writing obviously with inside knowledge, he explains how ill-equipped these departments are for the promotion of a dynamic policy. A particularly illuminating chapter is that on the Home Office which stupidly classified refugees as "enemy aliens" and thrust them into concentration camps. That mistake has now been partly remedied but Britain is still wasting exiled talent able to supply leadership for an anti-Nazi revolution.

Directed as it is at British policy, this book can also be of great value in this country, for all too many Americans still fail to appreciate the scope of Hitler's ambitions and the techniques he employs to fulfill them. I would criticize only its cursory and overoptimistic treatment of the Russian problem. If "sentimental hatred of Bolshevism" on the part of the right is a danger to realistic thinking, so is the sentimental affection of the left. "An Englishman" suggests that a *modus vivendi* with the Soviets may be found by confining the democratic revolution to the West and leaving Stalin to organize the East. Such a proposal can be based only on superficial knowledge of the Balkans. If we can trust such an authority as Stoyan Pribichevich, author of "World Without End," the land-loving, highly individualistic peasants of eastern Europe are hardly likely to be brought to revolt against Hitler's feudal policies by the equally abhorred alternative of collectivization.

KEITH HUTCHISON

DRAMA

A Pretty Problem

WHATEVER else one may or may not feel inclined to say about it, there is no doubt that the revival of "The Doctor's Dilemma" at the Shubert Theater provides a very agreeable evening of irresponsible wit and satiric farce-comedy. Of Katharine Cornell's performance as the incredible Mrs. Dubedat I shall say something presently; the others range all the way from the superb (Cecil Humphreys as Sir Ralph) through the highly satisfactory (Raymond Massey as Sir Cecil) to the merely acceptable; but thanks to smooth and skilful direction the whole is blended so perfectly that one is hardly aware of the unevenness and comes away with the conviction that the play has been made to yield pretty much all that it can.

"The Doctor's Dilemma" is, to be sure, not quite Shaw at his best. It was written in 1906 between "Major Barbara" and "Getting Married" and, unlike either of these two, is one of those plays in which the author makes no really serious attempt to expound systematically a major tenet of his creed. Instead, as in "Candida," "You Never Can Tell," and various others, he merely uses an artificial theatrical situation as an opportunity to take pot shots at this or that and occasionally simply to show off. The result is something which even thirty-five years later seems a great deal shrewder and funnier than ninety-nine out of a hundred plays. It is also something which forces even an old pro-Shavian like myself to admit how right the stuffiest of conventional critics were when they complained that however much intelligence there might be in the plays there was no human nature in the characters.

In the present instance, it will be remembered, the inventor of a new cure for tuberculosis who is able at the moment to take only one more patient, is faced with the problem of deciding whether he will choose to save a worthy nonentity or a brilliant but scoundrelly young artist. The dilemma itself is more ingenious as a problem in casuistry than credible as a situation, and Shaw, faced as he so often is with the impossibility of choosing between his Nietzschean self and his Puritan self, does not even solve the problem. Instead, he escapes the necessity of doing so by making the doctor sacrifice the genius, not because

the doctor himself has decided the question on the terms in which it is stated, but because he is mildly in love with the artist's wife and wishes at least to spare her the knowledge of what a cad her husband is. Worse yet, however, is the fact that none of the principal characters is credible as a human being and that each is merely a counter to be moved in any manner which will serve to state the situation and work out a solution. The artist himself comes straight out of the paper-backs and exists only because his creator informs us that he will take as his first premise a genius who is also a sponger and a thief. The artist's wife, though sometimes cited along with Candida to prove that Shaw could draw womanly women, is equally non-existent as a person. Perhaps there is no reason not to believe that she would reappear as the merry and now remarried widow of the last act, but there is also no reason to believe that she would. Like her husband, she has no psychological processes, merely gestures made in response to the strings which the playwright pulls. The play, as a play, might just as well turn out one way as another. The logic of the arguments is clear, the logic of the persons non-existent.

As a debater Shaw is superb if often unscrupulous enough. In its way nothing could be better than the dialogue between the scientist and the old Scotch doctor concerning the main point at issue. When the latter demands to know which his friend would prefer, a world in which all the pictures were bad and all the men and women good or one in which the pictures were good and the human beings bad, one laughs with sheer delight at the skill of a debater who has managed to phrase the question with such expert unfairness. But when the characters begin to behave instead of talk, even when they begin to talk about emotions rather than ideas, one remembers the old legend of Shaw as a brain without a heart. It is said, I believe, that the bravura bit which involves the artist's dying profession of faith was written to prove William Archer wrong in his conviction that his one-time collaborator could not write a death scene. Actually, I think, it proves him right. Dubedat's purple passage about his devotion to art is pretty good rhetoric. It would deserve an "A" if produced in response to an old-fashioned examination question beginning "Write an imaginary dialogue in which a Renaissance painter discusses Faith with Savonarola." But it is a rhetorical exercise nevertheless. It is less sincere and therefore less

moving than the driest of Shavian wit-ticisms.

This brings me logically to the only unfavorable criticism which I have to make of Miss Cornell's performance. She is charming as the merry widow of the last act and she succeeds beyond any reasonable expectation in her efforts to humanize the character she is playing, to give her some emotional reality. But I wonder if there is any use in making an effort to do anything of the sort. Jennifer Dubedat is at least as artificial as Congreve's Millimant. It may just possibly be a mistake to try to make her seem human. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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MUSIC

WHAT struck me first in Stiedry's performance of Bach's Passion According to St. John, and what delighted my ears—accustomed as they were to the sound of performances by the Schola Cantorum with eighty arrogantly indifferent, hastily rehearsed New York Philharmonic musicians—was the refinement and finish and balance of the combined singing of the small group from the Schola and playing of the excellent little New Friends of Music Orchestra. Later there was the superb effectiveness of the dramatic passages of the work: the narrative of the Evangelist and dialogue of Jesus and Pilate in recitative, the choral interjections and comments of the Jews. These gained primarily by the fact that Stiedry has spent most of his life conducting dramatic music in an opera house; the recitative gained further by the fine singing of William Hain, Mack Harrell, and Chester Watson, and by the use of the organ for accompaniment, which proved to be artistically advantageous as well as authentic. And whereas the Schola Cantorum's singing of the chorales in 1937 caused me to observe that "one will not expect it to sing as badly as Bach's congregation must have sung, but one will expect it to sing as simply," and to complain of "shading that I thought precious and out of place," under Stiedry's direction the chorus sang the chorales as simply as it did beautifully.

It was, in short, a performance that revealed the strength of the strong parts of the work. And it was one that, on the other hand, did not conceal the weaknesses of the weak parts. The work begins with one of those opening Bach choruses in which what would be impressive said only three times is wearisome when said the tenth time; and it was not the less wearisome for a pace that gave the music magnificent breadth but continued to do this for fifteen minutes—the pace, in other words, for a chorus one-third the length. And the arias were poorly sung for the most part by Herta Glaz, William Horne, and even Harriet Henders, whose voice has acquired tremolo and sharp edge in its upper register. The best singing here was that of John Gurney.

Beethoven's sonatas for piano and 'cello are not works for 'cello with piano accompaniment but dialogues for the two instruments; their proper effect is achieved only when they are played by a pianist and a 'cellist of equal artistic

stature and with equal standing in the performances; and this effect was not achieved at the New Friends concerts at which one heard a powerful phrase that Feuermann had played on the 'cello with the force and authority of a solo artist played a moment later by Albert Hirsch with the meekness—however musically sensitive—of an accompanist. At an earlier concert it had been interesting to note that an artist who could phrase Schubert's "Wasserfluth" as Lehmann did could also come in a beat too soon after each piano interlude of the song. And at a later concert one heard Kipnis make superb things of Schubert's "Wanderer" and "Geheimes" and "Abschied"; then exhibit a lack of rhythmic sense that caused "Nacht und Träume" to fall to pieces and allowed excessive intensity to distort the shape of "Der Doppelgänger"; and end with a melodramatic "Erlkönig" that was sheer burlesque.

Among the March Columbia records that have arrived thus far is a set (X-187, \$2.50) offering a fine performance of Mozart's "Eine kleine Nachtmusik" by Weingartner with the London Symphony, well recorded except for an excess of bass which can be eliminated only by a separate bass-control. I recall Bruno Walter's performance on Victor as excellent, but clouded by reverberant recording.

Then there is Mozart's String Quartet K. 465 (Set 439, \$3.50)—one of the great six dedicated to Haydn. The performance by the new Kolisch Quartet is admirably sensitive, though to the point of being precious and mannered occasionally; and it is well recorded, with some of the surfaces of my copy a little noisy. But it hasn't the extraordinary tonal beauty and ensemble finesse of the Budapest Quartet's performance in the older Victor set, and is not as beautifully recorded.

Szigeti has recorded superb performances of Bloch's "Baal Shem," Three Pictures of Chassidic Life (Set X-188, \$2.50), of which the first two, "Vidui" and "Nigun" (70743-D), are impressive examples of Bloch's writing. "Simchas Torah" (70744-D) I care less about; and the arrangements of Milhaud's "Sumare" and Falla's "Miller's Dance" on the reverse side less still. While I am speaking of Szigeti I might mention my disappointment over the characteristic discrepancy between promise and fulfillment in the WOR broadcasts: the orchestral accompaniments of Szigeti's playing have been ragged and otherwise poor; though complete concertos were promised the assigned half-

hour period was sufficient for only the first movement of the Beethoven Concerto, and the other two were not played even the next Sunday; and there have been increasing amounts of the pretentious rubbish with which "Floyd Neale at the microphone" has disfigured WOR's broadcasts of serious music for years.

Barlow's performance of Dvorak's fine "Carneval" Overture with the Columbia Broadcasting Symphony (70739-D, \$1) seems good; but if one gives the first side enough treble for fidelity and richness of orchestral sound one gets a horrible surface noise mixed with the sound; and from the middle of the second side, which doesn't have this defect, there is a drop in volume. The Adagio and Rondo from Stamitz's Violin Concerto in B flat (70747-D, \$1), not very consequential music to my ears, are excellently played by Milstein and Balsam; but the first side is afflicted with a bad rattle. Suzanne Sten's tremolo spoils what her beautiful voice and fine musicianship accomplish with Mendelssohn's moderately enjoyable song "Suleika" (17264-D, \$.75), and her singing of "Auf Flügeln des Gesanges" is somewhat explosive. Szymanowski's Twelve Etudes for piano Op. 33 and his Mazurkas Op. 50, well played by Jakob Gimpel (Set X-189, \$2.50), mean nothing to me. Nor do I care much about Pinto's "Scenas Infantis" for piano, which Novaes plays well (17262-D, \$.75).

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

HERBERT AGAR, editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, won the Pulitzer Prize for American history in 1933. He has written several provocative volumes on problems of American democracy.

DENIS DE ROUGEMONT, distinguished French critic, is now in this country. He is the author of "Love in the Western World," a brilliant analysis of the source of contemporary attitudes toward love.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL, a frequent contributor of reviews on art and literature to *The Nation*, is the editor of "Literary Opinion in America."

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FOREWORD

NONE of our readers, we hope, will pick up this supplement with the thought that we have cast aside the pencil of the reporter for the crystal ball of the prophet. Had that been the case, we should have devoted these pages to a clear picture of the one world to come and not to the hazy outlines of two alternative worlds, all hedged about with if's and but's and blurred by qualifications such as no seer could indulge in and still keep his clientele. At the very least we would have been able to preserve a nice balance in presenting our alternatives: a Hitler world of just such a shade of darkness, a democratic world of so much light and so much shadow.

Unfortunately for editors, not even probabilities are made to fit such molds, and for that reason the second half of our issue is less prophecy than program. We know from their pronouncements and from what they have already done in the conquered countries of Europe what the Nazis would probably make of this world; but what Hitler's potential conquerors would make of it nobody knows, not even themselves. In part this uncertainty is a reflection of the position in which the British now find themselves. The war, with its vast destruction of wealth and profound social upheaval, has already cut them adrift from the worn moorings of an anarchic capitalism, just as the Cliveden set feared it would. Economics does not retreat, nor will it suffer a vacuum; out of the disintegration of the old pattern something new will emerge. The heterogeneous social forces engaged in the fight against Hitler make that something unpredictable. Opposition to a common enemy unites these elements now but that is all that unites them, and with the conclusion of the battle the cement will disappear. Then the kind of Europe, the kind of world, that will emerge will depend on the pattern into which the pieces fall, that is, the coalition of forces and their relative strengths after an exhausting war. This is hardly the sort of situation that invites prediction.

That a Nazi world will be black indeed while a Nazi-free world may be less black, may be gray, and then again may be white, is to be sure a very imperfect

prophecy, and one which at first blush would scarcely seem worth so much emphasis. Its crucial point and saving grace, it seems to us, is that it does posit a world that *may* be white. We think the chance that such a world will emerge from a fascist defeat is good; others may disagree. But, no matter what the odds, surely a drowning civilization should grasp at whatever comes to hand without first arguing as to whether it is a lifeboat or merely a raft.

Normally it would be grotesque to give such stress to the obvious, but these are days when obviousness is condemned as conspiratorial cunning and myopia enjoys the status of a political principle. Senators who have seen photographs of Poland's best people hanging from street lamps, who know of the slaughter of innocents in the abattoirs of Bucharest, will ignore these Nazi horrors entirely and rant for days about England's failure to give India dominion status. Men who have seen Germany grind one nation after another into slavery while promising always to respect the integrity of its next victim are still fatuous enough to believe that Hitler has no designs on the Americas simply because he says so.

The curious thing about these people is that if you ask one of them point-blank which side he would rather see win the war, he will usually, unless he is Colonel Lindbergh, answer with some embarrassment that he would naturally prefer a British victory; but in a second he is off again with some juicy tidbit of British deviousness in the Boer War or some fresh insight into the Boston Tea Party. Rarely does he lift a finger to help the England he would feebly prefer to win, and those who do he bitterly denounces as warmongers.

Sufficient repetition has given this approach a certain effectiveness. Fascists, Communists, and some varieties of Socialist and pacifist, assiduously cultivate what amounts to mass dementia. Under their influence and that of the look-at-the-last-war school, people otherwise perfectly lucid affect an indifference to any distinction between the England of Churchill and the Germany of Hitler, although the faintest possibility of their being forced to live in the nightmare land of the swastika

would terrify them out of their minds altogether. Even to those rigid Marxists who take the "long view" that in the end Churchillism and Hitlerism must merge into identity since both are forms of capitalism, it should be apparent that one offers a chance to work for change while the other offers a repressive terror that far outdoes the bungling methods of any czar that ever lived.

The purpose of this special issue, then, is to do the

obvious, to demonstrate what everyone knows, consciously or in the recesses of his mind; what the craven dare not face for fear of what it may involve; and what the unscrupulous rationalize away to satisfy their own political ends: namely, that it makes a profound difference who wins this war, all the difference between the certainty of death and the hope of life—even a life of our own making.—R. B.

Europe Under the "Master Race"

BY KONRAD HEIDEN

THE New Order of the Nazis is an attempt to secure to the world the blessings of war for the next thousand years. To comprehend its full significance, we must not be misled by the word "order." The Nazis do not believe in the permanence of law and institutions. Though they speak of the substance and extent of their future realm as the Reich, a term historically old and ambiguous, they do not envisage it as a solidly organized state with stable laws and boundaries. The Great Reich of their dreams is rather a seething volcano of forces out of which one particular force again and again emerges victorious.

The outside world ponders too much over the so-called programs of National Socialism and reads too much into them. The Nazi leaders proclaim and promise a thousand miracles in which they do not for a moment believe. They proclaim and promise a thousand other things in which possibly they believe, but which cannot be accomplished. And because even Nazis can't help telling the truth occasionally in the course of endless ranting, they once in a while say things which are wholly sincere.

Hitler's much-quoted statement "Man lives on war and must perish in peace" is a case in point. This is no hypocritical justification of conquest and pillage, but

rather the expression of an almost religious faith in an ideal form of life. War, by the tenets of this philosophy, is no aberration or tragedy, but rather the rule and the good fortune of nations. It is, in the words of Ernst Roehm, "the fount of youth, hope and fulfilment at the same time." War, according to Nazi doctrine, is as vital to nations as bread, not because of the spoils of battle (although they are an incidental objective), but as a constant incentive to ever-greater accomplishments and to the highest development of all the forces needed for survival.

The New Order of the Nazis, then, does not envisage the establishment of a fixed and unshakable tyranny over the entire world, nor does it portend a thousand years' "peace" in which a minority exploits a tortured majority. The Nazis are not such dreamers as to believe in the possibility of an unchallenged rule by force for a thousand years. Plainly and simply, the New Order means a permanent state of war.

People unfamiliar with the Nazi way of thinking will find it hard to visualize this National Socialistic future. The Nazi finds it equally difficult to follow the workings of democracy. For him such concepts as freedom of opinion and equal rights have lost their meaning. All he sees in democracy is disorder, weakness, and degeneration of the state. Values which personal freedom provide are like ultra-violet light to him: he cannot see them, therefore they do not exist. In view of the intellectual abyss that separates the two concepts we may better grasp the implications of the New Order by pointing out first what it is not.

The order which a victorious Hitler will impose on Europe will, in the first place, not be an order based on laws. One look at present-day Germany makes this clear. Its regulations, gagging and muzzling the citizen, have merely the outward aspect of laws. They are not universally valid—for the leaders can break them any time they please and proudly boast of this right; nor are they compulsory—judges can disregard them, limit



"Whoever would really wish from his heart for the victory of the pacifist conception in this world must devote himself by every means to the conquest of the world by the Germans. . ."
 ("Mein Kampf," p. 315.)

them, or extend their application at will. And they are not definitive, for tomorrow's "law" may punish what today is permissible. Above all, they never bind the leader, but only those he leads. Nazi law, in short, is not a system of laws at all, but merely a system of orders not yet repealed. Thus it would be a mistake to anticipate from a Hitler victory a new legal code that would be enforced throughout Europe. The New Order will not legislate; it will issue military orders—indefinitely.

Neither can Nazism's New Order be looked upon as an economic system. It would not organize Europe with any idea of solving urgent economic problems, for National Socialism recognizes no urgent economic problems. Such questions are always secondary and can be solved "one way or another," as Hitler puts it.

Within the limitations set by this obliviousness, the Nazis would of course carry out some sort of economic policy in the conquered territories. It is highly probable that they plan to revise drastically the system of production and distribution on the continent. The location of key industries will almost certainly be concentrated in areas where the Germans themselves are concentrated and thinned out elsewhere in accordance with the Nazi scale of racial values. The nations which the Nazis regard as "inferior" would be confined largely to an agricultural economy designed to serve the "master race."

This same scale would be applied even more strikingly in the distribution of consumers' goods, and the Nazi classification of the European nations thus furnishes a likely indication of what the continent will look like in the event of a Hitler triumph. Roughly this "science" divides nations into three categories, which may be termed creative, receptive, and destructive. The most creative, of course, and therefore entitled to the highest standard of living, are the Germans themselves, the "master race." Second to them, by Nazi standards, come the northern nations, from England through northern France, Belgium, Holland, and Scandinavia, to Finland. While these are, in the Nazi view, less productive and efficient than the Germans, they are adaptable, receptive to creative ideas, capable of being entrusted with some of the productive duties of the continent. Under German tutelage they would continue to carry some of the industrial burden of Europe and they would enjoy a corresponding share in the available wealth. Some of the peoples of Southern Europe, notably the Yugoslavs and perhaps the northern Italians, would be granted a similar rating, but, for the most part, the nations of the Mediterranean coasts would fit into the lowest category and be treated accordingly.

State regulation of production would prevail throughout the continent; this would be the instrument for controlling the location of industries and consequently the standard of living in the respective regions. In no case, of course, would living standards compare with those

"... forget such terms as humanitarianism, civilization, international rights, and international confidence.

For us, Nazis, these arguments no longer have any appeal, since we long ceased believing in them." (Josef Goebbels; in a speech quoted in the New York Times, March 21, 1939.)



that predominated on the continent from 1920 to 1939, since National Socialist economy is geared to war production—first, last, and always. In four years Nazism produced the most gruesome economic system that any country ever called its own—Goering's Four Year Plan—in order to wage the present war. If the Nazis triumph, every part of the world under their domination is going to enjoy the blessings of such Four Year Plans. Each plan will vary, depending on the momentary distribution of political power, which, according to the Nazis, will undergo constant changes. This permanent kaleidoscope must mean the eclipse of business as a prime power in society, for only in times of stable political conditions, only when power is balanced and unable to cut at will into the orderly process of production, distribution, and consumption, can business assume its fateful role of shaping man's destiny.

It is natural that in a world in which three Panzer divisions can conquer half a continent, business should be reduced to a minor role. When it is realized what importance technology has assumed in Nazi plans, this "revaluation of all values" becomes clearer. The National Socialist considers technology to be the magic key to all economic problems; he himself, in his own view, is an armed technician. To the technician every material problem is theoretically solvable even though the solution has not yet been found and may possibly be found only after many generations.

The proposed New Order does not envisage a definite territorial reorganization of Europe any more than it does a new fixed legal code or a stable economy. Most people have very mistaken ideas of the territorial designs of the Nazis, and the Nazis do their best to encourage such illusions. They constantly allow "official" plans to leak out which they have no real intention of pursuing and they will resort to any political stratagem or improvisation, no matter on how gigantic a scale, to suit immediate ends. No one takes their non-aggression pacts seriously, and it is just as idle to be taken in by even so impressive a move as the forced migration of thousands of Germans from the Baltic countries. At first sight this migration on orders from Berlin impressed

the world as the establishment of a permanent boundary between Slavs and Germans. Nothing could be more unlikely. Hitler is always ready to make a political gesture which costs no more than the private happiness of ten thousand people. The move was expedient in the process of humoring his Bolshevik neighbor. It looked more final than the most sacred oath, but Nazi methods can easily send hundreds of thousands of Germans into the Baltic states tomorrow to replace the tens of thousands ordered out today.

The principle to remember in connection with all Nazi commitments, territorial as well as otherwise, is that the Reich of Adolf Hitler considers none of them binding. The Nazis are realists. They reckon with power and draw up their plans accordingly. If the momentary distribution of power permits it, they will remove boundaries that hamper them; they will destroy or transplant whole nations, as they are doing at the moment with Poland, on a scale made possible by the supreme application of modern technology. This is what the Nazis mean by "dynamics."

Based on neither law nor economics, nor on territorial revision, the order which Hitler promises Europe is similarly rootless in a moral sense. This is not belaboring the obvious, for even an order which does not conform to our conception of morality may have moral authority by other standards. But force itself can never be a moral principle, for its very existence bars any moral influence. Power can serve a moral principle, but then it *serves*; in the Nazi world power does not serve; it rules.

Selection of the strongest is the real, in fact the only, purpose of the New Order. The strongest, once he is found, is going to attend to everything. Politics and war are his business, and to Nazi thinking the two are synonymous. I speak here only of that absolute politics which transcends material values and is pursued for its own sake, politics that does not serve an ideal or benefit a community, but aims at gaining and maintaining power. It is such politics that Hitler has in mind when in a confidential mood he talks of himself to his intimates and whispers raptly: "Yes, I am a man of politics." This is not the game of the run-of-the-mill politician, who may be a man of honor compared to Hitler's type and a useful member of society. This is the absolute politics, which uses everything—men, nations, even God—merely as a means to an end. And what an end!

Nobody gets as drunk with power as the man who controls a party machinery which conveys omnipotence. The party machinery of the totalitarian state is organized evil, for it raises men to god-like positions and lets them forget that there are stronger and more important forces in this world than they and methods that are better than theirs. It is this self-idolizing type of man that Hitler has in mind when he claims: "No one can understand

Germany's Peace Aims

"The German race—that is our faith! It has higher rights than all others. . . . We have the divine right to rule, and we shall assure ourselves of that right." (Dr. Robert Ley; quoted from Munk, "The Economics of Force," p. 70.)

"A new peace shall make Germany mistress of the globe, a peace not hanging on the palm fronds of pacifist womenfolk, but established by the victorious sword of a master race that takes over the world in the service of a higher civilization." (Alfred Rosenberg; quoted from Munk, "The Economics of Force," p. 24.)

me who is not a man of politics himself," i. e., who does not live for power alone. To select this type from the masses of the nations is the real objective of the New Order. The doctrine of race is designed to serve this end and the S. S., the Elite Guard of the Nazis, goes so far as to accept only members whose height is at least 5 feet 10 inches, on the theory that the qualities of the genuine leader are embodied most frequently in tall men.

It may be doubted that this selective system will be preserved. For service under a dictator involves the most unexpected tests, and in the long run neither race nor intelligence nor physical figure will be decisive. What counts most is the perpetual readiness to capitulate morally and unreservedly before any need of the moment. When Hitler, on June 30, 1934, slaughtered half of his closest followers, he preserved men like Himmler, Goebbels, Christian Weber, Adolf Wagner, Emil Maurice, and Wilhelm Berchtold, all types which, according to Nazi racial theories, are definitely "inferior."

In a society which worships success as the Nazis do, success will finally become the decisive selective principle as the result of a natural development. For a long time to come a racial elite may be raised, examined, and awarded breeding prizes, but the real ruling group will be as little identical with that racial elite as it is now. For a Nazi society is founded on war, and war selects leaders of its own. A new type of man emerges in our war-shaken civilization: the armed intellectual, the man equipped with the scientific-technical education of our time who suddenly realizes his power. We have only to look at pictures of the men who appear as envoys of the fascist and semi-fascist countries of Central Europe and review the guards of honor at Herr von Ribbentrop's diplomatic conferences to see the type to perfection, in threatening black with silver braid.

These are the frustrated men from among whom fascism draws its first recruits, men who have studied the

primitive propaganda technique of the old revolutionary parties of the left and elaborated it into an infinitely more subtle and effective system. Their greatest force has come from the conviction that they are the flower of modern society and the firm belief that they therefore have a right to absolute rule. These are the men who are created by war and social upheaval. They would indeed, in Hitler's words, "perish in peace." If the Nazi vision of a future world of wars and revolutions is correct, we shall not escape rule by these men anywhere.

If on the other hand, we can trust our feeling that the world is aspiring, through convulsions and disorders, to

greater unity and organized peace, then this type will not be long in passing into extinction. It is my own belief that we shall never reach this peace and unity unless all nations take a deeper interest in what produces these same men, a much deeper interest than they took—or take even now—in their governmental institutions. Nationally limited democracy seems no longer able to cope with the problems of this age and it is fast losing its appeal. Only a democratic organization along international lines—a world democracy—is appropriate enough to electrify the people of our times. But this goes beyond the scope of my article.

Notes on the United States, 1950

BY WALTER MILLIS

The question of what would happen to the United States in the event of a German victory lies in good part in the realm of prophecy, not of fact capable of scientific analysis. To treat it in conventional terms is to conceal the character of the question, and to end in an unmanageable welter of alternative hypotheses and conflicting assumptions. I have therefore adopted a familiar device which, if more dramatic, is probably better suited to the subject. We may be quite sure that nothing would actually happen precisely as here indicated, but if the assumptions are probable and the development consistent, this must represent at least the kind of thing which might reasonably be expected to happen, and so offer perhaps a better guide to present decisions than a more abstract and generalized discussion.

Here, then, is an imaginary document, written by a fictitious American who has played a prominent role in edging America into the kind of future which I believe a German victory would produce. The year would be, say, 1950.—W. M.

WHAT I am about to set down cannot be published, for obvious reasons. Indeed, it might be a source of serious embarrassment if even the existence of these notes should become known to the authorities; and I must begin with the warning that what follows is strictly for family eyes. But I have recently been thinking over all that has happened in the last half-dozen years; and I have come to feel that a personal account of my own share in them will not only make my position clearer to the family, but may even be of use as guidance at some future time when, perhaps, the present situation—shall I say, when the situation may have altered?

Let me say at the outset that it was in complete sin-

cerity, and with absolutely no prevision of subsequent events or the effect they would have upon my own career, that I threw myself into the opposition to the so-called Lease-Lend Act in the spring of 1941. I thought then, and I think now, that enforcement of that act would simply have meant the condemnation of innumerable American boys to death on European battlefields; I also thought that it would have ended in enshrining the Roosevelt Administration as a permanent, demagogic, personal dictatorship over the United States. I certainly did not foresee the 1944 election or what followed; I had no idea that it would lead to the confirmation of our Permanent President or that I should be appointed by him to the new Congress. When I took the leadership of the Be Strong America movement, which secured the repeal of the Lease-Lend Act, I didn't know that I should ever profit by it personally, any more than I foresaw these more recent events which have now earned me the ill-concealed attentions of the G-Section.

However, all that was nine years ago. The repeal of the Lease-Lend Act, of course, proved the turning point of the war. I confess that I had hardly anticipated the suddenness with which the heart seemed to go out of the British; I was shocked at the London *coup d'état* only six months later and at the spectacle of the Mosley government jailing Churchill, trying to surrender the fleet, and going down on its belly to Adolf Hitler when he drove up Whitehall. They said it was the American "stab in the back" that left them no alternative; but we couldn't help that, and I still think it shows how unwise we would have been to tie up with a people so ridden with unsuspected defeatism as they proved to be. But it did present us with a definitely new situation.

It was that fall, you remember, that I was first called to Washington—originally as adviser to the Senate

coalition that put over the repealer and afterward as special assistant in the State Department, when Roosevelt saw that he had to broaden the base of his Administration, since his own policy had suffered so shattering a defeat. It's hard for people to realize now how acute the problems were. It wasn't only the Japanese; there was Canada hanging in the air, and the Latin Americans. Of course, the latter question practically solved itself; with South Americans falling over each other in the rush for the German legations and trade missions, it was apparent at once that we might as well stop worrying about anything south of the Orinoco. But a lot of the export people couldn't see it at first, and that added to the confusion. It was already bad enough with the uncertainty about Canada, which served to tie our hands in the Far East.

I can see now that it might have been better if we had forced the issue with Japan while the Australians were still holding out at Singapore. If we had massed the whole of our own fleet against them, together with the British forces that got away from the Mediterranean, the Japanese would have had to back down, and we could probably have saved a big area in the Far East—India, the Dutch Indies, the Philippines, New Caledonia, with all their tin and oil and nickel and other resources—at comparatively small cost. But what could we do? Since the whole point of the new policy had been to stay out of war, we could hardly turn around and make war-like gestures on the other side of the Pacific. And there was always the Canadian problem.

ALONE IN THE WORLD

It was an astute move of Hitler's to refuse to hint anything about a Canadian peace, one way or the other; and don't forget that he had the Canadian divisions as hostages. The British fleet units that finally reached Halifax were clearly not good for much. At that time most of our two-ocean navy was still on the ways. If you added up all that Hitler might have been able to mobilize from his own fleet, from the sizeable remnants of the Italian and French navies, plus the captured British merchant shipping, and remembered that the *Luftwaffe* was now reinforced with everything that was left of the British air force, air industry, and base facilities, it looked pretty formidable. Some of our younger navy men may have been willing to take on the Japanese anyhow; but there were plenty of older and more cautious heads in the Navy Department who said that it was out of the question under the circumstances. Senator Cartwright made convincing use of their testimony to show that nothing could be done in the Far East until the Canadian business was cleared up; and by that time, of course, Hitler had intervened with his dramatic mediation between the Japanese and the Australians, and the German-Japanese Condominium was established. That effectively

settled the question of all the Malay territories, and left the Germans in an unassailable position in the Far East.

Some said afterward that we should have opposed the Canadian peace, which came next. But the astonishing generosity of Hitler's terms pretty well cut the ground from under us: no annexations or indemnities, repatriation of the Canadian divisions, Canada to keep the British fleet units, and immediate absorption of surplus wheat stocks, with nothing in return except the disbanding of the Canadian Air Force and the restoration of St. Pierre-Miquelon to the Pétainists. The Canadians weren't going to turn that down. And could we have started a war over St. Pierre-Miquelon or the appearance of a German trade delegation at Ottawa, at a moment when peace was everywhere else returning to a war-torn world? We were not prophets, remember; we were simply practical men doing the best we could at the time to get out of the mess that Roosevelt had got us into. And though things may have looked reasonably safe on the whole, with the new army coming along, we were certainly not blind to the dangers.

I remember a conversation I had with Cartwright some time in December, 1942—it was at the maneuvers signaling the completion of the 9th and 10th Armored Divisions. The German Permanent Mission had just steamed up New York harbor in the *Imperator* (she had been the *Queen Elizabeth*), formally reopening unrestricted trans-Atlantic travel. The ship was jammed to the guards with German tourists, and half the tycoons in the country had booked passage for the return trip to see what the New Europe was like. There was a big parade and reception; everything went off a lot better than had been expected (for the police even then had found quiet ways of keeping the Jews off the streets), and the only unfortunate note was a minor riot raised by Fiorello LaGuardia, who afterward made himself so notorious that the G-Section finally retired him from circulation.

Commenting on the affair, Cartwright said that so far was so good. International trade was restored and was being put on a firm basis; there was peace everywhere in the world; while we already had ten armored divisions, with more to come, a big air force, and a growing navy. But he confessed himself worried. We were alone in the world. The Canadians, not to mention the British, naturally hated us like poison; from the Orinoco southward there wasn't one government not taking its orders straight from Berlin; we were running acutely short of rubber and tin; there was a ridiculous amount of squawking about the price of coffee, and we badly needed to get a real foreign trade going if only to cushion the shocks and dislocations which our economy had been taking. The trouble was that there was virtually nobody to trade with except Hitler, and since he controlled nearly everything we wanted to buy and had alternative sources—in Canada and the Argentine and Australia, and in the British and

Western European factories—for nearly everything we had to sell, it looked as if the trading might be difficult. I observed that, to make matters worse, a whole lot of the labor people were already beginning to say that we had sold them down the river—since all the great rearmament effort and defend-democracy business had just wound up with Hitler running the world—while a lot of the industrialists, who had backed us against Roosevelt in '41, were beginning to ask what we were going to do about strikes and taxes. I didn't like the temper of the country; it was as if there had been a sort of moral let-down with the peace. Cartwright agreed. You see, we weren't fooling ourselves, even then.

It was easy enough to modify the Wagner Act in the winter of 1943, but that didn't help much. We only ran into the big strike epidemic in the defense industries that spring and summer. And I can say in the confidence of these notes that the Germans didn't make things any easier. They kept the trade negotiations hanging on a month-to-month basis, and only those who were on the inside of things can know how much trouble and anxiety that caused. They had their tourists and lecturers and industrial commissioners everywhere—along with the Americans coming back from the German culture tours—and besides the propaganda for the Hitler Order which all these people naturally made in public, there was a lot more of a different kind made in secret. There is no doubt that they gave a lot of help to the Communists in the strike epidemic; working through their Rome organization, they stirred up the Italian communities, reviving all the old Fascist organizations which had flourished in Mussolini's time, and we knew they deliberately precipitated the great anti-Semitic riots in New York and Baltimore.

Yet what could we do? We dared not jeopardize the trade negotiations; the rubber problem was really serious from a defense point of view, the more particularly as we were in a weak position in regard to the refugees and the press. These problems, as you may not know, were in fact closely related. Of course, we had practically every malcontent from Europe and Asia who had been able to get away ensconced comfortably in the United States. It was not only that they did everything in their own power to raise rebellion in their home countries; but they found easy access to our press, making it one of their most powerful weapons. It was amazing with what irresponsibility our newspapers—even some of the greatest ones—continued their assaults, not only on the Hitler Order but against Herr Hitler himself, after the reestablishment of peace. The Germans put it quite reasonably: without the refugees they might have overlooked the press attacks, and without the press they might have overlooked the refugee agitators, but with each abetting the other they could not safely do business with us. We either had to hand over the refugees or to suppress the excesses of

the newspapers. It was an argument difficult to combat.

This was the real origin of the press law of November, 1943, though I will not deny that there were many other reasons which made it seem preferable, as between the two solutions, to proceed against the press—especially as a way of getting around the Constitutional difficulty appeared at just that time. This was provided by the conviction of Jay Darling, the cartoonist, on a libel charge based on a grossly impertinent drawing of Herr Hitler. (The German Consul in New York was behind the case, though this was not made known.) It seemed quite simple to extend the concept of libel sufficiently to sustain a law which would at least impose that measure of decency and control that was becoming, among all our difficulties, more and more necessary. I helped Cartwright draft the bill, and I still think the reform might have been easily and quietly effected if it had not been for the intervention of Wendell Willkie. When he raised his still great following to make a rabid issue of free speech out of it, a hue and cry went up. We finally got the law upheld by one vote in the Supreme Court. That was in the spring of 1944, and even the justices could see by that time how urgent it was on all accounts—foreign relations, labor, the Jewish problem, and the rest—but popular excitement had been roused by then to an almost unmanageable pitch. However, we at least had less and less trouble with the press thereafter; while Herr Hitler's clearly voiced approval materially eased our way with the German Mission.

THE ELECTIONS OF 1944

By that time the 1944 Presidential elections were looming before us. As you know, I had been a lifetime believer in the American constitutional system; and it had few more powerful defenders, in its whole history, than Cartwright. But it was that spring, I think, that both of us began to see some of its more deep-seated defects. For one thing, as a result of the virtual deadlock which followed the Lease-Lend repeal, it had obliged us to run the country for some three years by what amounted to a Senatorial committee—an agency utterly unsuited to the task. I confess we sometimes wished rather acutely for a strong executive leadership, like that which Roosevelt had exerted in his first terms; I have always said that one of the great tragedies lay in the fact that a man of such powers, about whose policies there was so much that was good, should have had his efforts nullified by the deep-seated distrust we all felt for him. It was chiefly because of that distrust that I opposed the Lease-Lend Act, and I have sometimes wondered. . . .

But that is neither here nor there. We now had to elect a new President, and it couldn't have come at a more unfortunate time. The old Republican Party was in fragments, and what was left of the Democratic was held together only by the threads of patronage. We were

virtually forced to set up the Be Strong America Party, and when John Smith, who had a firm grip on the ABC unions by that time, approached us, the last hesitation disappeared. I want to assure you, as solemnly as I can, that I had no thought of personal ambition in the matter; it was simply that there was so clearly no alternative. You see, we already knew what had really happened to the Canadian airfields and what was going on at St. Pierre-Miquelon; the big commercial air base in British Guiana was getting bigger and less commercial every week; while our two-ocean navy, that looked so colossal when we planned it back in 1940, seemed pretty weak, as it now came to completion, beside what the Hitler Order had produced in the meantime. The German Mission was as polite as could be, but not very helpful and wholly uncommunicative.

We simply had to have a strong party, ready to stand for order and responsibility at home, for rational co-operation with Herr Hitler, and for enough armed strength on our side to make a genuine cooperation possible. Both Cartwright and I thought at the outset that it could be managed without seriously affecting the essentials of the old system. Roosevelt, naturally, no longer counted. The press law, and the expansion of the old FBI into the Department of Information, had given us a pretty good control over the situation; while it was soon apparent that Hopkins and Willkie, who were dividing the reactionaries, the back-number "liberals," the irresponsibles, the refugee-lovers, and the Jews between them, would simply kill each other off. Other things being equal, it could have been handled easily. But the combination of the threatening international situation, the new defense program, and the election touched off—inevitably, I suppose—the one insoluble issue that had been hanging over our heads ever since 1941.

That was, of course, the financial issue—or rather, what the financial issue implied. In the early years of rearmament the enormous deficits had made no difference; everybody thought of them as temporary, while the idea that war might lie immediately ahead made everyone willing to sink his doubts or differences and let the future take care of itself. There was a rather marked let-down with the reestablishment of peace—I was troubled about it at the time, as I have already said—but all of our people were of course committed to maximum defense. Colonel Lindbergh was a tower of strength on the subject, and the Roosevelt programs were still running. But now they were running out, and it was necessary to undertake new and larger ones.

It was not only the size of the effort that had at last really begun to sink in, it was its *permanency*. The *Congressional Record* for the final years is, of course, no longer publicly available; if it were, you could see, from the violent debates over the 1944 service appropriation bills, the real nature of the dilemma. How were the new

programs to be financed? It was obvious that the answer would determine the whole character of the economy for a long time to come. In spite of improvements in revenues, there was no hope that the existent tax structure would ever reach a balance on this new and permanent level of armament expenditure. The continued voting of deficits no longer concealed the fundamental economic readjustments implied in the process; people had come to realize that deficit financing was simply a confused and inefficient way of effecting the readjustments. To keep the armament effort going we had to contemplate a permanently managed currency, a permanently managed production system, with permanent priorities and control of investment, drastic redistributions of the tax burden, and very considerable sacrifices from everybody. There wasn't a vested interest in the United States that didn't see itself affected by the prospect, and there wasn't one that didn't find somebody to shout his fool head off for it in the babel on the floor of Congress.

PERMANENT PRESIDENT SMITH

The Germans deliberately made matters worse by the pressure they kept exerting on the supply of imported strategic materials. They had here a leverage out of all proportion to the quantity of goods imported. The tremendous costs, delays, and inefficiencies involved in developing substitutes were formidable enough; what was even worse was the irritating effect of all the minor shortages and economies on the general public. I don't know how much sleep I lost over the fiasco of the artificial-tire scheme, and the resultant scandal. I don't know how many times I damned the man who first invented coffee and enslaved our populace to that utterly useless beverage. Of course, a people with the brains and energy of the Americans could have solved all these difficulties; with only a little forbearance, a little willingness to make sacrifices, to accept voluntary production and priority controls—as they had accepted them in '40 and '41—and some common honesty about paying taxes, the republican system needn't have committed suicide. But the moral deterioration had gone even deeper than we realized. The trouble was that we had to ask these sacrifices and readjustments as a permanent thing, not just as an emergency measure. And I suppose, at bottom, our position was psychologically weak. The one end of our whole policy since 1941 had been peace; but here we had to ask all the exertions of a war. Well, you just can't ask a people to sink their differences and concentrate every energy on a war effort without some sort of present or prospective war to offer them. No man can make bricks without straw. The summer wasn't over before Cartwright saw that the time for *asking* them was going by; we would have to start *telling* them pretty quick.

As the Be Strong America national chairman, I was able to choke off most of the popular debate and keep the



Drawing by Ben Martin

The United States in a Fascist World

campaign pretty well oiled; but Congress, including all our own friends, was split from top to bottom and acting like a madhouse. The budget never was passed; and everywhere else the deadlock was complete. As you know, we only barely elected John Smith in November; as you may not know, the Be Strong America majority in both Houses, though it was big enough, was bitterly divided against itself. The conservatives wanted to demobilize the whole defense effort, make a final settlement with the Hitler Order, balance the budget, and "go back to the capitalist system"—as if that were still possible! Cartwright and the progressives insisted upon the clean-cut solution of boldly taking the powers necessary to the times. But Smith, who knew the terms as to domestic as well as foreign policy on which Hitler would naturally have to insist if the conservatives had their way, realized that both courses really led to the same thing in the end. And he made enough of the leading conservative Senators see it too. With no budget, we were living on month-to-month grants; the second and last wave of strikes was at its height; the anti-Semitic riots were getting completely out of hand; the German lease of the big Tampico air base had just been announced, while a squadron of "Canadian" long-range bombers was to make a good-will visit to Washington for the inauguration. Smith had the will to act—and he acted.

I have often thought since of the famous January 20 speech to the old republican Congress, which had just voted him full powers and abolished itself: "I was elected by no single party but by a movement—the Be Strong America movement—a mass movement of the whole people, and a movement not only as wide and as deep but as irresistible as the spirit of that people. In their name I say: America from this hour shall and will be strong!" So it stands in all the schoolbooks; but a lot the people had to do with it. He is our Permanent President now; he made me his deputy in the Appointive Congress, and I served him as loyally as I could through the next three years. But in spite of everything he has done, I wonder how strong he has really made us. It was the fact that I wondered a little too loudly, when the terms of our accession to the Hitler Order became known, that really lay at the bottom of my dismissal from the government. Though I have never spoken of it, I suppose you know how narrowly I missed being shot in the second "purge"—because I had begun to wonder whether there were not a good many elements of the old democratic system which it might have been wiser to preserve. This is a big country to run, in these hard, unhappy, and restless times, by propaganda and concentration camps. There is weakness in those methods as well as strength. I wonder now how long we can go on being drained dry

for the sake of the Berlin profiteers and place-holders, not to mention the soldiers. They have already got 1,500,000 of our young men (at least that; the official figure is ridiculous) involved in Central China in their endless "Asiatic incident," and God—or maybe Heinrich Himmler—alone knows how many have actually died there. A little more of this and it will be worse than if we had let Roosevelt get us into the European War in '41.

At least, none of this is what I had anticipated. I know it is the required thing nowadays to say that it was all planned down to the last detail by the genius of the Permanent President and Cartwright. But it was not, and I have had to leave these notes to show that it was not. Because only in this way can I make my true position

clear to my children. I am horrified by what I see around me; I am profoundly disturbed for the future of my country, and I feel that somewhere there must have been a mistake that might have been avoided. But if so, it was not and could not have been deliberate; I cannot believe that I was at fault. I, like Cartwright and the rest, never plotted the end of the old republic. As I have shown, we were simply practical men trying to do our best with a situation as it developed. Reviewing the whole record, there is no point at which I can see how we might have acted differently. Not one. Or only one, perhaps. I have sometimes asked myself what really would have happened if we had not killed the Lease-Lend Act. But that is the purest speculation.

The Fate of Latin America

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

UNTIL about a year ago the illusion prevailed in Latin America, as in the United States, that the Atlantic Ocean would be enough to protect the Western Hemisphere from the effects of a Nazi victory in Europe. And just as in this country, the idea fitted admirably into the schemes of Hitler's propaganda office. In the case of Latin America, however, Nazi agents had a much richer field for exploitation than this false feeling of security; they had at their disposal, and waiting only to be manipulated, the deep distrust which certain Latin-American circles reserve for any action or proposal originating in Washington. As soon as the European war started, the "geopoliticians" and historians of the Third Reich set themselves with Teutonic zeal to the task of scrutinizing the archives for every unhappy fact that could be recalled to the minds of Latin Americans concerning their relations with the United States. From the Plata to the Caribbean the agents of Herr Goebbels went armed with profuse literature calculated to revive and deepen all the misgivings that preceded the era of the Good Neighbor.

But neither of these propaganda devices could be regarded as conclusive. After all, the sending of marines to Nicaragua and Haiti and even Grover Cleveland's insistence on the right of the United States to the last word in all matters affecting the Western Hemisphere seem curiously mild and archaic when compared with the explosions of force that have shaken the world in the past few years. Along with these tidbits of history, and with the soothing reminders about the width of the Atlantic, went a more potent appeal: the argument that only a Hitler victory could save Latin-American economy from complete stagnation.

Nazi agents emphasized that Latin-American countries not only had nothing to fear from Hitler so far as their independence was concerned, but would benefit hugely by the New Order in Europe. Latin-American goods that now found the United States markets hermetically sealed would flood Europe after the war, taking the place of exports that formerly came from the defeated "pluto-democracies." The exploited proletarian nations of the New World would free themselves forever from the humiliating tutelage of the Bad Neighbor of the North, and join the splendid New Order of the Have-Nots.

The undeniable economic difficulties of the Latin-American countries, most of which were, until the beginning of the war, entirely dependent upon European markets, provide the nourishment upon which this brand of Hitler propaganda feeds. Every prospect of genuine collaboration between Latin America and the United States is ridiculed in that considerable section of the press which has come under German influence. What the United States wants from you, Latin Americans are told, is that you should resign yourselves to a subordinate economy exclusively adjusted to the interests of American production. Never will the Colossus of the North allow your meats, your wheat, your cotton, or any other basic product of your economy to enter the United States if a single farmer of the Middle West or South thereby considers his interests impaired. You must renounce your traditional sources of wealth and devote yourselves in the future to doing the petty tasks assigned to you by American industry while your own population suffers starvation and death. And at the same time Wall Street will not cease to remind you of your debts. (Here Nazi propaganda scores an extra point by announcing that the hour

of Hitler's victory will mark the liquidation of all debts, the beginning of a new economy and the end of everything that had to do with the old order. The United States can offer you nothing better than the prospect of adapting yourselves to the coarse egoism of its super-capitalistic system, the Nazi sales talk continues, while Hitler, by unchaining all the creative forces in Europe, will open undreamed of markets for your meat, your wheat, and your cotton. Politically, moreover, a victorious Hitler will be your best ally against the threat of hemisphere domination by the United States.

Unfortunately for those who were prepared to give a sympathetic hearing to such arguments, the deterioration of the chances of a quick German victory has obliged the Nazis to adopt a position of interference which is hard to reconcile with their former attitude of kindly patronizing. In the degree to which increased help from the United States to Great Britain threatened Hitler with ultimate defeat, his main interest in Latin America switched to an unremitting effort to sow unrest with the purpose of creating a diversion of the American effort. Totalitarian intrigues soon began to crystallize in a way that stirred a reaction on the part of non-fascist elements in the population and in several countries obliged the governments to take a more belligerent stand against the propaganda of the Axis powers. In the course of a year public opinion has experienced a remarkable evolution, much like that which has taken place in the United States.

Today, from Buenos Aires to Mexico the conviction is overwhelming that a Hitler victory would have deep and pernicious effects on the fate of Latin America. It is possible that exports to Europe would recover their previous volume and even go beyond, but business would be carried on only on the terms that Nazi Germany would condescend to allow.

To some extent this German domination, based on a potential victory, has already asserted itself. As early as 1936, in fact, the Nazis succeeded in drawing Brazil into a commercial agreement calling for the exchange of surplus coffee, hides, and cotton for chemicals and hardware. The deal proved beneficial to Germany and harmful to Brazil, in the one-sided tradition of all Nazi barter arrangements. Hitler had to rely on the Integralists, or Brazilian Nazis, to put the deal across, and he had to contend with the opposition of courageous anti-fascists, like Menotta de Pichia, who were still able to challenge the Vargas regime. With Hitler victorious in Europe, such commercial agreements will not even call for discussion. They will be imposed.

Nor, on the basis of past evidence, is it reasonable to suppose that such commercial relations would leave room for political independence. In the case of the Nazis, trade is followed by the flag rather than the reverse; and the flag in this case means the Gestapo and all those devices of conquest which respectable Nazi tradesmen intro-

Senator Wheeler, Please Note

"Latin America—we shall create a new Germany there. We have a right to this continent. . . . We require two movements abroad, a loyal and a revolutionary one. Do you think that's so difficult? I think we are capable of it. We should not be here otherwise. We shall not land troops like William the Conqueror and gain Brazil by the strength of arms. Our weapons are not visible ones. It will be a simple matter for me to produce unrest and revolts in the United States so that these gentry will have their hands full with their own affairs. We shall soon have storm troopers in America . . . we shall have men whom degenerate Yankeeedom will not be able to challenge." (From Hitler's "Mein Kampf"; as cited by Rauschnig in "The Voice of Destruction.")

duced into Norway and the Low Countries by way of preparation for the ultimate arrival of parachutists and Panzer divisions. Among the very business men who would enjoy the favors of German commercial "protection" Hitler would find the financiers and supporters of this Fifth Column. He might well start by drawing a South American republic into the New Order—for example, Brazil, which is already far along on the Nazi highroad. From there he could extend his influence by the simple device of giving the other countries of the continent a choice between economic subjugation and eventual ruin. A series of totalitarian *putsches* would then be perpetrated to finish the last vestiges of democracy—and Simon Bolivar's dream of a strong, free, united Hispanic America would fade into oblivion.

But this Nazification of Latin America would place it in open conflict with the United States. Left alone in the struggle against Hitler, this country would find itself justified in adopting toward a German-controlled Latin America a more or less interventionist attitude. "Yankee domination" would become self-defense. It would be difficult even for anti-imperialists in the United States to expect this country to remain indifferent while Hitler transformed one Latin-American country after another into bases for intrigue, and eventual attack, against the democracy of the Western Hemisphere and against the United States itself. In the life-and-death fight between a victorious Germany and a United States determined to bar Nazi insanity from this part of the world, the Latin-American countries would become a gigantic battlefield.

The alternative to this dark outlook lies in the common interest of the two Americas in a victory for democracy. It is only through the defeat of Hitler and of everything

that Hitlerism would mean as it grew and became permanent, that a policy of solidarity and of understanding could grow up between the Americas and put an end to the old differences and resentments. To this end it is essential that the Latin-American countries do not feel themselves placed in a position of having to choose between two evils. Particularly dangerous from this standpoint is the kind of talk which recently crystallized in Henry Luce's pronouncement on the "American Century," in which the United States is pictured as ruling the world of tomorrow. Any hint of an attempt at hegemony in that sense would arouse in the rest of the continent the strongest apprehension.

Going further, a healthy policy of inter-continental cooperation must take into account the by-no-means unreasonable sensitivities of Latin Americans. I know how irritated they are that their best men of science and their best writers remain unnoticed in the United States. Latin America has men of great value. It has always had them. A little capital like San Jose, Costa Rica, has a group of intellectuals that would do honor to any country. It was they who on the eve of the last Pan-American conference signed the courageous manifesto protesting the insolence of the German Minister who had openly attempted to induce the Parliament of Costa Rica to sabotage the Havana conference.

As far back as 1916 Georg Brandes, the great Danish literary critic, told me in Copenhagen that the first person in the New World who had become interested in his work was a Colombian—Señor Baldomero Sanin Cano. Still living in Bogota, Señor Cano is one of the best critics of our time, but I doubt whether there are more than six persons in this country who have heard of him. Nor have Latin-American scientists received the recognition they deserve. American magazines and publishing houses accept articles and books by European authors of doubtful merit, while superior writers and scholars of Latin America remain neglected.

This state of affairs has created a national susceptibility to German propaganda which the Nazis have known well how to exploit. In such an atmosphere of rooted mistrust, to speak of an "American Century" limited to the United States is to show a gross lack of perception.

A still greater mistake would be to underestimate the deep democratic feeling that pulses in the masses of Latin America, even in those countries where dictators enjoy the support of American high finance. Every battle for freedom—regardless of where it was fought—has won a generous response from the people of Latin America. We Spanish Republicans could forget only with great difficulty how the America of our language and of our blood was, in its heart, on our side during our titanic fight. The day the Republic was finally defeated was everywhere in Latin America a day of despair and sorrow. Naturally that fact escaped the attention of those who

confound Argentina with the Jockey Club and El Circulo de Armas, or Colombia with the antechamber of the Archbishop of Bogota. Only in reactionary circles, where the Nevile Hendersons of the democratic nations used to move, was Franco the great favorite, as Hitler is today.

The Nazis know how to use the lasting influence of Spain for their attempts at totalitarian penetration in Latin America, but their task will be extremely arduous without the unrestricted cooperation of the Spanish Falanx. Today Hitler can hardly rely on the Italian fascist groups to recruit sympathizers for the Axis. In some countries—Argentina and Brazil—the Black Shirts outnumber the Brown, and in other places, like Peru, Italian economic domination is greater than German, but the continuous defeats suffered by the armies of Graziani and Cavallero have considerably cooled the propagandistic ardor of Il Duce's followers. Mussolini's chief appeal now is to the cabaret singers, who have found in him an inexhaustible subject for caustic humor.

The hunger and terror that now prevail in Franco's Spain hardly give the Falangists a platform from which to address themselves with any authority to anybody. But the Spanish Falanx throughout Latin America is composed of people who have easy access to high society, who enjoy the advantage of speaking Spanish, and whose many relatives in the country allow them to move in circles in which national policies are decided. The appointment of Serrano Suñer, the chief and soul of the Spanish Falanx, as Foreign Minister has greatly favored the work of this branch of Hitler's Fifth Column. Spanish legations and Spanish consulates in Latin America today are mainly centers of Falanx activity conducted by agitators who serve Hitler. When a Nazi diplomat is obliged to leave his post, as in the case of Dr. Otto Langmann in Montevideo, agents of the Spanish Falanx take his place and continue his subversive work.

Officials of the Falanx in Latin America, whether engaged in social aid or in promoting new football teams, have to swear an oath of allegiance to Franco. They must blindly follow orders from Madrid, where Señor Jimenez Arnau, national representative of the foreign department of the Falanx, is entrusted with the delicate task of assuring the closest collaboration between Falangists and Nazis in the former Spanish empire. Arnau has full powers to appoint and discharge his subordinates in Latin America. On December 19, 1939, he named Genaro Riestra as leader of the Cuban Falanx, although the Cuban Ministry of the Interior had already issued a decree outlawing that organization. A week later he dismissed Rafael Cuyos, provincial leader of the Argentinian Falanx, for "lack of initiative and of genuine Falangist spirit."

During the past months the Falanx has been working very hard in Latin America in favor of the so-called "Latin Bloc" (the most religious-minded Falangists pre-

fer to speak of it as a "Catholic Bloc"), which would flourish under the benediction of Pius XII. Of Spanish origin is the idea of a union of the totalitarian or half-totalitarian Latin nations, including Belgium, France, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, under a symbol more attractive to Catholics than the swastika, which would assure at the same time the support of Latin America. During his stay as ambassador to Fascist Spain, Marshal Pétain was maneuvered in this direction. The high Spanish clergy, undoubtedly acting on instructions from Rome, converted him to the idea of a vast Catholic bloc to oppose Nazi Germany in the event that a victorious Hitler should treat the Vatican too harshly.

Nevertheless, Phalanx propaganda in Latin America in support of the Catholic Bloc is to be viewed not as opposition to Hitler but as one more factor in the general struggle against democracy. For the Phalanx the two major enemies are Great Britain and the United States. A Catholic Bloc would complete the anti-British as well as the anti-Yankee front. All those in Latin America who resent the Nazi persecution of Catholics in Germany and Poland, and who consequently reject the thought of marching behind Hitler, could thus be incorporated into a far-reaching movement which accepted fascist principles as the basis of future society without, at the same time, accepting the leadership of Berlin. This is an extremely dangerous maneuver which needs to be watched

with the same vigilant attention as the talk of a "negotiated peace."

Latin America is by now aware that its fate depends largely on the outcome of the battle being waged in Europe and Africa. In some places the danger is more visible, more imminent, than in others; and the powers of resistance are weaker. National pride is a factor in minimizing the peril. To some Latin Americans it seems a disgraceful confession to admit the existence of a fifth column—as though it were one of those maladies which forbid discussion and must remain a closely guarded family secret. But the common man, in Latin America as elsewhere, realizes what endless paths of horror would open before him should Nazism succeed in infesting his country, and he knows how to counter-attack. A few weeks ago in Rosario (Argentina), a crowd rushed into a theater where Nazi sympathizers were holding a meeting, and in five minutes the show was over. Such indications of the public temper have lately become frequent.

It is this strong feeling for freedom, rooted in the masses of Latin America, that promises the greatest hope of a real inter-American defense against totalitarian penetration of the Western Hemisphere. In Latin America, as everywhere else, the fight against fascism cannot be entrusted to the half-fascists, to the defeatists, or to the appeasers, but only to those with an iron determination to liquidate Hitler and his works forever.

Imperialism, Old and New

BY ALBERT VITON

MUCH of the confusion in contemporary political thinking must be attributed to the tendency to use the same words to describe realities which, in spite of outward resemblance, are fundamentally different. British conquest and rule of "backward" peoples is called imperialism and Hitler's conquest and exploitation of "*minderwertige*" ("inferior") peoples is likewise called imperialism. What is more natural, then, than to equate the two? And to arrive at the conclusion that since this war is a struggle between rival imperialisms, there is little reason to support one side or the other? It is a struggle between an old, satiated, perhaps degenerate, imperialism and a vigorous, rising new one.

No doubt there is a hard kernel of truth in this analysis. Hitler is too cynical a nationalist to fight a world war for ideological reasons. German policy in Hungary, Rumania, Norway, and other countries shows boldly Hitler's utter contempt for his foreign ideological fellow-travelers. He has used his fascist followers abroad

not as propagandists of a faith but as instruments in his policy of German domination. Berlin had no scruples about coming to terms with Carol after he had liquidated Codreanu and scores of other fascist leaders (it was Carol, in fact, who rejected the German advances), and the Nazis unhesitatingly betrayed their Hungarian disciples the moment it became evident that more could be had from the feudal, aristocratic Teleki government. Nor are the British fighting merely for ideological reasons. They are fighting for their own liberties and they are fighting to preserve the empire that makes them a great power.

This view of the struggle, however, has only a limited validity, for it ignores the wider implications. Concentrating on one small fraction of reality, it distorts the whole picture almost beyond recognition. The plain fact is that not all imperialisms are alike. There are fundamental differences which make some less of a social evil than others. There is a distinct type of imperialism, like

the Spanish and Portuguese varieties, which might be called agrarian or feudal imperialism; French imperialism stands somewhere between this type and the kind of capitalistic imperialism developed by the Dutch and, to a far greater extent, by the British, who have added to it a democratic element almost completely absent in even the Dutch type; and within recent years there has emerged a totally new type which is best exemplified by German imperialism. The difference between these various types is not only one of degree of exploitation and oppression; the difference, I submit, is one of kind. Fascist imperialism is not only more cruel, more reactionary, and more oppressive than capitalistic imperialism, not to speak of capitalist-democratic imperialism; it is a throwback to primitive, barbarian exploitation, administered with all the efficiency of the Total State.

The evils of capitalist imperialism are obvious. It is inevitable that private profit should be its motive; hence low wages, horrible working conditions, the lack of interest in social services. Narrowly interpreted, capitalist imperialism can be almost as oppressive and as exploiting as the feudal type. The policies which the Belgian King Leopold I used to develop the Congo are a good example. There is no need to describe here the outrageous cruelties perpetrated on the natives, the inhuman exploitation, and the systematic terror of Leopold's Congo officials; anyone interested will find all the facts in the work of Morel, Hinde, Olivier, and others. And from an immediate capitalistic point of view, the Congo administration was a success. The Crown domain, Leopold's personal estate, produced a net profit of \$16,000,000 during the ten years from 1896 through 1905. But fortunately for the natives, this type of imperialism is, in the not-too-long run, simply bad capitalism. It is self-defeating. What were the results of Leopold's reign of terror? The Congo was turned into a desert and a cemetery. Its population of 20 to 30 millions declined by 1908 to 8.5 millions. Thickly populated, well-cultivated regions were turned into arid wastes. But deserts do not produce dividends nor do corpses consume cotton goods and trinkets. After a few years of holocaust the country ceased to produce and became a liability. It has never recovered.

The British learned early the lesson the Belgians had to learn so painfully. They learned that far more can be extracted from the colonies by moderate, continuous exploitation of labor and natural resources than by robbing them of their accumulated wealth, which amounts to little enough. Moreover, they discovered that productive human beings yield profits not only by their labor but by purchasing the manufactured goods of Britain. They realized that it was to their interest not merely to have a large supply of reasonably contented labor, but to increase the productiveness of their subjects and to raise their standard of living. Only the British

Nazi Imperialism Points With Pride

"Germany has in her protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia not only established peace and order, but above all, has laid the foundation for a new economic prosperity and increasing understanding between the two nations. England still has much to accomplish before she can point to similar results in her protectorate in Palestine."
Adolf Hitler in a speech delivered October 6, 1939, as quoted in *Facts in Review*, October 14.

"The Nordic race has a right to rule the world. We must make this right the guiding star of our foreign policy." (Hitler in a letter to Otto Strasser, May 21, 1930.)

have known how to make an empire pay over the years.

It cannot be denied, moreover, that in some ways the natives have benefited from the British system. The standard of living has usually risen, although far too slowly; the processes of justice have been made available to all; education by precept and example has in the more primitive countries raised the native moral and cultural level; population generally has increased—much more rapidly, in fact, than has been good altogether.

Egypt offers an excellent example of the comparative benefits of capitalist imperialism, even when unenlightened by humanitarian social consideration. Sir Evelyn Baring (later Lord Cromer) was no doubt greatly concerned with protecting the interests of European holders of Egyptian securities. That was why he was sent there. But he soon discovered that Egypt could not be put on its feet without fundamental changes in its social and cultural structure. He found the country bankrupt and in chaos. The irrigation system—Egypt's life-bearing channels—was in a sad state of decay. Public works were almost solely for ostentation (the Khedive had built an opera with money borrowed at usurious rates and regularly engaged expensive European artists). Production was at a low ebb. Fellaheen were flogged with the rhinoceros whip, subjected to various kinds of *corvée* (forced labor), and brutally oppressed by tax-gatherers. Within an incredibly short period after his arrival Cromer had not merely assured regular interest payments to the European bond-holding swindlers (Britain was in no way responsible for the murderous debts) but was able to undertake a series of highly remunerative public works. *Corvée* and rhinoceros whip were abolished and corruption was reduced; and the life of the peasantry was considerably improved.

There is no need to attribute humanitarian motives

to the great consul, although I am convinced that a purely materialistic interpretation fails to do him justice. Even if Cromer was primarily interested in safeguarding the income of European bondholders, in making jobs for deserving Englishmen, in increasing Egypt's production of cotton to feed Lancashire's mills, and in creating markets for British goods, the fact still remains that the great masses of Egyptians benefited from his immense, highly competent, and, from a personal point of view, unselfish labors. Production increased rapidly; import figures more than doubled; social services were improved and made available to the poorest; the tyranny alike of the pashas and officials was curbed. Above all, the idea of equality before the law—a revolutionary concept in the East—and equitable treatment in the distribution of water were established. Egypt is still dreadfully poor and the standard of living for 90 per cent of the population is still lower than an American can imagine; but conditions today simply cannot be compared with those prevailing when Baring first arrived.

The trouble has been that even Britain has not realized the full potentialities of capitalistic imperialism. The private interests of individual capitalists were made synonymous with the interests of the nation, to the detriment of both Britain and the native peoples. Low wages, lack of social development, and the laissez-faire doctrine which has been traditional with the Colonial Office have prevented Britain no less than the colonies from realizing the promises of the British system. Whereas the highly developed Dominions take annually £4 10s. worth of British goods per head of population, in the colonies and India each person has been able to purchase British goods only to the value of 4s. 3d.

But Britain, aside from being a capitalistic country, has also been a democracy. This factor has played a far more impressive role in British imperial history than is generally realized. Freedom of speech and press in Britain has meant that reformers, humanitarians, and socialists have been able to carry on propaganda against the inevitable abuses of colonial rule. In no other imperialist country has it been so easy to arouse public opinion and legislature against the deeds of colonial agents. Once aroused, Parliament was able to make its weight felt. Dozens of investigating commissions have been sent out in response to popular and parliamentary criticism; and as often as not they have made no attempt to camouflage the ugly realities.

Nor have the British limited freedom of speech and press to themselves. Colonials have enjoyed a surprising amount of both, and it has stood them in good stead. True, the amount of freedom available to Nigeria, Ceylon, or India cannot be compared with freedom as understood in this country; neither, however, can it be compared with the tyranny maintained by the French,

Dutch, and other imperial powers. A newspaper has to call pretty openly for riot before the British will take action.

The far-reaching effects of these policies are obvious. The fact is that only British colonies have developed healthy political nationalist movements and have come to within measurable distance of self-government. It should not be forgotten that Gandhi, Nehru, and most of the other Indian leaders are the products of British education and training. Seeley and other nineteenth-century British thinkers pointed out that the greatest disadvantage of imperialist rule is that it destroys native self-respect and the capacity for self-government. We know now that this has not happened in the British colonies, primarily because the British permitted a considerable amount of freedom. All major colonial reform movements were born in Britain. Westminster was first (excepting Denmark, which did not count) to outlaw the slave trade. Slavery itself was first prohibited in the British Empire, as was forced labor for private purposes—a monstrous evil which continues to this day in certain colonial possessions.

All this does not mean for a moment that imperialism is justifiable or that it can become the altruistic, humanitarian, and progressive thing which its exponents say it is. Imperialism is inherently anti-democratic, socially static, and culturally sterile. Its oft-proclaimed promises will not be realized until it reforms itself out of existence. Fortunately British imperialism has begun to do just that.

It is precisely this promise of reforming itself out of existence that is the most hopeful feature of British imperialism. British imperialists have always proclaimed self-government to be the ultimate development of their rule. The day India demands free European political institutions "will be the proudest day in English history," Macaulay exclaimed at the end of his speech on the government of India in 1833. Again and again British statesmen have upheld self-government as the natural fruition of their rule. The promise has been all too slow of fulfilment; but it has not been a vain hope. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Eire, Egypt, and Iraq are evidence of that.

From the comparatively enlightened policies of the British Empire to fascist imperialism is indeed a far cry. None of the fundamental ideas which determined the lines of development of the empire operate in the German scheme. Like British imperialism, it inevitably follows the socio-economic pattern established at home. That pattern is fundamentally different from the liberal capitalistic pattern we have known, and its colonial policy will be just as different.

Fascist society is based on war. Both the economic organization and the social structure are carefully adapted to that end. Not only can a completely planned economy be operated best under conditions of permanent total

mobilization but a militarization of society is considered by fascist theoreticians a good thing in itself—even if there are no wars to fight. In an economy organized for war, the standard of living must be kept to the barest minimum, and even then it is doubtful whether the economy can yield enough for permanent military needs. A large part of the productive man-power, moreover, will always be removed from production, while women, as befits a military society, will find their fulfillment not in the productive world, but as consumers at home. Total organization, in addition, requires a tremendous number of officials, supervisors, coordinators, administrators of all sorts, thus further reducing the number of men actually engaged in production. Fascist economy therefore faces an inherent difficulty. It cannot satisfy more than the barest needs of its population while maintaining a completely militarized, collectivized society; but failure to maintain such a permanent military state means the certain doom of the system.

That is the fascist dilemma; and imperialism is the basic solution—an imperialism governed completely by the military economy of the governing country. The conquered peoples will deliver the fruits of their labor not simply for the benefit of profit-seekers, but to feed a vast military machine and to maintain a tolerable standard of living for the "master race." The natural resources of the conquered territories will be exploited by hordes of slaves. Since the military machine in the metropolitan country removes millions of men from production, millions of conquered natives must be imported to perform the most menial tasks in agriculture and industry. As Hitler told Rauschning, the fascists will not repeat the errors of private capitalists, "who misused industry in the service of progress." They will use it as an "instrument not of progress but of dominion. It requires to be used as a means of dominion." "Following the enslavement of subjected races," Hitler openly avowed in "Mein Kampf," the Aryan will control "their practical ability according to his command and his will and for his aims."

There is no need to dwell here on the inhuman oppression practiced by the Italians in Libya and by the Nazis in the recently conquered territories of Europe. There is no need to tell here the monstrous tale of Nazi cruelties in Poland, where tens, probably hundreds, of thousands of peasants have been driven from the soil their ancestors have cultivated for centuries; to describe the fate of farmers and workers removed by force to the Reich, where their labor-power is exploited while they are degraded to the position of pariahs; or of leaders exterminated by the hundred to crush forever the morale of a nation. I need not analyze here the systematic campaigns against all intellectuals in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Holland, and other territories, where libraries have been closed and books burned, where most of the universities have been dissolved and even high schools closed, where

writers, teachers, doctors, lawyers have been hunted, thrown in concentration camps, and often murdered. But I must point out that far from being aberrations due to peculiar war conditions, these practices are in reality an essential part of the new imperialism. Only by practicing these forms of oppression can fascist imperialism degrade the conquered peoples to the plane of serfs and slaves and thereby fulfill its essential economic function.

Just as capitalistic imperialism was affected and modified by the liberal-democratic culture of the governing countries, so the new imperialism is determined not only by fundamental economic considerations but by the cultural pattern as well. Basic in the new system is the concept of a hierarchy of races—a concept totally absent from the liberal-democratic scheme. British imperialists have certainly not been energetic in preparing their colonial wards for self-rule and independence, but even the most rabid British imperialists did not deny the theoretical equality of human beings, did not set up an immutable racial hierarchy, or claim that non-British peoples were inherently incapable of self-rule.

The decline and disappearance of democratic-capitalistic imperialism was foreseen by most students of the problem before the rise of fascism. Even in the early years of this century Hobson charted with much erudition and insight the inevitable course of its downfall. The fascist powers, if victorious, will give imperialism a new lease of life, and by all indications it will become an imperialism infinitely more brutal, more oppressive, than capitalist imperialism has been during the past century and a half. Nor will it have the saving grace of working toward its own extinction.

We Promise You Slavery. . . .

"We will introduce in our new 'living space' completely new methods. All soil and industrial property of inhabitants of non-German origin will be confiscated without exception and distributed primarily among the worthy members of the party and soldiers who were accorded honors for bravery in this war. Thus, a new aristocracy of German masters [Herrenvolk] will be created. This aristocracy will have slaves assigned to it, these slaves to be their property and to consist of landless non-German nationals. . . . German masters, accustomed to command and, in cases of necessity, to strike inconsiderately where striking is necessary, will be fine pillars to uphold Germany's rule of the world." (Richard-Walther Darré, German Minister of Agriculture; in a private speech delivered last May, reported in the New York Times, December 6.)

Revolution by Consent

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

THE destruction of Mussolini and Hitler is essential to the salvation of Europe. But we shall not understand this war if we attribute its coming solely to the malevolence of these evil men. This war is more truly the second act in a vast world-drama on which the curtain went up on August 4, 1914. It is, in part, a struggle for world-dominion between old empires and new; in that sense those are right who speak of it as an "imperialist" war. But it is not an imperialist war merely. It is also a declaration of bankruptcy on the part of capitalist civilization. It is the proof that the operation of the profit-making motive can no longer produce either a just or a peaceful society. It proves that the forces of privilege stand in the way of that access to the potentialities science has now made possible for us; that, unless their power is arrested now, they will destroy, to preserve themselves, all the democratic institutions and procedures of freedom which have struggled so painfully to recognition in the last four centuries.

Anyone who examines either the aims or the record of Hitler and Mussolini is entitled to conclude that those who oppose them stand, by comparison, for liberty and democracy. There are ugly and evil things in our way of life; unjust things also. But there is nothing so ugly, so evil, or so unjust as the basic principles upon which the dictatorial systems are built. I can therefore understand why their overthrow seems to many in itself a sufficient end. But I am bound to remark that their overthrow will not, in itself, end the causes which led to their emergence; and that, unless we seek to deal with those causes, we shall find ourselves confronted by precisely the same grim issue about which we are fighting today. It is not enough to want victory; it is essential to want victory for ends that make possible an enduring peace. Those ends involve the need to reorganize the foundations of our social order.

The essence of fascism, whether in its German or its Italian form, is the use of the outlaw by the privileged to defend themselves against the demand of the masses for justice. That demand is made when the contraction of the economic system brings out the inherent contradiction between the forces of production and its relations. When a society reaches this point, capitalist principles cannot operate so as to satisfy the established expectations of the masses; and the latter then seek to use their political power to reorganize economic institutions. Their claims then become a threat to privilege; and its possessors, panic-stricken at the prospect of its loss, turn to the

outlaws for protection against the threat. The outlaws then take over the state-power. But since they cannot, without a wholesale reorganization of property-relations, any more satisfy the masses than their predecessors, they are compelled to dictatorship in order to stifle protest. What is more, they are compelled to military adventure; for it is the inescapable necessity of all dictatorship to seek in foreign conquest the means of relief from domestic grievance.

The central problem for our rulers is that they should understand in time that we have reached an epoch certain to be as decisive in its results as that which saw the fall of Rome, or that which, with the Reformation, witnessed the rise of the middle class to power. We have now to plan the economic and social foundations of our life in the interest of the whole community, or to relapse into a new dark age in which the outlaws everywhere will rule us. A system which frustrates the possibilities of science, which condemns millions to poverty and ignorance, which maintains its authority by methods which are too often an outrage on human decency, cannot expect to secure for that authority the allegiance of millions who have no interest in its continuance.

Does anyone expect the working class of Poland to fight for the return of the Becks and the Lubomirskis? Are the Rumanians likely to attack their new German masters that they may return to the yoke of King Carol and Madam Lupescu? Will the Italians rise against Mussolini to restore that inept ballet of group-maneuvers in which Giolitti was the chief performer? Frenchmen are not likely to turn on the Pétain regime for a system in which the Two Hundred Families were driven into headlong panic and anger by social reforms as mild as those of the Blum government. And the masses of Britain will not be content with a victory which leaves the gains of life still to the Westminsters and the Bedfords, while the men and women of London and Coventry and Jarrow have no heritage but its toil. Our problem is whether we can use the dramatic opportunity of war to lay the foundations of a new social order.

My argument is not that military victory is impossible save on these terms; it is rather that, otherwise, military victory will solve none of the problems before us. This approach, I think, has two immense advantages. In the first place, it offers the prospect of a more just society; in that prospect there are hope and exhilaration, and these create that power to endure which is so vital in the

present struggle. In the second place, it enables Britain to put before the peoples of Europe, above all before the victims of the dictators, the pattern of a social order with the promise of which neither Mussolini nor Hitler can hope to compete. Thereby England builds for itself an army of allies who, as the war deepens, will find no prospect of hope save in its victory; who will, as Britain moves to the offensive, become, as it were, the spearhead of its attack. Our task, this is to say, is the preparation of that European Revolution in which the overthrow of Hitler and Mussolini makes possible an epoch of creative liberation.

The power of the dictators is built upon terror and victory; but terror can only maintain its authority by a continued success which destroys hope in its victims. My argument is that we can break the legend of their success, in part by showing that they can actually be conquered, and, in part, by the idea we place behind our military effort, by diverting to ourselves the allegiance men are compelled to give them. I am pleading, in fact, for an offensive of the mind and spirit parallel with the offensive of arms. I am arguing that we can shatter the psychological hold of the dictators upon their subjects by making the end our victory will serve seem to them the one road to a better way of life.

They do not feel certain that this is the case today. They will only be made to feel certain as our cause establishes its *bona fides* with them. This it will not do by the easy rhetoric of promises to be fulfilled when the war is over. It will do so only as they see that we really mean what our rhetoric is pledged to perform; and we can only give them that insight by the performance of the promises in which we seek to make them believe. In war the deed is the word. If we claim to be fighting for democracy and freedom, what better way is there of proving our claim than to broaden and deepen *in the midst of war* the democracy and freedom that we have?

I do not want to underestimate the magnitude of the changes this policy will eventually imply; obviously they are very great. They will mean, in the long run, a new social faith, a transvaluation of all values. I know, too, that to ask for their initiation by consent, as I am now doing, is to ask for the display of a magnanimity which is one of the rarest qualities in history. I ask for it, never-

theless, on two grounds. I ask for it, first, because, in any profound way, we cannot win the war without it; and I ask for it, in the second place, because there is no other way to the creative use of victory.

When we have beaten our enemies, we have to win their cooperation in the common task if our lives are not to be a perpetual nightmare. To end this war without the psychological basis of international stability is to have fought it in vain. Our task, if we can, is to find a common ground between parties which will enable us to effect necessary social change in terms of consent. To do so, we have to adjust vitally the relation of the forces of production to the existing ownership of its instruments. If we fail to do so, all the pre-war problems will descend upon us with redoubled force; and the costs of the war will greatly diminish our ability to solve them.

More than this. We have aroused expectations of social justice. We have exacted immense sacrifices, above all from the poor. We have praised the capacity of the common people heroically to endure immense sufferings, and we have promised them the reward of that endurance. We shall have to pay the bills for these. Either we pay them with the understanding that to meet them generously is no more than justice; or, if that understanding is absent, we shall move rapidly to a position where the differences between men on matters of social constitution cannot be accommodated in terms of reason.

If that tragedy occurs, we shall have thrown our victory away. For, on the domestic side, we shall have fought to maintain a democratic system without organizing the conditions in which it has the opportunity to function effectively. And, on the international side, internecine conflict here will be so grave a preoccupation that we shall lack the power and the energy to preside over that European reconstruction in which our leadership will be so obviously essential.

There is a remark of Peter Kropotkin's which offers us the formula that we need. "A revolution," he wrote,¹ "must from its inception be an act of justice to the ill-treated and the oppressed, and not a promise to perform this act of reparation later on. If not, it is sure to fail." That is the answer to those who want social reform to wait until after the war. We cannot afford to let it wait, simply because its initiation now is an essential part of the strategy of victory.

I recognize that we cannot embark upon a program which endangers the unity of the nation. I recognize too that the claims of totalitarian war mean that we can initiate only the beginning of fundamental change, and that the process will have to be spread over long years of peace. I urge that there are two circumstances which make the present moment a singularly propitious one

¹ I owe this quotation to Mr. T. R. Fyvel's brilliant book, "The Malady and the Vision" (1940), p. 116.



Ernest Bevin

for this adventure. The first is that war itself has compelled profound changes and so induced a mood in the nation that is prepared for great experiment. Crisis always breaks the cake of custom; and it is folly not to take advantage of the mood while it lasts.

The second circumstance is not less important. The formation of the Churchill government was not merely the replacement of one statesman by another. It was also the deliberate association of the organized workers of this country with the war effort; and it cannot be assumed that, in accepting that association, their leaders abandoned the principles which led them to accept the view that a victory over Hitler and Mussolini is essential. I do not for a moment claim that the Labor leaders are entitled to exact for their support the enactment of the Labor Party's program; granted our constitutional principles, that would obviously be an impossible demand. But I do urge that they cannot be asked to lend the vital support they bring merely to enable the Conservative Party to maintain the *status quo* as of September 3, 1939. They are entitled to ask for those changes which at once enable the war to be won, in that profounder sense that we are attaching to victory, and prevent its aftermath from degenerating into a sordid domestic struggle in which the fruits of a military victory for democracy are thrown away. They may, that is to say, legitimately demand now the discovery of that plane of political action which fulfills the conditions of an enduring peace. They are entitled to ask for its discovery now because the common people are now paying the grim costs of the war; and because the new mood of the public is so largely the outcome of the faith and energy the common people have put into the national effort.

If this attitude be accepted, it seems to me that we have at least the large outlines of a basis upon which to build. Obviously enough, in a war of which the detailed contours alter every day, no government can be expected, in the international sphere, to attempt to do more than lay down the general principles with which it will approach a settlement. Its end is enduring peace, and this is incompatible with the power of any nation-state to threaten by aggression the security of its neighbors. This must mean an international order the members of which abandon their claim to sovereignty, and agree that all matters of common concern shall be matters also of common decision. It is, I think, clear that the executive organ of that international order must control all armaments, especially aviation. It is clear, further, that tariffs, currency, migration, the standards of labor, the right of access to raw materials, and the use of colonial possessions are matters of common concern in which no state can exercise sovereign powers. In the light, further, of the years between 1919 and 1939, the power in the international authority to protect, under sanctions, the

Labor Minister Bevin Says:

"It is better to leave the masses untaught than to give them a double appetite, both of stomach and head, and then not to satisfy either. Things can never be as they were. The old age has passed. A new age has to be built." (November 21, 1940.)

"Britain and her allies are determined to produce a just order in Europe and to recreate it on the basis of freedom, free association, and equality. We will never tolerate again masses of unemployed or poverty. We will not recognize privilege or place. A juster scheme of things is our main aim." (October 27, 1940.)

"If a boy from a secondary school can save us in a Spitfire, the same brain can be turned to produce a new world." (October 10, 1940.)

rights both of national and of religious minorities, and of individual citizens, so that there is, to take a single illustration, something akin to an international writ of *habeas corpus*, must be established beyond a peradventure. Great Britain must undertake to see that these principles are written into the peace settlement; that it is a settlement freely negotiated between equals; that its acceptability is not destroyed by either punitive indemnities or punitive annexations. And it is urgent to make it understood that, whatever the form of constitution in any state, its essential institutions must not violate the vested procedures of freedom. I should like to see Great Britain pledge the utmost it can afford from its resources to the reconstruction of stricken Europe; and I should like to see an emphasis from its leaders that, subject to the primary rights of their own inhabitants, it is willing to place those of its colonies not yet ready for self-government under international mandate.

Further than these general principles in the international field, it does not seem to me possible as yet to go; we cannot penetrate the hidden veil of the future to speak with confidence either upon the form of international institutions or upon the details in which the application of these general principles will be clothed. But already, by such principles, we are offering to Europe cooperation with national freedom as against the Nazi ideal of a European unity that is built upon the slavery of the vanquished to the victors. The new imperialism, in short, of which Hitler and Mussolini are the protagonists, must be met by our abandonment of that imperialism which regards colonial peoples as the fit subject of economic exploitation. And, if we accept this as desir-

able, we must come to the peace conference with clean hands. We do not do so while India is a plaintiff before the bar of history demanding a right to self-government which we persistently refuse to recognize.

I cite India only as a symbol of the larger imperial problem; I add only that our good name before the world seems to me bound up with some such approach as this. But it is our handling of certain domestic issues which seems to me central to the future of the world. If we handle them wisely, we can, I think, as certainly lead the world in social and economic reconstruction today as we led it in and after the eighteenth century. If we fail to handle them wisely, whatever the military outcome of the war, we shall drift rapidly to social revolution in this country. We shall then have lost the war, since, if social revolution supervenes, it will be impossible to maintain the fabric of democratic institutions; and if they are destroyed here, they will, believe me, be destroyed all over the world.

What are we entitled to ask for from this government in the sphere of social and economic change which offers hope and exhilaration to the people and safeguards us, in the post-war period, against the danger that the forces of privilege will prefer their vested interests to those changes which are obviously required.

We need, I suggest, the recognition of five principles. We require the organization of a sector of industry, the content of which is vital to the national life, which is removed from the hazards of the profit-making motive. In that sector belong today the mechanism of national credit, coal and electric power, transport, and the ownership of the land. We need, second, a radical transformation of our educational system. We should abolish the present class division of the schools; and we should, at long last, establish free secondary education for all. It is important, moreover, to increase the opportunities of further training at the university level. We need, thirdly, a great extension of the public health system with special attention to the problems of nutrition. We need, fourthly, full safeguards that, after the war, the immense issues connected with the rehousing of the population shall not be left to the discretion of the ground-landlord and the speculative builder. We need, finally, the assurance that economic planning after the war will safeguard us against the recurrence of mass unemployment and those distressed areas which, like Jarrow, have been so long a grim reproach to the quality of our statesmanship.

It is said that the forces of privilege in this country will never accept a program of this magnitude. Those who take this view may be right. If that is the case, two inferences follow. The first is the simple one that, like the comparable class in France, the forces of privilege care more for their vested interests than they do for democracy. If they are unwilling to yield principles which

provide the key to victory, then the inference also follows that, after the war, they will fight for their privileges against the demands of the masses; sooner or later, and sooner, I think, rather than later, that means social conflict in this country and, with its coming, the end of democracy. I do not assume for a moment that in such a conflict the popular forces would be successful. I only point out that, if they were defeated, we should ourselves become a fascist society and that we should then have fought a war for democracy in vain. Even if the popular forces won, a period would be inevitable in which democratic institutions would have to be suspended; and obvious contemporary analogies suggest that the price for their suspension is a grim and heavy one.

Such a program as I have suggested would begin, peacefully, the readjustment of the relations of production to the forces of production. It calls neither for the proscription of persons nor the expropriation of property. It provides the time for that psychological readjustment to great innovation which offers the surest basis for the avoidance of conflict. It would begin, in a real way, the mitigation of what Professor Tawney has called our "religion of inequality."

I do not say that without this program we shall not win; indeed, I accept the view that a world in which Hitler and Mussolini are overthrown is, of itself, a better world. But I do say that to overthrow them for so great an end as this program implies is to begin one of those great ages of expansion in which the spirit of man finds the opportunity of creative liberation. For this program goes to the root of the problem out of which the war came: it offers a real and continuous prospect of raising the standard of life of the masses. By setting our own house in order in a democratic way, I believe we not only serve our own best interests; we also set an example to others which, as our enemies begin to feel the weight of our power, they will not be slow to follow. "War," said Edmund Burke, "never leaves where it found a nation." Those who find unacceptable a program of this kind have at least the obligation to provide an alternative.

One final word may be said. I have argued that there is need for a European revolution and that it is the historic mission of Great Britain to inaugurate its coming. To many the idea of revolution is inherently a terrifying one; there is no path they will not tread in the effort to evade its onset. The answer to their fear is a simple one: the revolution is, in any case, unavoidable. By the fact that we have embarked upon war with the fascist states, its coming is assured; the only questions to be raised are whether its birth-pangs can be abridged and its purpose made beneficent. If the victory of this country were to be set in the perspective I have described, I think that abridgement and that beneficence can be secured; without it, I believe we shall enter upon an era as dark as any in the human record.

Economy for a New World

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

ALEXANDER the Great, world conqueror and self-ordained god, when asked to unravel the Gordian Knot, slashed it through with his sword. Today Hitler offers a similar absolutist solution for the riddles of our tangled civilization. He would cure the curse of national egotisms by subjecting the world to one super-national egotism; he would end economic insecurity by reducing "inferior" classes and races to the status of human livestock. Our struggle now is to arrest his sword but, that achieved, we must set patiently to work to untie the knot into which the strands of society have been twisted, lest some new adventurer should once again offer the world a short cut.

What are the aims which must guide the builders of peace? No one, I think, has summed them up more completely than President Roosevelt, who, in his Annual Message to Congress on January 6, said:

We look forward to a world founded on four essential human freedoms: The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a worldwide reduction of armaments to such a point in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

Mr. Roosevelt's declaration emphasizes that peace and economic security are indivisible. There cannot be social peace within a democratic society in which large sections of the population have votes but not enough to eat; there cannot be international peace in a world sharply divided between Have and Have-Not nations. Thus it is hopeless to discuss the restoration of peace in purely political terms. That was the cardinal error of Versailles, which politically did represent an attempt to provide independence for all major national groups in Europe and did succeed in leaving fewer minorities under alien control than ever before. What it overlooked was the fact that a self-determining unit is not the same thing as a self-supporting unit; it took no steps to prevent the building of new economic barriers at the very moment when advances in technology were insistently demanding wider spheres of action. Had Europe in 1919 been

united in one great free-trade area it is just conceivable that its already-decaying capitalism would have received a new lease of life and that, after a comparatively short period of adjustment, a period of economic development might have followed, comparable to that enjoyed by the United States in the nineteenth century.

Be that as it may, during the past twenty years or so economic organization, national and international, has been so violently distorted that laissez-faire could not provide even a temporary cure. The chronic alcoholic suddenly bereft of all stimulants suffers a complete nervous collapse. Checked by tariffs, quotas, embargoes, and exchange manipulations, international trade has ceased to be a means of widening the benefits of the division of labor and degenerated to a weapon. Under cover of these and other protective devices, private enterprise escaped from the discipline of competition, which was its basic economic justification, to snatch the forbidden fruit of monopoly. But, since that involved a futile effort to maintain profits by restricted production, it led to widespread unemployment and to an irresistible popular demand for government intervention. In Germany and Italy the monopolists sought to solve their dilemma by buying protection from gangsters only to find that after they had obtained relief from democratic pressure they themselves had to submit to involuntary servitude. In the Western democracies, the crisis was cushioned by greater accumulated wealth and stronger constitutional traditions, but here we encounter the phenomenon of the investor who has become allergic to risks and prizes liquidity above dividends.

With private enterprise already partially atrophied as a method of procuring the optimum production and distribution of wealth, we can hardly expect it to show greater resilience at the end of the war. The economics of modern warfare cannot be engined by the profit motive except by resorting to inflation and so enabling the government, with its inexhaustible buying power, to outbid private consumers in attracting to its service all the production it requires. This was the method largely relied upon in the last war and the results were hardly propitious even from the capitalist point of view. Today it would involve an even greater degree of inflation, since the necessities of war demand a still greater proportion of national production. Thus even Britain has almost completely abandoned "business as usual" and is now operating a planned economy.

Can such planning be discarded when the world is

able to turn to the economic problems of peace and reconstruction? Can we rely on the profit motive to rebuild the cities that have been shattered, to restore communications, to return the millions of refugees or resettle them in new homes, and to provide a secure existence for all so that international peace is not broken by civil strife? Even the staunchest defender of private enterprise, even Mr. Mark Sullivan, would answer that there must be some measure of government intervention, some degree of centralized planning, and, I would add, the relegation of private property rights to a place of secondary importance.

Let me illustrate by considering briefly the problems involved in rebuilding London and other British cities. The task is not merely to restore them as they were but to seize the opportunity to rid them of slums and to make them efficient for modern living, and that means replanning on a grand scale. This cannot be accomplished by leaving private builders the right to erect those structures which offer the best profit nor by permitting landowners to retain sites needed for improvements. Obviously the British authorities will have to resort to wholesale condemnation, and in the interests of speed, efficiency, and fairness they may well decide to nationalize all urban land with pre-war values as the basis of compensation.

Now turn to a far broader question: By what method is the capital needed to replace the ravages of war in Europe to be obtained? Leaving aside the possibility of American loans, it is obvious that such capital must be

found in the margin of current production over current consumption and, in order to ensure that this margin is adequate, it will probably be necessary to continue to curtail spending power, just as it is now held down in order to free resources for war purposes. Under the orthodox mechanisms of capitalism this end would be achieved by depressing wages, thus enabling the owners of capital to accumulate larger profits for the purpose of making new investments. Both wage-earners and capitalists would sacrifice present consumption but the sacrifice of the former would be as permanent as the gain of the latter.

In the democratic Europe which we hope to see after the war, I cannot believe that such a distribution of the burdens of reconstruction will be tolerated. It will therefore be necessary for the state to finance reconstruction as it now finances destruction. This would mean the continuance of high rates of taxation; it would probably also mean that maintenance of wage-rates would have to be accompanied by some form of compulsory savings such as J. M. Keynes has proposed as a means of financing the war. The end result of these measures would be that the capital of the country adopting them would tend to pass into the hands (a) of the state as trustee for the community as a whole, (b) of wage- and salary-earners, thus gradually producing a more even distribution of wealth. But it would not necessarily mean the extinction of private enterprise, which, I believe, should find in the future democratic state a broad but not boundless sphere of activities. To be more precise, while utilities, natural



THINGS TO COME

monopolies, such as mines, and key industries, such as steel, seem to me to call for public ownership, the supply of goods and services in regard to which the individual taste of the consumer is an important factor might with advantage be left to the private entrepreneur. And, in this connection, I am willing to concede that *widely distributed* private property can be a bulwark of democracy so long as the privileges attached to it are not allowed to override proven public interests.

This discussion may seem to some readers to have strayed rather far from the field of international economic organization. But we cannot solve the problem of the Have and Have-Not nations while leaving unsettled that of the Have and Have-Not classes. Nearly all of the many schemes now current for promoting peace among nations stress the necessity for the surrender of national claims to absolute sovereignty. We must realize, however, that assertions of absolute sovereignty are to a large extent bound up with conceptions of property as a sacred right. Does not almost every industry in every country look upon the home market as its *Lebensraum* which must be protected from outsiders? And, as Harold Laski has pointed out in "Where Do We Go From Here?" the effort to maintain "the uneasy equilibrium between capitalism and democracy" lies behind the imperialist struggle for new markets.

The advocates of Union Now do not, in my opinion, sufficiently take into account the obstacles to their objectives provided by the present economic organization of the democratic states. They seem to regard international anarchy as a cause, rather than an effect, of the disorders of capitalism and thus tend to repeat the mistake of the Versailles treaty-makers by relying too exclusively on political cures. Mr. Streit's original proposal was for a federation composed of the United States, Great Britain, the British Dominions, and the democracies of Western Europe. Now the last group is either overrun or hemmed in by the Axis, and this leaves only the English-speaking peoples as immediate prospects for Union Now. Its proponents, however, are prepared to go ahead on this basis, leaving the way open for new adherents if and when they regain their freedom. The draft constitution for the "Union of the Free," which Mr. Streit has published, is practically identical with that of the United States, including the Bill of Rights. As Mr. Streit rightly points out, this is a "time-tested" document. Its authors were truly men of vision who contrived to allow for a growth beyond their own imaginings. Yet it is a document which reflects the political and economic ideas of its time, and its elasticity has been severely strained in attempting to cope with the problems of twentieth-century America.

I cannot avoid the feeling, therefore, that any constitution for a wider-flung democracy, while incorporat-

ing many of the basic principles of America's Founding Fathers, must also take cognizance of the need for a new economic order. We must retain our charter of political liberties but to it must be added an economic Bill of Rights which will proclaim the inalienable right of every citizen to a job at a living wage and declare the right to enjoy property not as unlimited but as subordinate to the common weal. The achievement of an Anglo-American union at this time, even if based on the substantial maintenance of the present social and economic order, might appear as a shattering reply to the totalitarian powers. Yet it is arguable that from this point of view too the proposal is dangerous, for it would lend real force to the Nazi claim that Anglo-American plutocracy is seeking to perpetuate its monopoly of world resources. We must oppose Hitler's New Order with something more attractive, more reassuring, to the common man throughout the world, with a new democracy which will vastly extend the blessings of security and equality of opportunity.

Despite these criticisms of Union Now, I believe its basic principles to be thoroughly sound. A wide, open-ended federation of nations in which the participants will merge an agreed part of their several sovereignties is the only solution for the clash of national egotisms. "Federate or Perish" is truly the watchword but federation must supply the framework for a new social order for the world, just as the Constitution of 1789 supplied a framework for progress in terms of the frontier society of its day. In the growing number of supporters of Union Now there are many ardent advocates of an economic revolution by consent. Recently I talked with the head of Federal Union, the autonomous British organization which was inspired by Mr. Streit's work. He told me that it was working on a new program which buttressed the federal idea with concrete proposals for more effective democratic political machinery and for a recasting of the economic system to provide for greater security and a higher degree of social justice. That is a move along the road which, I believe, must be followed.

It is possible here to suggest only an outline of the division of economic functions in a federation of states designed to achieve the aims outlined in President Roosevelt's declaration. The first care of the federal government of such a union will be the regulation of interstate commerce. Some writers on this subject have suggested that existing barriers will have to be removed gradually so as to ease the strain on protected producer groups. But Hitler's methods have already made nonsense of tariff systems in Europe and, although they have not freed trade in Europe, they have made clear the costly futility of selling without buying. Moreover, the end of the war will bring a tremendous demand for goods in famine-stricken Europe and it will be far easier

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to satisfy this efficiently if internal free trade is introduced immediately.

A second important federal function will be the provision of a reserve bank linking the central banks of the various states which, in Europe, are already either state-owned or closely controlled. It would be the business of this federal institution to ensure an even distribution of credit to various parts of the union, making available the surplus savings of one area to meet excess demands in another. It will also be necessary to organize a federal investment bank for the purpose of financing long-term projects and in particular to promote the development of the more backward districts.

Another formidable task will be the reorganization of interstate communications. Parts of Europe are woefully deficient in transport facilities, and existing systems have all too often been inspired by strategic rather than economic considerations. Repairing the ravages of war in this field will be an enormous job, and one that will provide a unique opportunity to create a coordinated system of highways, railroads, waterways, and airways.

Other federal economic functions would include the interstate connection of public utilities, the control and eventual socialization of interstate monopolies, and the supervision of colonies. A federal constitution insuring peace and a federal economy for maintaining production near capacity would afford the participating countries a standard of living hitherto unknown. Consider how economic development has been throttled in the past twenty years: by armaments, which even in peacetime swallow from 10 to 50 per cent of national incomes; by drives for self-sufficiency, involving the production of *ersatz* goods at three or four times the cost of imports in terms of labor effort; and by tariffs, which everywhere have undercut purchasing power by forcing it into dear markets.

There are those who gladly agree that federation would be a good thing for Europe but question the advantages of American membership. To such doubters I can only offer here two brief arguments. The inclusion of the United States in a post-war federal union with all or part of Europe would give this country moral leadership by virtue of its advanced political and economic development and it would remove for all time the danger of a clash should a United States of Europe, on which we had turned our back, struggle to maturity in isolation. From the economic angle it would mean the availability of a field of investment, politically safeguarded, which would bring new life to our capital goods industries. And the ensuing era of prosperity would enable the social and economic adjustments, which we must make under any circumstances, to be carried through with a minimum of strain. The opportunity awaits us if we have the imagination and daring to grasp it; we can take the lead in loosening the Gordian knot which is choking the life out of our civilization.

Fighting Chance for a Sick Society

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE Western world was very sick before Hitlerism appeared as both an aggravation of its diseases and a false cure. The defeat of Nazism alone will therefore not guarantee new health and strength to the structure of Western society. It will, however, usher in a period of convalescence in which the new moral power and resolution, gained from victorious combat with a mortal enemy, will at least partially offset the physical fatigue in which the patient will have been left by the fevers and exertions of this tragic period.

There are bound to be new crises and new sinking spells in this period of convalescence in which false cures or meaningless palliatives might lead to fresh disasters. But there will be at least a possibility of nursing the residual health of a sick society back to normal vitality. So tentative a hope can prompt only the very stout-hearted to resist what all expect to be a terrible ordeal and what some regard as the prelude to the death of our civilization. The weaker members of our community seek escape from this choice by abandoning themselves to delirious dreams of a health which is not in the realm of possibilities. These dreams are unfortunately a part of the process of decay. They reveal the broken will-power and the befuddled mind which is out of touch with realities. They make death more painless and more inevitable by mistaking the drugged sleep which precedes it for new health and joy.

Yet if Hitler is defeated matters will not be too hopeless, for the simple reason that such a defeat will not have come about unless what is decent in our society has been strengthened and some of our weaknesses eliminated in the very process. If we survive at all as a society of free men, our survival itself will prove that we have learned how to correct at least some of our weaknesses. It will be possible then to build upon that achievement.

The domestic economy of all the democratic nations has been an anarchy of competing economic interests in which the eighteenth century dream of a "natural" equilibrium of economic forces has given way to a horrible daylight reality. The reality comprises elements of both anarchy and tyranny. The anarchy is the chaos of "private" interests at war with one another and unable to comprehend or to realize the common welfare; the tyrannical elements are derived from the centralization of economic power, by which industrial overlords wield a more irresponsible and a more absolute authority than the agrarian overlords whom they supplanted. The most vivid symbol of the injustice, which is the fruit of this

tyranny, is the pathetic army of unemployed in every modern nation. What is left of the health of our society lies in the relative justice which a democratic political state has been able to impose upon a partially chaotic and partially tyrannical economic scheme.

Hitler's false alternative to this combination of anarchy and tyranny is a franker, more brutal, and more efficient tyranny. The irresponsible authority of economic overlords is annulled in favor of an even more irresponsible political overlordship, which does, however, have the advantage of being able to plan for the whole of the national community. The short-range effectiveness of such a political and economic unity is great enough to threaten the democratic nations with disaster. (Thyssen could not defy the national authority with impunity, but Henry Ford can.) In France the chaos of private interest and the resentment of the working classes against the injustices of this chaos were great enough to cause the defeat of the nation. Chamberlain's Britain stood on the brink of defeat for the same reasons. It escaped disaster because the disintegrating forces of modern capitalism were qualified there partly by vestigial remnants of feudalism (of which Churchill is the symbol) and partly by achievements in democratic justice (of which Bevin's authority and prestige are a convenient index). Our own achievements in democratic justice are probably somewhere between France's failure and Britain's partial success.

Certainly the war cannot be won if a greater degree of national unity does not supplant the still high measure of confusion incident upon the power of "private" enterprise to thwart a common effort; and such unity will be without justice if it is achieved by giving economic overlords more power over labor. Hence the importance of resisting all efforts to increase the power of big business in the name of efficiency in a national emergency,

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and the equal necessity of resisting labor disaffection when it is prompted by Communist loyalty to a nation allied with the Nazis. The fact that the disaffection of workers should be partly expressed and guided by a political party ostensibly opposed to Nazism but actually cooperating with it is one symptom of the moral confusion of our civilization.

If we survive at all, then, we will survive because we will have achieved some measure of unity with justice while facing the threat of a nation tyrannically unified. The efficiency of the democracies may actually remain inferior but the advantage in superior morale may prove decisive. Nevertheless, a victory would not permanently solve our domestic problems, because the unity by which it would be achieved would be partly the consequence of facing a common peril. Class antagonisms will break out afresh after the war and we shall still face the problem of bringing anarchic and tyrannical economic power under control without creating a tyrannical political power. There is no easy solution for this problem. There is, in fact, no one solution for it. If its complexities discourage us, we may be consoled by the thought that we will at least have eliminated two false solutions in the process of achieving a victory over Nazism and its impotent Communist ally.

We face a similar situation in the international issues of the Western world. Our disease is international anarchy. Hitlerism is in one sense an accentuation of that disease because it raises the principle of the moral autonomy of the nation, which lies at the root of international anarchy, into the ultimate principle of politics. It is, in another sense, a false cure for the disease. The nation which began by declaring that it knew no law but its own will, must end by seeking to impose that will as law upon all surrounding nations. We know that life is too robust and multifarious to accept such a tyrannical unification of the nations in the long run. But we do not yet know how successful it may be in the short run; and to what degree a technically efficient monopoly of violence and of industrial skill may be able to overcome the disintegrating tendencies of injustice.

It is a fact, at any rate, that this monstrous New Order has gained victory after victory over a motley assemblage of small and large nations, each of which followed only its immediate interests and faced only its immediate perils and allowed the monster to quiet the fears of one nation by false assurances while it devoured the liberties of another. Nothing now stands between us and disaster but the willingness and ability of Britain and America to subordinate national interest to a common purpose. If Hitler is defeated it will mean that some measure of international anarchy will have been overcome in the very process of defeating him.

Yet it must be observed that, as in the field of domestic politics, our victory will be incomplete and our

solution imperfect. The problem of creating an international organization with enough power at the center to prevent disintegration and at the same time instruments of democratic control adequate to prevent imperialistic corruption is one of the most vexing and urgent to which men have ever addressed themselves. It will not be easily solved and our only encouragement must be derived from the knowledge that, in this instance, history has eliminated three false solutions: that of the Nazis, the Communists, and the men of Versailles-Geneva.

For America the problem is complicated by the fact that a way must be found to assume limited responsibilities for the democratic unification of Europe and wider responsibilities for the integration of world politics. We are not a European nation and not subject to its immediate perils; yet history has taught us that we are not finally immune to the disaster which emerges from European anarchy. A way must be found to do justice to both our immediate distance from Europe and our ultimate nearness to all its problems. If the first factor is left out of consideration by a too consistent internationalism America will repeat the experience of the last post-war years and will recoil from its larger responsibilities in a psychosis of isolationism. This very psychosis, a legacy of our past mistake, is still so deep that it may yet prevent the victory over Hitlerism which we are now assuming. If the second factor is left out of account the second world war will have been as vain as the first and American irresponsibility will bear a large share of the guilt.

As in the economic and political spheres, so also in the cultural, Nazism is both an accentuation of a diseased state and a false cure. The bourgeois world, accustomed to the covert forms of power which prevail in the economic, as against the political and military world, and to the "bloodless" manner in which the struggle for survival takes place in the realm of commerce, had long given itself to the illusion that history was the record of the gradual "spiritualization" of man and that a bourgeois civilization was on the very threshold of sublimating the problem of achieving unity and justice between men and nations into an exercise of moral suasion and rational calculation. It was forgotten that life is vitality as well as reason, that an equilibrium of vitality is involved in every achievement of justice and that every tension between life and life and interest and interest may, and even must in the final instance, become an overt contest between power and power.

To these illusions the Nazi glorification of force is a horrible alternative. Life does not justify itself merely by its power any more than rational harmonies of justice establish themselves without the use of power. The illusions of a liberal world on this score have been stubborn enough to contribute to both the rise and the quick triumphs of Nazism. Marxism took an intermediary position between Nazism and liberalism. It was provisionally

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cynical in the use of power and ultimately utopian in its belief that all power could be transcended. Under the stress of contemporary history this compromise has disintegrated. The Socialists tended to fall back into purely liberal and pacifist illusions; the Communists extended the provisional cynicism of Marxism until it became practically identical with the more basic cynicism of the Nazis.

If these illusions go by the boards—and they will have to if there is to be any victory over Hitler—this also will be only a tentative achievement. Western culture will still have to find a social philosophy which avoids the

pitfalls of a rationalistic utopianism on the one hand and a cynical glorification of power on the other. No new world order can be achieved without the social organization of power in economic, political, and military terms. If our fear of imperialism and political power is so great that we blindly insist on utopia as an alternative we will end by getting chaos. Neither can a just world order be achieved without providing every possible check upon central power and every possible method of holding the vitalities of men and nations in equipoise. If that is not understood our "new order" will not differ too much from its Nazi alternative.

Labor's Stake in a Victory

BY GEORGE S. COUNTS

FROM the standpoint of labor the triumph of Hitler would be utterly disastrous. For the most part labor sees this and sees it clearly. Only a few Communist-led unions and an occasional disgruntled or personally ambitious leader affect to view the outcome of the present struggle with indifference.

To labor, this war is profoundly unlike the last. In 1914 it was not easy for many in the labor movement to choose between Germany and Austria-Hungary, on the one side, and Britain, France, and Russia, on the other. At that time Germany was at least as enlightened a country as any of its opponents. Its trade-union movement was powerful, welfare legislation was far advanced, and social democracy was a force to be reckoned with. In contrast, Russia was a land of poverty, ignorance, and tyranny. The first world war was essentially and clearly an imperialistic war in the nineteenth-century sense—a war for markets, colonies, and "spheres of influence." Although the empires in conflict differed in their moral and political ideas, the good and the right were by no means on one side.

The present conflict, by contrast, has an ethical quality that has rarely distinguished the wars of history. It cannot be interpreted as involving merely, or preponderantly, the readjustment of the boundaries of nations. The outstanding fact in this epoch is the rise of the totalitarian state with its complete subordination of the individual, its worship of race or class, its crushing of all voluntary organizations and movements, its glorification of war as man's noblest pursuit. American labor cannot be insensitive to the fact that the leaders of German trade-unionism and German democracy are either dead, in exile, or rotting in concentration camps, whereas representatives of all divisions of British labor are free and active, some of them holding positions of highest rank in the govern-

ment and others permitted openly to oppose the war—even in Parliament itself. If Hitler wins, the free labor movement will be exterminated throughout the Old World; if Britain wins, that movement will lift its head again in lands where it has been crushed.

A Hitler victory, however, will mean far more than the destruction of the labor movement in Europe. It will mean the destruction of the great heritage out of which the labor movement has come. It will mean the destruction of all that is best in Western culture—the Judaic-Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man, the humanistic faith in the human mind, the democratic affirmation that ordinary men and women can and should rule themselves.

It would seem obvious that American labor must be deeply concerned in preventing such a catastrophe, yet some who presume to speak for labor contend that Britain is far away, that the United States is strong, that the fall of Britain would not necessarily mean the end of American independence. All of this, of course, may be true and still not justify American labor in reconciling itself to a Nazi victory. For in the event of such an outcome, the course of American history would be radically altered. Even if the people of the United States should continue to cherish ideals of human liberty, they would be compelled to become a great military nation or perish. They would have to arm to the teeth, build and maintain unrivaled naval and air fleets, make conscription permanent, turn schools and all other agencies of education and opinion to the cultivation of the military mind and morals. Moreover, if Nazi arms and Nazi ideas should triumph, they would achieve immeasurably greater authority than they possess today and would form a pattern to be imitated in every land. The free labor movement of America might conceivably survive the disappearance of

its counterparts in the rest of the world but the hostility toward trade-unionism on the part of the fascist states on whose terms we would carry on trade, the compulsion to lower standards of living to support a gigantic arms program, and the necessity of competing in a world of slave labor would seem to make that hope a slim one.

The responsibility of American labor in this situation is twofold: first, to throw its energies and idealism into the task of defending American democracy against the threat of totalitarian aggression from abroad; and second, to guard, strengthen, and extend democracy at home. If the majority opinion on the consequences of a Hitler victory is correct, the first of these responsibilities cannot be evaded. On the other hand, if American democracy is not to be inadvertently lost in meeting the threat from totalitarian arms, the second must be just as conscientiously discharged.

The struggle for democracy on the home front must be waged with relentless vigor and determination. This is necessary as a purely defensive measure. People will fight best in the name of democracy only if they know that they possess its substance. But the point must also be stressed that in a highly dynamic period like the present nothing stands still. Everything either advances or retreats. And so it is with democracy. A defeat for Nazism will open the way to a more democratic world only if we will it so. That is why no blueprint of a Nazi-free world is possible, but only a program for action designed to make a defeat of Hitler a guarantee of better things to come.

The first and most fundamental point in such a program is the strengthening of organized labor as a free and independent force in American society. Under the pressure of the demand for total military defense, powerful reactionary interests are endeavoring now, and will continue to endeavor, to bring labor under state control. In the name of national unity, but actually for the sake of profits, legislation calculated to take away rights which working people have achieved through a century of bitter struggle is already being vigorously pushed by employing and fascist-minded groups. This totalitarian tendency must be combatted at all costs and at every point. The incorporation of the labor movement into the state is one of the stigmata of contemporary dictatorship.

This perversion of the defense program does not call, however, for a negative response from labor. It calls for an increased share by labor in the shaping of all public policies and particularly all policies pertaining to defense. With the enormous expansion it has enjoyed under the Roosevelt Administration, organized labor has come of age. The time has arrived for it to insist that its voice be heard on all decisions of importance to the country. If these decisions are to be made in terms of democratic purposes, the viewpoint of the working people must be ably and vigorously presented. In a very

profound sense the voice of labor today is the voice of democracy.

The third point in the program is the maintenance of decent living standards for all the people, and here again the pressure to scrap hard-won achievements is intense. All efforts to reduce wages, to impair working conditions, to abandon health and safety regulations, to lower actual purchasing power, to weaken security and pension rights must be resisted. But labor cannot be satisfied with mere resistance to attacks on living and working standards. It must take the offensive. For millions of working people in all parts of the country and in all divisions of the economy, those standards are altogether too low to serve as a defense of democracy. They must not only be maintained; they must be raised.

In spite of the burden of military defense which the nation is assuming, these standards can be raised. This brings the argument to the fourth point of the program. Careful studies of the productive capacity of the economy over a period of twenty years demonstrate conclusively that the American people are living far below what is already possible, that they stand in the vestibule of an economy of abundance. The forces of democracy must insist on the full employment of labor, on the release of the productive energies of industrial technology, on the direction of these energies to the improvement of

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the lot of the common man. If, in the course of the struggle now developing in the world, it should become necessary for labor to make material sacrifices to insure victory for the ways of freedom, labor would unquestionably be willing to make such sacrifices. It always has. But until full use is made of available energies and resources, standards should be maintained, increased, and made more generally applicable.

The fifth point in the program is the framing of a system of taxation deliberately designed to prevent the further concentration of wealth. War and the conditions of war have always been occasions for the making of profits and fortunes. The crowning irony of the present struggle for democracy would be the continued whittling away of the economic foundations of freedom and security for the masses of the people. The only method of forestalling this, short of widespread socialization of business enterprise, is a plan of taxation which would actually take the profits out of war. Labor must insist that the President be held to his pledge that no millionaire will emerge out of the defense program. Where business refuses to put its service at the disposal of the nation the only course left to a democracy is some form of government operation.

The maintenance and extension of public education and all social services constitute a sixth point in the program. Today a concerted nation-wide drive to reduce school budgets is under way—a drive that is backed by big tax-payers who desire to protect their economic interests and by reactionary elements in society who, fearing an enlightened people, oppose the establishment of a comprehensive and adequate system of education. Particularly important is the necessity of further equalizing educational opportunity so that there will be no underprivileged generation in any section, class, race, or minority of the nation. Only liberal grants from the federal government will make this possible.

Closely related to the extension of educational opportunity is the defense of civil rights and liberties for all. In this sphere Britain has set an example which America should follow. Although the English people are facing dangers unsurpassed in history, they have upheld with remarkable courage and loyalty the highest standards of the liberal tradition. Without the guarantees of free speech, press, assembly, organization, and petition, the democratic process becomes a farce. And without this process of untrammelled discussion, criticism, and group decision, there can be no assurance of the perpetuation of free institutions. The suppression of the Bill of Rights, even for a period, is a dangerous step in the direction of the totalitarian state. Labor cannot afford to be caught napping on this crucial issue.

Defense of civil liberties does not imply, however, that labor should be tolerant of totalitarian encroachments in its own ranks, whether from the right or the

left. It is of course natural for organizations of working people to oppose all fascist and Nazi tendencies. They must also oppose every effort on the part of the Communist Party to insinuate itself into their organizations and to impose its line on their decisions. Nothing could be more fraudulent than the "defense of human liberty" by the followers of a dictator, whether that dictator resides in the United States or a foreign land. All who enter the lists for democracy should be asked to show their credentials.

The ninth point in the program is preparation to meet the economic dislocation following the war. That such dislocations, deep and widespread, will come is as certain as death and taxes. Labor should be ready to meet them. Even if the American people succeed in remaining out of the armed conflict, the collapse of the war markets will carry with it a collapse of the entire war industry. If millions of working people are not to be thrown on the streets, if the economy is not to enter a period of general paralysis, provision will have to be made for enlarging peacetime industries sufficiently to provide employment for all. Labor should undertake immediately the studies necessary to the framing of a plan to achieve this end.

Finally, there is the vast and intricate problem of social reconstruction which has faced every industrial nation since the opening of the present century and which was made acute and chronic by the first world war. Labor must give thought and direction to the correction of those domestic and world conditions out of which the totalitarian movements and states emerged. The defeat of Hitler, crucial though it is to the survival of even the ideas of liberty and democracy, would be futile if it did not lead to a stable and just social order. Here lies the supreme challenge of the contemporary struggle to organized labor and all friends of democracy.

CONTRIBUTORS

KONRAD HEIDEN, for many years one of the foremost staff writers of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, is the author of the first history of National Socialism and of a biography of Adolf Hitler.

WALTER MILLIS writes editorials on foreign policy for the New York *Herald Tribune*. He is the author of "The Martial Spirit" and "The Road to War," and, more recently, of "Why Europe Fights," a study of the period from the close of the last war to the outbreak of the present one.

JULIO ALVAREZ DEL VAYO was Foreign Minister of the Spanish republic during the civil war. Before that he was one of Europe's outstanding journalists, having been Spanish correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*

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and the Buenos Aires *Nacion*. His most recent book, "Freedom's Battle," is an analysis of the Spanish war.

ALBERT VITON, formerly THE NATION's correspondent in the Near East, now teaches at the University of Chicago. He is the author of "Great Britain: An Empire in Transition."

HAROLD J. LASKI, one of Great Britain's leading political thinkers, is a professor at the London School of Economics. His article in this issue of THE NATION is based on a lecture he recently delivered to the Fabian Society.

KEITH HUTCHISON, formerly financial specialist and editorial writer on the London staff of the New York *Herald Tribune*, is now associate editor of THE NATION.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of Applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary, is chairman of the American Friends of German Freedom and editor of "Christianity and Crisis."

GEORGE S. COUNTS is president of the American Federation of Teachers and professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University.

THE UNSIGNED DRAWINGS in this issue are by David Low, famous cartoonist for the London *Daily Express*.

THIS SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT was planned and edited by Robert Bendiner.

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The Shape of Things

RUSSIA'S RESTATEMENT OF ITS TREATY OF friendship with Turkey and its promise of complete neutrality should Turkey be attacked and obliged to enter the war, represents another cautious but significant move by Moscow to check the German advance towards the Dardanelles. Like the recent Soviet rebuke to Bulgaria it avoids a direct challenge to Hitler but it does convey a warning. For the Turks it constitutes a real encouragement to resist Nazi encroachments by relieving them of anxiety about their backdoor in the Caucasus region should the German armies begin pounding at the front. It may mean further a prospect of Soviet "aid-short-of-war" if and when hostilities break out. The agreement is also important to Britain whose alliance with Turkey has been limited by an "escape clause" excusing the latter from any action embroiling it with Russia. In the negotiations leading up to the new declaration Sir Stafford Cripps, British Ambassador to Moscow, is believed to have played an important part, thus achieving, after a long uphill struggle, a genuine diplomatic triumph. According to persistent but as yet unconfirmed reports, Russia's efforts to impede the Nazi conquest of the Balkans include a ban on oil shipments promulgated the day Bulgaria was taken over. There is also reason to suppose that the wave of sabotage in Bulgaria, attributed by the Nazis to the British secret service, is at least partly inspired by Moscow. *

IN CONSENTING TO THE PASSAGE THROUGH the blockade of two ships laden with flour for France, the British government seems to have been motivated chiefly by a desire to please Washington. Its position is that this shipment is exceptional and that the policy of including unoccupied France within the blockaded area must continue. Only if the Vichy government consented to conditions demonstrating its independence of Germany, such as the removal of the French fleet to the colonies, could Britain afford to treat unoccupied France as outside the German military and economic sphere. But when it comes to negotiations along such lines, Pétain and Darlan are not free agents; they must take orders from Berlin, whose representatives are stationed in Vichy

with power to control the activities of the French Foreign Ministry. In its dealings with Ambassador Henry-Haye over the food ships the State Department seems to us to have followed the unrealistic line of treating him as speaking for a fully independent power. This means ignoring mounting evidence that the carefully purged French missions and consulates throughout the world are being assigned tasks on behalf of Germany which it would be inconvenient or impossible for German diplomats to carry out themselves. Vichy's subordinate position has just been underlined again by press attacks on Admiral Leahy. Not only the Paris newspapers, but *l'Illustration*, a national magazine which circulates in unoccupied as well as occupied France, depict Leahy as a plotter and schemer and describe American aid to France as a "profiteering move" engineered by the Jews. When the hand of Goebbels is so plainly shown in France, our government should be chary of philanthropic efforts which can be used to wedge open the blockade door.

★

JAY ALLEN MUST HAVE PICKED UP A peculiarly juicy bit of news in occupied France, to judge by the drastic form of censorship to which it has been subjected. To head off Mr. Allen's potential scoop the occupying authorities have hit on the remarkably simple device of holding the American correspondent in jail until his story goes stale. At least that is the interpretation which the Associated Press puts on the incident, and it is hard to find any other explanation. Mr. Allen's technical offense was the crossing of the boundary between the occupied and unoccupied zones of France without benefit of credentials. Informants tell us that this is done hundreds of times daily and one would hardly suppose that it called for more than a fine or a few days' detention at the worst. In Mr. Allen's case the German officials, dispensing with the formalities of a trial, have sent the offender to prison for "investigation" and indicate that they will keep him there for at least two months.

★

WALTER FUNK, REICH ECONOMICS MINISTER and president of the Reichsbank, has been boasting to the stockholders of that institution about the wonders of German war finance and the international position of German currency. During 1940, he said, the mark so expanded its sphere of influence that today "it practically dominates Europe." That is true. The mark has followed the swastika, and everywhere the peoples of conquered and "protected" countries are forced to accept German currency at such rates of exchange as the Nazis choose to order. This means in every case that the mark is given an inflated value in terms of other currencies, permitting the Germans to buy up cheaply whatever goods are obtainable. After the march into Rumania the former ex-

change rate of 50 leis to the mark was arbitrarily hoisted to 60 leis. The Rumanians are compelled to sell their product for fewer marks than before and even then they cannot use these marks to buy freely in Germany since the German export capacity is far too limited, under war conditions, to permit satisfaction of all foreign demand. Externally, as well as internally, Germany is financing the war by limiting consumption to the barest subsistence level. The Nazis have repudiated the gold standard as, to quote Herr Funk, "an instrument misused for purposes of oppression in the interests of power politics." They have substituted for it the infinitely more oppressive bayonet standard. Whether they will find this efficient for their purposes, except as a means of rounding up existing surpluses, is another matter. They need the agricultural production of all Europe; but farmers offered money which has no exchange value in terms of goods have a way of restricting output to their own consumption—a habit that would be difficult to cure except by the assignment of a policeman to every field, cowshed, and henroost.

★

WHILE MATSUOKA IS IN EUROPE TRYING TO obtain some concrete support for Japan for its long-heralded drive to the south, little may be expected to happen in the Far East. The Japanese have effected another landing north of Hongkong and have occupied two minor ports in that area. But the Chinese countered by reoccupying several towns along the West River front in Kwangtung, and retaking all the positions recently lost to the Japanese on the south bank of the Yangtse, opposite Ichang. Reliable reports indicate that Chiang Kai-shek is awaiting only the delivery of American airplanes before launching a major offensive against the Japanese. The recent appointment of John Earl Baker as director of traffic on the Burma road promises immediate relief with regard to China's knotty transport problem, while the allotment of funds to build a railway to the Burmese border and plans for an additional highway to India should provide a more fundamental solution in 1942 or 1943. Reports that Japan is sending a large army through Thailand to the Burmese border seem to be definitely premature. If such plans existed the recent visit of units of the American fleet to Australia and New Zealand may have encouraged their return to cold storage.

★

A MOVE TOWARD A CONFERENCE BETWEEN British and American labor leaders has been taken by the Steel City Industrial Union Council in Pittsburgh, which has called upon the Congress of Industrial Organizations to communicate "at once" with proper representatives of the British labor movement. The council suggests that spokesmen of British and American labor get together to discuss "American aid to Britain short of war, joint

March 29, 1941

economic and political defense, war aims, and the long-range purposes of the democratic cause." The Pittsburgh group has dispatched copies of its statement to similar groups in other parts of the country, urging that they adopt similar resolutions, and current reports indicate favorable action in a number of localities. It is particularly significant that the move was initiated in Pittsburgh. The industrial council of that city is first of all an important clearing-house for workers in the steel, coal, electrical, and other defense industries, and represents unions with a membership of nearly 100,000. Secondly, it is Philip Murray's own bailiwick and while the resolution does not bear his endorsement, he undoubtedly approves it. Finally, the move is in direct opposition to the Communist clamor about an "imperialist" war and indicates a recognition of labor's prominent role on both sides of the Atlantic. It is an idea that merits the support of all labor and liberal groups.

✱

FIFTY THOUSAND NEW JOBS AND A CUT IN electric rates of 25 per cent are promised New York State in Part VI of the St. Lawrence Survey now being prepared for the Department of Commerce under the direction of N. R. Danielian. It is stated that the project would reverse the decline in manufacturing industry in the state during the past decade. But the more immediate case for the Canadian-American St. Lawrence pact soon to be submitted to Congress was made by Assistant Secretary of State Berle. Berle pointed out that development of the St. Lawrence for both power and navigation had become a defense necessity. Aluminum for planes, chemicals for explosives, and electric furnaces for the new alloys so important in modern armament all require cheap and plentiful power. At the present time we are borrowing power from the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence for American industries, although Canada needs this power badly—now that the Nazi occupation of Norway forces Britain to depend more than ever on Canada for pulp wood, ferro-alloys, and chemicals. Opening of navigation on the St. Lawrence would also make it possible to build ships on the Great Lakes, as we did in the last war. At that time it was necessary, Berle points out, to "cut these ships in two and float them in parts down to Montreal." The railroad and utility lobby, which long blocked development of the St. Lawrence, is in action again, and the vote in Congress will be a clear choice between these private interests and defense.

✱

SENATOR NORRIS'S LETTER TO C. I. O. HEAD Philip Murray and A. F. of L. President William Green calling for action against the exorbitant initiation fees charged by some unions will be heartily endorsed by friends of labor throughout the country. Although the practice is not as widespread as the public has been led

to believe, no one will dispute the essential accuracy of the facts as cited by the veteran Nebraska Senator. Some few unions, particularly in the building trades, have long charged excessive initiation fees and monthly dues. This has been done on the theory that the best way to maintain wages and favorable conditions within the industry was to keep down the number of qualified workers. Whatever justification this policy may seem to have had during the depression, it is obviously not applicable to the present period when every skilled worker is needed in defense work. As Senator Norris pointed out, there is no easy remedy for the situation. Practices of this type are controlled by the local unions, many of them of the racketeering variety. Since few, if any, of these are affiliated with the C. I. O., Philip Murray should have no difficulty in throwing the prestige and weight of the C. I. O. against these evils. Mr. Green's position is much more difficult, but it is impossible to believe that the long-delayed drive against racketeering unions within the A. F. of L. would not bear fruit if it were energetically pushed.

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THE INDICTMENT OF MORRIS U. SCHAPPES IS in no sense a violation of his rights as an American citizen. Mr. Schappes is not accused of Communism; he is charged with perjury. And he will have his day in court. He may convince a jury that as a leading Communist on the teaching staff of City College he really believed that there were only four members in the Communist Party's unit at that institution; that from 1938 through 1939 he was the sole member of the party on the campus; that for a year he was sole editor of the unit paper; that he knew of no Communist other than himself who was a member of the teachers' union while he was in the party; and that there was no Communist faction within that union. Even if he doesn't convince the jury that he believed all these statements to be true when he so testified before the Rapp-Coudert committee he will go free unless the state proves that they were untrue and that Schappes knew them to be untrue. All the indictment sets forth is the improbability of his testimony, and a more warranted indictment we can hardly imagine. Nor can we guess why Schappes found it necessary to expose himself to an inevitable prosecution. If his revolutionary conscience forbade his revealing any names, he could have refused to testify altogether. Had he been held in contempt as a result, he could then have defended himself on principle and at worst subjected himself to a minor penalty. Instead he has chosen to spin out a yarn that would tax the most flexible imagination. No doubt it is perfectly fitting for Communists to make such use of public agencies as their revolutionary standards may dictate, but it is equally in keeping for the state to deny them the privilege of perjury which is not extended to ordinary citizens. No doubt the Communists, for all their squawk-

ing, understand this better than the dupes who now come forward to champion Mr. Schappes in the name of academic freedom.

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THE DEATH OF CONSTANCE ROURKE REMOVES one of the most gifted of American critics and historians at a time when her rich research was about to bear fruit in what would surely have been a major and basic work on American culture. She was a scholar of the first order, but she was also one of those rare critics who create as they judge. Sure taste, a strict sense of values, broad knowledge, a remarkable gift of expression, humor, and a capacity for general ideas—these were the tools with which she set out to explore and define the forms of the American imagination. Her underlying purpose was to bring to the American present a greater and more informed awareness of the American past, especially in the arts; for it was her conviction that specific, integrated knowledge and understanding of the past was indispensable to the creative worker in any field. No doubt a way will be found to make available the results of many years of pioneer research and fresh thought along these lines—of which "American Humor" was both prologue and promise. Meanwhile those who knew her will find her death untimely in the most acute personal sense. She was so much more alive than most people that the news of her sudden passing strikes with a double force.

Hitler's Partial Victory

WITH the adherence of Yugoslavia to a modified form of the Tripartite Pact, Hitler has won another diplomatic success. But thanks to a spontaneous outburst of popular opposition, of a kind which is thrilling to see emerge in the browbeaten Balkans, his victory is only partial and may very well prove a Pyrrhic one.

There can be no doubt that what the Nazis wanted from Yugoslavia was an agreement similar to that which they forced upon Bulgaria. They demanded adherence to the Axis, German supervision of military and economic policies, and the right to move troops into and through Yugoslavia. The last item was of immediate importance in the campaign to force Greece to abandon its alliance with Britain, if possible by the methods of cold terror, if necessary by invasion and conquest. It is true that Germany has command of the routes into Greece from Bulgaria. But the best of these, the Struma valley, is a narrow gorge winding through difficult country, offering insufficient space for the easy deployment of a force large enough to overwhelm the Greek defenses rapidly. Conquest by this route might eventually prove possible but it might also prove extremely expensive.

The broad Vardar valley, on the other hand, leading through Yugoslavia direct to Salonika, offers a far more

practicable pathway for a mechanized army, and there can be little doubt that it is this road which the German general staff hoped to follow. But the Belgrade government, for all its fears of Germany, dared not face the consequences of such a surrender of its independence and refused to sign any agreement involving actual occupation of the country. Instead, it finally accepted a compromise by which Yugoslavia would become a limited member of the Axis. It was to receive a guarantee of its territorial integrity and of an outlet to the Aegean. In return it agreed to permit German hospital and munition trains to pass through its territory, to halt all anti-Axis propaganda, and to foster "economic cooperation" by accepting the assistance of German technical experts and granting new concessions to Germany.

Even though German troops were barred, this agreement went a long way toward the complete surrender of Yugoslavia's independence, and when it was put before the full Cabinet for final approval that body split badly. Despite all sorts of pressure, three leading members resigned and their action served to fan into flame anti-Axis sentiment which had long been smoldering throughout the country, and particularly in Old Serbia and Bosnia. Opposition to any kind of surrender to the Axis seems to have united all classes and groups in these sections. The peasants and mountaineers who form the bulk of the population come of a tough and democratic strain. They despise the Italians and hate the Germans, and they have not forgotten that they fought the last war in alliance with Britain and won their independence.

The situation in Croatia and Slovenia is rather different. Apart from some minor fascist groups, there is no evidence of pro-Axis sentiment in these provinces. But they lie to the north and their broad plains are fearfully exposed to invasion. Should it come they will be the first to suffer, for it is known that in the event of war the Yugoslav army, with its poor equipment, could not defend this part of the country. It could only hope to put up a prolonged resistance by withdrawing to the southern and western mountains and resorting to guerrilla tactics.

As the news spreads through the country that the pact with Germany and Italy has been signed, there are likely to be further explosions of popular opinion which may lead to open revolt. Threats of assassination have already been uttered against those members of the government who are known to have advocated adherence to the Axis. There is at least a doubt that the government can count on the army and the police, and it will have enormous difficulties in carrying out the undertaking to suppress anti-Axis sentiment. Nor is it probable that German munition trains will be able to pass through the country unmolested: their advent will almost certainly be the signal for an outburst of sabotage.

This is why we expect Hitler's diplomatic victory will prove a Pyrrhic one. Even the limited degree of coopera-

tion which he is now exacting from Yugoslavia can hardly be obtained unless it is backed by his own troops. Yet any attempt to revise the agreement so as to allow him to provide his own protective forces to guard the railroads will almost certainly provoke the bloody resistance which he has tried to avoid, not for any humanitarian reasons, but because his plans would be impeded by the opening of a second front in the Balkans.

New Mediation Board

THE personnel and set-up of the National Defense Mediation Board represent a victory for Sidney Hillman, associate director of the OPM, for the labor movement, and for the New Deal. It was conceived as a means of stemming the growing reactionary drive for legislative curbs on the right to strike, and friends of labor have every assurance that it will not turn into a strike-breaking instrument. The three public representatives on this board of eleven are men who command wide public confidence and at the same time have demonstrated a liberal point of view. Clarence A. Dykstra, the chairman, has wisely asked to be relieved of his duties as director of Selective Service, a move which should spike the whispers that his appointment to head the mediation board indicated that the Administration was prepared to "draft" workers who did not agree to its decisions. Dr. Dykstra made an excellent record as city manager of Cincinnati and as president of the University of Wisconsin. William H. Davis is a famous patent lawyer whose work in the National Recovery Administration made him many friends in the New Deal. The third public representative, Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, has proved his courage and his liberalism many times in the past. Experience with mediation boards indicates that representatives of both labor and capital tend to vote "a straight ticket" in virtually all disputes, leaving the balance of power and the decision in the hands of the public representatives. We think labor's case will be in good hands on this board.

The labor representatives on the board seem to us excellent. Philip Murray and Thomas Kennedy are both men of practical experience as well as outstanding labor leaders. George M. Harrison, as head of the Railway Clerks, has always shown the progressive outlook we have come to expect from the Brotherhoods. George Meany, now secretary-treasurer of the A. F. of L., may find it easier than some of the older federation leaders to work peacefully with the C. I. O.'s representatives on the board and perhaps together they may informally exert a good influence toward the elimination of jurisdictional strikes.

On the employer side the member about whom we have the greatest misgivings is Roger D. Lapham of the

American-Hawaiian Steamship Company. The American-Hawaiian steamship and pineapple interests have been the very heart of the reactionary bloc on the West Coast. Walter C. Teagle of Standard Oil is certainly no friend of unionism but during the NRA he at least had some experience of working in harness with representatives of government and labor. Cyrus S. Ching of United States Rubber is an enlightened business man of a kind we wish were more plentiful. He has often shown his understanding of, and friendliness toward, the labor movement in the past. Ching played a commendable role in bringing about the settlement of the strike in Bethlehem's Lackawanna plant. Eugene S. Meyer, the fourth employer representative, is a conservative with unexpected streaks of liberalism. The *Washington Post*, which he publishes, was one of the few papers in this country to welcome the Reuther plan. It has a good record on civil liberties and it ran an editorial on March 22 calling Ford's labor position "untenable." "A few large companies," the *Post* said, "are still denying their employees the rights guaranteed to them under the National Labor Relations Act. Wherever that situation exists, the primary responsibility for labor disputes which disrupt or threaten to delay production for defense rests upon the employer." It is a pity that more conservative publications are not willing to do their bit for better industrial relations by making the same admission.

It remains to be pointed out that the new board will not have carte blanche to inject itself into any and every strike. The primary responsibility will remain with the United States Conciliation Service, which has done excellent work in the past. The mediation board will go into action only when Secretary of Labor Perkins has certified that a labor dispute threatens to interfere with defense. In the last war the mediation board headed by William Howard Taft and Frank P. Walsh was an instrument through which labor made many peaceful gains in the shape of increased membership and higher wages. We believe the new board may prove equally useful in reducing strikes and in helping labor to obtain a square deal in industry.

The War at Sea

THE activity of a German battle fleet in the Atlantic—admitted by the British and extolled by the Nazis—ushers in what is perhaps the most crucial phase of the war. Berlin claims that within a few days its surface raiders sank twenty-two armed merchantmen totaling some 116,000 tons, and that an additional 108,000 tons of shipping was destroyed by submarines and airplanes. Undoubtedly these claims are exaggerated. The Nazis have habitually set British losses close to double those admitted in London. But with full allowance for swollen

claims, the situation is undeniably serious. The Admiralty has admitted losses in two weeks of some 240,000 tons of British and Allied shipping. If German reports are any criterion, the total for the coming week will be well above this level. Experts are agreed that Britain cannot continue to suffer losses on this scale if it is to win the war.

As the war spreads into the Balkans, Africa, and, possibly, the Far East, the need for shipping will increase. To transport and supply expeditionary forces of any size requires large numbers of ships. Additional shipping will be needed as Britain's reserves of raw materials and foodstuffs are depleted, and for transporting the increased supplies made available under the Lease-Lend bill. It is obvious that Britain, even with help from the United States, cannot build ships as rapidly as Germany can sink them. At most, construction is estimated at 2,100,000 tons in 1941—utilizing both British and American resources to the utmost. The pace can be stepped up considerably in 1942 and 1943; but Britain's problem is how to get through the next twelve months. To do this it must draw on existing American resources. The United States itself is short of ships at this moment. We are having difficulty obtaining the tin, rubber, and manganese required in our defense industries because of a shortage of vessels. We have already transferred or sold some 1,400,000 tons to Britain since the outbreak of the war—about 20 per cent of our total tonnage. Yet greater sacrifices are clearly called for if our aid to Britain is to be more than a futile gesture.

As a first step the United States is likely to begin shipping supplies destined to Britain as far as Halifax in American ships, cutting several days off each trans-Atlantic journey for British freighters. Arrangements are believed to be under way for repairing British naval ships in American yards, as provided in the Lease-Lend bill, and for arming British merchantmen on this side of the Atlantic. Where the additional needed ships are to come from is not yet wholly clear, but there are 362 vessels in the coastwise service which, with a few exceptions, could be utilized for overseas service. This would place a greater burden on the railroads, but they seem capable of assuming the task. Merely providing additional merchant shipping to be sunk by the Nazis is not, however, an answer to the problem. The crucial question is that of protection. The bridge of ships which the President has called for must be safeguarded if it is to be kept intact. It is evident that Britain has not the resources to do this under present conditions. If our supplies are to reach their destination, the United States must either give direct protection through convoys—which would probably be regarded as an act of war—or provide Great Britain with the cruisers, destroyers, and other light naval units needed to keep the shipping lanes open. Choice between these alternatives cannot long be deferred.

A Bad Housing Bill

AN extraordinarily bad defense-housing bill has passed the House and is up for consideration in the Senate. The bill, known as H. R. 3575, would authorize the Federal Housing Administration to issue federal-guaranteed home mortgages up to a total of \$100,000,000 to builders and contractors. This is a sharp departure from present practice under which federal-guaranteed mortgages are issued only to owner-tenants. It would eliminate for such loans the 10 to 20 per cent down payment now required for the purchase of a house and would raise the interest rate to as much as 6 per cent. The builder is not restricted as to the disposition of these houses.

Strong opposition to the bill in its present form was voiced in the recent hearings before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency by Miss Harriet Elliott, consumer representative on the Defense Commission, and by representatives of the American Federation of Labor. Miss Elliott objected chiefly to the lack of any protection for the prospective purchasers or tenants of the houses to be constructed under this bill. As the measure stands there is nothing to prevent builders from selling the houses at a speculative profit, or from taking advantage of the emergency to rent the houses at exorbitant rates. The increase in interest charges would add to the burden of workers who might get caught in the post-war depression with houses bought at inflated prices.

The A. F. of L. representatives were even more sweeping in their denunciation. They pointed out that the bill offers nothing but possible headaches for workers in the crowded defense centers. If the government does not provide decent housing, it may be taken for granted that private enterprise will use the speculative opportunities to provide housing of a type. Much, if not most of it, will doubtless be of an inferior, shoddy type, and, unless protective legislation is adopted, rents and selling prices will be exorbitant. This measure does not apply to temporary structures, but it provides a bounty for profiteers by offering government-guaranteed mortgages to potential speculators. All risk is removed as far as the lending institution and the speculative builder are concerned because the government assumes the final responsibility.

Fortunately, it is not necessary to kill the bill altogether in order to eliminate its bad features. In view of the urgent shortage of houses in defense areas, private construction should be encouraged—with elementary safeguards for the families for whom the homes are intended. This might be achieved by amendments prohibiting speculative charges in the sale of such houses as well as excessive rentals, and providing that no deficiency judgments could be made against workers living in these houses in the event of default caused by the termination of their employment in defense industries.

What Mr. Knudsen Thinks

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 22

WILLIAM S. KNUDSEN, production chief of the defense program, made an "off the record" speech at a National Press Club luncheon last Wednesday, and it left your correspondent and a few like him in a low state of mind. Washington correspondents are not the browbeaten helots of a kept press; on the contrary, most of them have fewer misgivings about the economic status quo than Lamont—Thomas W., not Corliss. Few of them need to be told in which receptacle to place a Bureau of Labor Statistics release showing that only a third as many days were lost in strikes last year as in the year before we entered the last war. At Press Club affairs there is always more than a sprinkling of advertising executives, lobbyists, and press agents. The faces are the faces one sees at the Rotary Club in Camden, N. J., or the Kiwanis in Davenport, Iowa. A look at them explains why the President's great speech on March 15 evoked substantial applause only at his reference to strikes. Though Mr. Roosevelt was careful to refer to "unnecessary" strikes, I'm sure his audience, in a mood for sacrifice after its \$7.50 dinner, generously assumed that he meant all strikes were unnecessary. Knudsen's speech Wednesday was more to their liking, though a minority of us found it harder to stomach than the Lenten filet of sole. I cannot risk the old school tie by discussing his speech, but most of those present felt that Knudsen had told labor where to get off, always a popular topic with the \$5,000-a-year *lumpenproletariat*.

There are signs that some time between February 19 and February 28, Alfred P. Sloan had a heart-to-heart talk with Knudsen. On February 19 Knudsen told the House Judiciary Committee no new strike legislation was needed; on February 28 he sent the committee a letter suggesting a three-point program to curb strikes. The Press Club speech, like the Knudsen press conference which followed it, reflected the change which has occurred in Knudsen's division. An open contempt in dealing with labor's claims and labor's suggestions is evident, and there are indications that Hillman may not take it lying down. The OPM has a squawk against labor in the jurisdictional strike, but it would have been tactful and gracious to admit that some at least of the other strikes are caused by an unwillingness to obey the Wagner Act or to pay a decent wage. To tell \$20-a-week workers that they must not "take advantage of defense" is not too safe as long as they can read the financial

pages. Nor is it wise to dismiss the Reuther plan in the cavalier fashion adopted by Knudsen.

I always thought that the secret of running a successful business was to make your workers feel they were a part of it and that any suggestions they had were welcome. I don't see why this doesn't apply to the business of running a defense program. Business spokesmen say they want labor's cooperation. The Reuther plan was the first of the proposals put forward by that section of labor which genuinely wants to cooperate on aid to Britain and the defense program. I should think these proposals would be dealt with in a way to make labor feel that suggestions are appreciated. Knudsen made it clear on Wednesday that he thinks labor ought to mind its own business. Conceivably the people who may have to fight to defend their country might think it their business to make sure it was being adequately prepared.

I should think that where a suggestion from labor was impracticable, there would be a desire to give it so fair a hearing as to win the good will of its sponsors. The Reuther plan has been kicking around Washington since last August, and if it had not been for the burst of publicity which followed *The Nation's* story on it last December 21 and the interest shown by the President, the plan would have been buried long ago. It was not until February 28 that Knudsen gave Reuther a hearing and then he chose to listen alone to what he already knew. He had heard the details from Hillman months before, and there was some surprise that none of Knudsen's production aides sat in on the conference. Knudsen swore Reuther to secrecy, and then proceeded to tell his side of the story, first, "off the record" at Wednesday's luncheon and then at the press conference which followed. The test was whether it was possible, by special jigs and fixtures, to adapt idle automotive equipment to quantity production of plane parts. "They wanted to go into the shop as a union committee," Knudsen told his press conference, "and try to design fixtures for the present machinery and that was putting the master mechanic out of the job. We had to stall on that one. . . ."

This, the most spectacular aspect of the Reuther plan, is not the only one on which Knudsen has stalled. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, automotive industry spokesmen tell the press that the Reuther plan is impracticable; on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, that "we're already doing it." They mean that through subcontracting and the much-publicized bomber plan the

automobile industry is already making parts of planes. Reuther suggested that the full productive capacity of the industry cannot be utilized for defense until its present production curve is flattened out. So long as production of cars is concentrated in a few winter months, many machines must be kept idle the rest of the year for use during the peak season. But instead of looking into this quite obvious suggestion, the industry isn't even proposing to use what idle capacity it has under present conditions. The government is financing new factories for Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors. Parts and sub-assemblies for bombers will be made in these plants rather than with existing equipment. This may slow up production but it has its advantages for the companies.

The Reuther plan also called public attention to the fact that about half the machine-tool capacity of the automotive industry is in its captive shops, i.e., the shops which belong to the automobile companies and do most of the tooling for new models. Reuther and his aides claim that these are only working at one-fourth capacity.

They could make almost any kind of tool needed for defense. "What is the main drawback now in our national defense effort?" Knudsen was asked at his press conference. "What is the main thing holding us back generally?" Knudsen's answer was, "I think tools."

Any one of the suggestions embodied in the Reuther plan would upset business-as-usual, but part of the dislike for it springs from deeper sources. An unwillingness to permit democratic participation in the defense program is characteristic of OPM activities. A notable example is the run-around given the community committees of small business men, unions, and local agencies, which have been trying unsuccessfully to participate in the farming-out program. The masters of enterprise fear community committees and shop committees as instinctively as monarchs feared parliaments. "Now, Walter," Knudsen said to Reuther at a General Motors wage negotiation some years ago, "no class conflict stuff." I wonder whether they really fear class conflict as much as they fear class cooperation.

The War in the Desert

BY RAOUL AGLION

AT THE beginning of the war I was an attaché in the French legation at Cairo. When Hitler conquered France I resigned my post and from that time until the fall of Sidi Barrani I had a splendid opportunity to observe the war in Africa. I saw General Sir Archibald Wavell's fabulous desert army cut down its Italian foe.

When the fighting in North Africa began, the Italians had by far the better position. For five years they had been accumulating vast stores of ammunition. Their colonial troops had been concentrated in Libya—an army of 275,000 men, including 45,000 natives, ready to fight on both Egyptian and Tunisian frontiers. In Ethiopia they had another army of 125,000 men, including native and Somali troops. To counter these forces the British had not more than 30,000 soldiers. These were faced with the task of defending Egypt, the Sudan, and the Suez Canal, and they had to be ready to throw back a pincer attack on Egypt from the south and west.

The western desert of Egypt is one of the barest places on earth. For the most part a plateau, its topography is a baffling maze of shifting sand dunes which make military movements slow and difficult. Before the Italians, no one had ever attempted to attack Egypt from a Libyan base. Past conquerors—Persians, Arabs, and Turks—struck from the east, or, as in the case of Napoleon and the British, by sea from the north. However, history did

not dismay Mussolini's legions, whose grand objective was Alexandria and the Suez Canal.

Soon after the collapse of France the Italians prepared to transfer their troops from the Tunisian frontier to



General Wavell

Dolbin

Libya's eastern border. This meant not only the shifting of troops but the transport of all the supplies required by a mechanized army: tanks, Bren-carriers, ammunition, food, water, ambulances, hospital equipment, and machines for repairing matériel. This great movement of men and supplies was constantly hampered by British

aerial and naval attacks along the only important Italian road, the Via Mussolini, and it was not until the first days of August that the Italians were at last ready to move against Egypt, separated from the Italian colonies only by barbed wire fences which the Fascists themselves had erected along the shores and around the wells.

Successively the Italian forces occupied Fort Capuzzo,

Solum, Buqbuq, and Sidi Barrani, 200 miles from Alexandria. Their main handicap was lack of water. In the hundred miles between Solum and Sidi Barrani there are only eight wells and no water at all from Sidi Barrani to the British base of Mersa Matruh.

Late in August the Italians dug in to prepare the advance from Sidi Barrani. On the other side Wavell and his Near East forces had organized an enormous camp at Mersa Matruh and fortified it with ditches, walls, and barbed wire fences. The base had unhampered supply lines with Alexandria, where munitions for the British were unloaded. British troops had begun to arrive in small sections from all over the world. In the streets of Cairo I heard British soldiers talking their mother tongue with the curiously different accents of Scotland, Ireland, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, and Rhodesia. There were British soldiers from the island of Cyprus who spoke Greek. In addition, men from the Sudan spoke Arab; Hindus spoke Hindustani; French was the tongue of the soldiers from the garrison on the island of Mauritius; Jewish soldiers from Palestine spoke Hebrew, and the Maltese spoke a mixture of Latin and Italian. One got the impression that the whole world was on Britain's side. Each group lived in its accustomed fashion and ate its national food. Native officers led their troops, often under their own colors. There were priests of a dozen faiths. The Allied troops were joined by the army of the Nile: Free French from all parts of Syria, Central and West Africa, New Caledonia, and Europe. There were Polish cavalymen, perfectly equipped and trained, Czech soldiers, and Free Libyans joining the Senussi in the war for their national liberation.

The morale of the Italians was, if anything, somewhat worse than British and American press reports described. The Blackshirt troops, who did much of the fighting, especially in less dangerous salients, were known even in the regular Italian army as "street soldiers" and the regular army itself was anything but a paragon of bravery. I recall an occasion when four British soldiers were captured by 230 Blackshirts. The Fascists asked their prisoners if a British capture of Sidi Barrani seemed likely. The English said that their army was already advancing on the Italian fort. Hearing that, the leader of the Italians surrendered his isolated battalion to its prisoners. After the capture of Sidi Barrani, Wavell's men went after this battalion which, the British naturally thought, was still holding its prisoners. Instead of the fight they expected, they were greeted by a British officer waving his cap and gleefully announcing that he was ready to hand over all of his captors as prisoners of war.

On another occasion a group of British began to attack a fort held by a few hundred Italians only to be met outside its gates by a bemedaled Italian general. Signaling a truce, he asked to see the British general. He was told that there was no general in the group. A British colonel

came forward to negotiate. The Italian said that he was unhappily forced to surrender because his men had no ammunition. When the formalities were finished and the British entered the fort, they found enough ammunition to support a whole division through a long siege.

In all the eulogies of General Wavell no one has mentioned his extreme sensitivity to the national and social feelings of the men he commands. It was a revelation to watch him mold a compact army from the various and disparate types under his command. Above all, he emphasized the nature of the fight in which they were all engaged and impressed them with the fact that they were free men fighting in the cause of freedom.

Although his army had grown appreciably, Italy's declaration of war against Greece disturbed Wavell's plans. Mussolini's attack on that country some months earlier had been planned to split the British forces and to divert the energies of the army of the Nile. In this design it was not successful but it did serve to prevent sizable British reinforcements from being sent to Africa and dictated a campaign that would have to be carried out by what was still a small army. In this contingency it was the British navy that saved the day. On November 11, while the Italians were still consolidating their forces at Sidi Barrani, bombers carried by the aircraft carriers *Eagle* and *Illustrious* sank a large part of the Italian fleet in a daring action in the port of Taranto. Ships of the *Littoria* and *Conte di Cavour* classes, as well as many minor vessels, were sent to the bottom.

This naval action was extremely valuable to Wavell, for it made it possible for the British and their allies to make their attack on the Italians near the sea under the protection of the guns of the British fleet. Wavell and Admiral Sir Andrew Cunningham organized a joint fleet and army strategy. The Libyan campaign would have been next to impossible had not the Italian navy been put out of action at Taranto.

The fleet and the army of the Nile were in continual cooperation. Cruisers first dashed along the coast to soften Italian resistance; later, when the army advanced, the ships accompanied it, protecting its northern wing. This arrangement enabled Wavell's army to make turning and flanking movements repeatedly, secure in the knowledge that the guns of the fleet would block any counteraction by the Fascists. Following a battle, the fleet unloaded foodstuffs, water, and ammunition, and took prisoners on board.

When the campaign started the British were outnumbered by the enemy, but the army of the Nile was perfectly trained and armed. In his order of the day before the battle of Sidi Barrani, December 9, Wavell told his men: "In everything but numbers we are superior to the enemy. We are more highly trained, we shoot straighter, we have better equipment. Above all, we have stouter

hearts, greater traditions, and we are fighting in a worthier cause. . . ."

The whole attack was prepared in the greatest secrecy. Not only were the movements of the British unknown to the Fascists, but the Fascists were confused by a huge dummy camp, where wooden tanks and worthless trucks gave the impression of freshly arriving troops. Under the orders of Major General Michael O'Moore Creagh, the real armored division traveled at high speed by night, and halted five miles from the two-mile barbed-wire defense which surrounded the tank ditches and walls protecting the four great forts.

The crews of the motorized army slept near their tanks in the cold desert night, a whirlwind of sand blowing around them. Suddenly, at dawn, the R. A. F. started bombing as the first line of light tanks moved to the rear entrances of the forts. The guns of the navy roared, raising clouds of sand as they fired; a second line of battle tanks followed, thundering along at a terrific pace, firing heavy guns. A third reserve line followed quickly. The Italians replied with cannon, Bren-guns and anti-tank fire. The high quality of the armored plate of the most modern British caterpillars, the bravery of Wavell's army, and above all the surprise and speed of the violent attack soon crushed the Fascist defense; after two days' fight a white flag was run up on the main fortress.

A rapid flank movement, carried out with tanks and Bren-carriers in cooperation with the navy's guns, cut off the retreat of the Fascist garrison. On December 11 the

victory was complete; the British and their allies had conquered the main Italian fort of the desert, and taken 40,000 prisoners, including high officials. The equipment seized was enormous: Sidi Barrani had been prepared as a base for a future attack and as a storehouse of all ammunition, armament, and foodstuffs required by the Fascist army for the invasion of Egypt. Two thousand six-wheel lorries, 1,200 tanks, Bren-carriers, desert light cars, and twenty airplanes were taken over by the British. A large part of that equipment, especially the Bren guns, was shipped to Greece; the vehicles and the rest of the supplies are now being used by the British in Africa and some of the munitions marked by the Italians "For Abyssinia" have actually reached that country—in the hands of Haile Selassie and his followers. The British did not have enough experts to teach their soldiers how to use all the anti-aircraft guns captured from the Italians.

Sidi Barrani was the key position of the Italians. After the downfall of these forts, the British pushed on and conquered Solum, and, always with the valuable help of the navy, moved on to Bardia, Tobruk, and Bengazi, taking an enormous stock of equipment and more than 150,000 prisoners.

If the British fleet is undisturbed in its cooperation with the desert forces, the war in Libya will end with the capture of the remainder of the Fascist army, those Blackshirt legions driven by Mussolini to "live one day like a lion, rather than a thousand years like a lamb."

Labor: 1918 and 1941

BY ROSE M. STEIN

NOW we have another board—the National Defense Mediation Board. The headlines which greeted announcement of the new agency were most reassuring. Distressed souls led by earlier headlines to believe that our own and Britain's security were being jeopardized by strikes, had good reason to heave sighs of relief. No one else had any bona fide cause for disappointment. It is a good board. The three public representatives are men of the highest caliber, and the fact that industry and labor recommended top leaders from their respective ranks shows that both sides are taking the matter seriously and will make a genuine effort to cooperate. But despite competence and good intentions the board will fail unless there is much more willingness than has so far been shown to approach the problem of labor relations on the basis of conditions in 1941, rather than on conditions as they were in 1918.

Labor's status has undergone significant change in the

intervening two decades or more. To ignore this change is as absurd as it would be to ignore the advance in production methods during the same period. No one in his right mind would suggest going back technologically. An amazing number of people appear eager to go back sociologically. But it cannot be done. In 1918, when a similar board was appointed, most of the mass-production industries had no union organization whatever. Consequently when the American Federation of Labor agreed to refrain from organizing non-union shops it made no great sacrifice. Inadequate though they were, the shop councils set up by the 1918 War Labor Board for the adjustment of grievances was a considerable advance over no bargaining machinery at all. In some instances they paved the way for post-war unionization, but to a much greater extent they gave impetus to a drive to promote the Employee Representation Plan, more widely known as the company union, a move which caused no end of

trouble during the heyday of its revival under the National Industrial Recovery Act. The whole War Labor Board machinery was a makeshift affair, concocted under stress and strain, and considering the difficulties it faced, it did a magnificent job. But no such stress or strain characterizes the current scene, the alarming tone of the nation's press notwithstanding. Nearly all of the defense industries have union organization and established collective-bargaining procedures. These procedures have not broken down.

The extent of strikes and their effect on production have been as exaggerated as the reports of Mark Twain's death. This is done by the simple device of featuring every minute squabble in alarming headlines, and by reporting it as tying up so many million dollars' worth of defense orders. When authoritative data were offered to counteract the alarm spread by the fourth estate, the press simply refused to accept them on the ground that such facts do not coincide with the public's impression. Latest figures on current strikes, compiled by the *United States News*, which is not exactly partial to labor, show that approximately 40,000 workers are involved. There are over 40,000,000 workers engaged in American industry. This means a stoppage of one-tenth of one per cent. In terms of defense industries alone, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates the ratio to be one-fourth of one per cent. Even where the effect of tied-up plants on related production is taken into account, the situation as a whole is not serious. Machines themselves cannot operate without some break. And it is even more difficult for so many humans to work without interruption. An occasional strike is probably an excellent safety valve for an industrial machine in high gear.

Nevertheless, the need to avoid or reduce work stoppages is not questioned. Labor is among the first to agree to this. The notion that workers want to strike, or that union leaders want to promote strikes, is as silly as it is unfounded. Strikes are a form of war. They are costly and full of risks. With very few exceptions labor engages in them only for good reason and as a last resort. It is therefore pertinent to inquire into the underlying cause of recent strikes. Those which arose out of jurisdictional disputes, or other minor grievances, may well be classed as unwarranted, and no doubt the new board will go a long way toward curbing them. But even now these are neither widespread nor out of hand. By far the largest number of recent strikes have been waged in an effort to establish collective bargaining. That was the main issue in the most important disputes: Vultee, Bethlehem, and Allis-Chalmers. Establishment of this principle is a prerequisite to harmonious employer-employee relations, without which no amount of pressure from whatever source can achieve the degree of industrial productivity which the times demand. Collective bargaining has been established by law, ratified by the Supreme Court, and

accepted by a majority of America's mass-production industries and by public opinion. Nevertheless, a few die-hard employers are resisting it. This is the group against whom labor is waging its fight. Is it justified in doing so?

From the earliest rumblings of the industrial revolution down to the present, labor has always pressed for advantages in times of industrial upswing and industry has always endeavored to reduce labor's gains in times of unemployment and depression. At the moment, production is at its peak and labor is unquestionably trying to advance its position by seeking union recognition from recalcitrant employers. There can be no question about the validity of this endeavor, since it merely aims to effectuate what is already public policy. Neither can there be any doubt that the employers who are refusing to deal with unions are defying public policy. The only question is whether the strike is a proper instrument, under present conditions, for settling this issue.

Granting that strikes should be reduced to a minimum, by what means should this end be sought? Without a doubt a large element of conservative opinion both in and out of Congress would have preferred complete prohibition of strikes by law. But any such attempt unquestionably would have led to increased strife. Besides, such action was opposed not only by all branches of labor and the Administration but by industry. Employers would favor an anti-strike measure if they could get a simon-pure brand. But they would rather suffer the ills they have than fly into the arms of another governmental agency set up by law and enforced as conscientiously as are the Railway Mediation and Labor Relations laws. The possibility of Congressional action, however, has been and is being utilized as a club over the heads of labor and the Administration in an effort to hold them in line.

Now that a board has been created, how far can it go toward solving the problem? If it attempts to freeze the status quo either in wages or in organization it will get exactly nowhere. As one top-ranking union official said: "We may be chilled a bit, but we'll never freeze." Much has been made of the argument that labor should not take advantage of the emergency to advance its cause. On the surface this appears logical. But labor's answer is also logical. In any other period of production upswing, it says in effect, there would be no question about the right to establish long-overdue union recognition while labor's bargaining power is strong. To surrender this opportunity now is to allow industry, already the beneficiary of the defense program by way of increased profits, to



Philip Murray

benefit further through curbs on labor. British labor has made no such surrender; why should American labor surrender? To do so would mean freezing the status quo in organization as a reward to a small group of "wilful men" for their refusal to abide by the law of the land; it would mean capitulation to a few rebels in industry at the expense of their employees and at the expense of that larger section of industry which has shown its readiness to deal with unions.

This, no doubt, is precisely what industry expects of the board. But with the Murray-Kennedy, Meany-Harrison labor team on it, to say nothing of the liberal character of the rest of the board and of the temper of labor's rank and file, unionization is not likely to be placed on ice. However, should the board attempt to force dissident employers to deal with unions, it will probably be defied, as were the labor boards created by executive order during the early days of the New Deal, prior to passage of the Wagner Act.

The whole problem is far too complex for any single agency to solve. It is steeped in tradition and fear, and unless these are uprooted, not only the immediate fate of labor but the fate of the democratic way of life is at

stake. Privilege is stubbornly resisting adjustments in the economy which advancing technology and the changing world scene render imperative. Outwardly, and for the moment, this resistance takes the form of a concerted effort to check further labor organization. But it may take other forms. Its roots are deep and imbedded in mortal fear that labor is gaining political and economic power, that in consequence the federal Administration is now virtually a labor government, that the British government is likewise dominated by labor, and that a post-war Anglo-American socialist *anschluss* is on the horizon.

It is of little avail to point out that neither the rank and file nor the vast majority of responsible leaders of American labor have any hidden scheme or overpowering desire for changing the economic system; that, traditionally, America's labor movement has hewed closely to plain and simple trade-unionism, and this rests upon full acceptance of the capitalist system; and that advocates of a more radical program succeed in stirring up some ferment but are eventually eased out. Facts are of little help because fear is a psychosis. If the National Defense Mediation Board makes any headway toward ending this malady it will deserve lasting gratitude.

A New World Literature

II. MODERN POETRY OF AMERICA HISPANA

BY ALFONSO REYES

Alfonso Reyes is the Hispano-American man of letters perhaps most universally respected and loved by all countries, all generations, all political camps (except the fascists) in his world. This recognition by a continent and a half torn by literary factions, has been won, without compromise, by his never hurrying the ripe maturity of his expression and by a lifetime of sensitive encouragement of every fresh poetic voice in his language. Reyes was born in Monterrey, Mexico, in 1889, the son of a general in the army of Porfirio Díaz, in spite of which he sided in 1910 with the revolution headed by Madero. His talent as a poet was recognized early. Successive governments kept him abroad in the diplomatic service of his country; in Madrid, Paris, and later as Ambassador in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, he did more than any other single man (except perhaps José Vasconcelos, also a Mexican) during the period between the world wars to foster close cultural relations between the Spanish-speaking republics and Brazil. He distinguished himself, as he grew older, as the champion of the younger generation of revolutionary poets. Reyes is one of the finest of living literary critics and belongs to the top flight of poets in his language (by far the finest company of poets in the world today). His prose "*Visión de Anáhuac*," a portrait of the Aztec city of Tenochtitlán, now Mexico City, on the eve of its capture by

Cortés, has been called by Gabriela Mistral the finest single piece of Hispano-American prose. His studies of Góngora and other classic writers of Spain are themselves classic. But his preeminence is as a poet. Reyes belongs to the Hispano-American writers who stress their Latin rather than their Indian origin. On this account he has been called a classicist. But the temperament of Reyes is profoundly American, and Mexican: which means that the Indian element is not lacking. Nowhere is this more manifest than in his poetic drama, "*Ifigenia Cruel*" (1924), in which he succeeds in transfiguring without deforming a classic theme in order to express a deeply American vision. This continuity from classic roots to the modern soul of Mexican America makes Reyes one of the masters of American letters.—W. F.

THE Hispano-American character begins to make itself felt from the first period of the colony. Literature had already given an unconscious voice to it with the Mexican Ruiz de Alarcón who brought to the Spanish comedy of the seventeenth century a nuance known then as "the strangeness." But Hispano-American letters become intrinsically important only in the nineteenth century with the political independence of the republics. (Since Brazil speaks Portuguese, we shall omit

it from this survey, although its separate literary course is strictly parallel to ours.)

With the movement called Modernism, which extended to the beginnings of this century, Hispano-American literature achieves true personality and its own place in the sun. The importance of this poetic movement has obscured previous phases and, above all, has made us forget its contribution to Spanish prose as well as verse. The truth is (and has not been sufficiently examined) that an American character came earlier to our prose. From the dawn of the nineteenth century, American prose, already differentiated from Spanish by the social spectacle it portrayed, reveals fresh technical preoccupations. At times, as in the Argentine Domingo Faustino Sarmiento,* there is the effort for a new expression. At times, as with the Ecuadoran Montalvo, there is a harking back to the Hispanic models of the "*Siglo de Oro*." While the peninsular Spanish prose became romantic, "costume," or academic, the continental Spanish prose (our own) revealed in Sarmiento a constant innovation spurred by "the urgent rhythm of thought," and in Montalvo a revival of the virile accents of Quevedo, then extinct in Spain.

The new spirit in Spain dates from the so-called "generation of '98"; the new spirit in America from the 1880's. The two revolutions have different impulses, and presently move upon each other. In Spain, the disaster of the war with the United States inspired a confrontation with the Spanish reality cleansed of the false perspectives of a lost empire (although aesthetic reform was not neglected). In America, the revolution is at first aesthetic, inclined toward a universalism that for the moment removes it from American things or, when it casually touches them, gives them a light twist of style. In this sense, Rodó,** speaking of the "*Prosas Profanas*" of Rubén Darío, was right when he said: "Darío is no poet of America." The refinements of Modernism had detached him from the crude national realities; from which indeed he wanted to escape. His universalism fused frontiers. His ambition to scale the greatest heights made him conceal all reference to the little hill he lived on. The Modernist poet longed to be a citizen of the world—or of Paris, the literary capital of the world which he might never even have seen; or he proclaimed himself the dweller of some abstract legendary country. Modernism, indeed, appears as a negation of the theories of Taine and Buckle on the molding influence of the milieu. Modernism is retaliation on a milieu.

Before Modernism, our poetry is sub-romantic and follows a nineteenth-century tradition. It had finally isolated itself from the world and was dying of scurvy. France overwhelmed, shook, and transformed it. It is usual to say that Modernism was the unexpected, para-

doxical child of French Symbolism. But the seed comes from farther off and is nourished with all the waters of the slope of Hugo: romantic, parnassian, and decadent.

It is fairly sure that in 1888, not Silva, not Casal, not Darío, knew the Symbolists of France. In the precursors there is no reflection of Mallarmé. On the other hand, there are accents of Hugo, Musset, Nerval, Gautier, Leconte de Lisle, Banville, Baudelaire, Hérédia, Coppée, Verlaine, Moréas; and even of minor men like Arvers, Bouilhet, Mendés, whom we no longer read and who perhaps best explain the formation of our poets. There are traces of other lands: of Poe, Walt Whitman, Heine, Leopardi, D'Annunzio, Rossetti, Wilde—even of the Scandinavian myths. But these foreign treasures came in French forms or France pointed them out to Modernism.

It is hard to assay the transfusion of French spirit in our Modernism. In these distant contaminations there is always a coefficient of error, although of fecund error; we wish to imitate, and without wanting to we transform. France brought a universal touch and our poetry was freed by it and came into a relation with the world. French seemed the inevitable language of thought and image. Modernism opened a window on this France; and air came in from the immense horizons, making us forget or see within a prism of refraction what we had in our own house. There was suffused into our poetry the France of Versailles, modern France, Greek France, not to name certain effluvia of Ophir and Golconda. Our poetry was peopled with fabulous *princesitas*, with madrigalesque abbots, with exotic viscounts, with an antiquity first parnassian, then sensual. Rubén Darío, master of the classic myths, also exclaimed: "Oh, Heliogabalus, whose court—gold, silk, marble—my dreams remember." And he adds: "Only the pre-Conquest America is stuff for poetry. The rest is yours, democrat Walt Whitman." Nevertheless, he evolves, faces the world, finds a way to sing even the president of a republic—an unpredictable issue from his beginnings.

To articulate the new sensibility and the archaic imagery, the molds of verse had to be transfigured, the language shaken up to free its frozen resources. Certain gallicisms crept in, to the scandal of the purists. But today we see that the Modernists were faithful enough to the genius of the language. They went no farther than the Italianates of the Spanish Renaissance, and with equally inspiring results. Besides a few neologisms, forgotten words were sought in the traditional treasury; buried metric forms were revived; new rhythms were tried out, and above all verse was conceded a great elasticity of accent. Syntactic audacities were practiced; grammatical forms that had lost their savor were dropped. And it all was naturalized to the American climates. With subject and metaphor renewed, the language acquired fluidity and richness. There had been ankylosis; now it was corrected. There had been old

* Author of "*Facundo*," often called the first great Argentine novel, although it tells the story of an actual *caudillo*.—Tr.

** José Enrique Rodó, the famous Uruguayan essayist whose "*Ariel*" opposed the United States as "*Caliban*" to America Hispana.—Tr.

stuff "darings" that were nothing but "poetic license," a crude permission to drag out or curtail words. This license was scrapped; liberty was conquered.

Literary "periods" are tools for interpretation. Modernism, geared with other tendencies, was crossed by unassimilable paths. Of one of its indisputable creators, Gutiérrez Nájera, the Mexican scholar Justo Sierra could say: "He was the autumn flower of the Mexican romantics." Zorrilla de San Martín, contemporary of the first Modernists, could never be associated with them. His "*Tabaré*," a story of a sentimental savage, son of an Indian and a white woman (the one poem of indigenous subject that survives from Mexico to La Plata) did not appear until 1886. Compared frivolously with Longfellow's "*Hiawatha*," it is different in intent and character. Every Hispano-American has read it. Its formal excellence is high; and it links up with those notions of the "noble savage" which Europe ruminated long before Rousseau made a system of them.

Salvador Díaz Mirón (1853-1928) also escapes strict classification, except that some judge him the most perfect poet of Mexico and others merely concede that he wrote the most perfect verse. Transition from his first to his second phase meant to leave an oratorical and emphatic romanticism for a poetry at once esoteric and Horatian (paradoxical as that may seem); and on the way he passed by a realism that was often grotesque in its aberrations. In his first manner he made fashionable the pugnacious cries, the sleazy antitheses, that corrupted all the American literatures; and in his final period he became past master in technical problems airily solved; perpetually dissatisfied the while, feeling himself inferior to his ideal, however superior he felt to others. Díaz Mirón recalls the aesthetic tragedy of Mallarmé: no one could emulate him and he could emulate no one. His enigmas and solutions were fruits of solitary investigations, although at times they passed into the purest classic forms. Great tamer of words, he assaulted the images of the senses with a power of vernacular divination seldom equaled. He is exemplary as both a success and a failure. Some have tried to see in him that false figure of their own youth: the scourge of tyrants, the paladin of liberators. It is all nonsense: his "tyrant" was a figure of speech; the one tyrant he truly fought was the limitation of aesthetic language. And the one liberty he loved was that glimpsed beyond a tunnel of voluntary metric obstacles. His was the intimate drama of poetry: Jacob wrestling with the Angel, the duel between thought and expression.

Another Mexican poet, Manuel José Othón (1859-1906), born under the aegis of Núñez de Arce, likewise overflows the schools and cannot be housed under Modernism. His fathers are Luis de León and Virgil; from the great Spanish mystic he inherited the Catholic chains and the bright serenity, from the Roman the dove-

cooings and the love of nature. His rural pantheism must not be confounded with the bucolic; it has no lyric shepherds. The land itself speaks, as in Saint John of the Cross: "*la soledad sonora*." In this quality, he has never been surpassed. The brilliant landscapism for instance of our young Mexican poet, Carlos Pellicer, is one of symbols; whereas Othón's is one of *beings*. The river raises its breast and intones its psalmody, the water bubbles dialogues with the wind and the leaves; the eagles are incrustated in the burning sky "like rivets burying themselves slowly"; the galloping growing corn rends the immobility of the desert. And suddenly, within desolation, a savage love grows, adventure of female, sand, rock, and *lianas*, moving the poet to a voice of love and hate close to the grave register of Baudelaire.

There is no space to analyze the musical sequence of Luis G. Urbina (1867-1934), also Mexican, in whose work at times a verse or even a short poem has the nature of a single fluid word. Strictly a contemporary of Darío, his plaint comes from deep and far ("the old tear" of his poem) and crosses the Modernist sea solitarily, sweetly, in its own light romantic skiff.

Therefore, it is clear that chronologies do not coincide with artists. Let us return to Modernism. Its creators are considered to be the Cuban José Martí (1853-95), the Mexican Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera (1859-95), the Colombian José Asunción Silva (1860-96), and the Cuban Julián del Casal (1863-93). All of them dead between the ages of thirty and forty-two, they represent a poetry of youthful temperature.

Martí in "*Ismaelillo*" and "*Versos Sencillos*" is both intense and tender. Direct attack and a marvelous simplicity give grace to his emotions of a father, which have nothing in common with the vulgarity, "homey" and humanitarian, of Juan de Dios Peza, our famous "domestic poet." Reading Martí one cannot free oneself of the image of a blade razor-fine and rigid that cuts the heart. Nevertheless, despite the importance of his poetry, his prose as orator, essayist, and polemist is incomparably better. With it the Spanish language makes new conquests. Martí was one of the richest literary natures of America. And yet in great part his work, like his life, was sacrificed to the apostolate of national freedom.* His art remained one of lightning flashes, each flash revealing and hiding unexplored landscapes. Son of sorrow, he never lost his smile; brave as a lion, he was not ashamed of his tears.

In Gutiérrez Nájera, we find clearly articulated the romantic and the French strains. He was also a great proseman. The tenderness of his verse is more malicious and more conscious than that of his Cuban brother. The eroticism which was held against him seems slight to us today. Later, he can be called "guest at the banquet of madness" because of the black and tragic rifts in his

* Martí was killed in the Cuban war of independence while conducting a landing party against the Spaniards.—Tr.

well-tooled strophes. Effusive, musical, melancholy, elegant, he gradually evolved toward a classical fullness which scarcely fitted his last poems and which the beginning of his work had already projected, in its passion for composing in a sequence of coherent metaphors. Without knowing it, he discovered for himself the Symbolist formula: "To regain in music the birthright of poetry"; as in the external musicality of his ode to *La Corregidora* and in his ineffable thirst before the "Serenade" of Schubert. "Thus, if it could, would my soul speak."

In Silva, there is rhythmic inventiveness, delicacy and wisdom, pessimism, deliquescence, hyperaesthesia like that of Des Esseintes, caprice, and even folklore. "Nocturno" is a contagious unending plaint prolonging in verse the tearful "María" of Silva's compatriot, Jorge Isaacs. This unfortunate and beautiful dandy had the gift of tears. His daring verbal repetitions in the imitated harmonics of a sob relate him to Poe. He can be humorous too, as in "Gotas Amargas," and he recalls songs and games of his childhood. But his fate is inexorable and he moves to suicide, fascinated by the fraternal shade which calls him from beyond the tomb.

[This is the first part of an article on *The Modern Poetry of America Hispana*. The second part will appear next week.]

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Profits, Prices, Wages

THE theme-song of the 1940 corporation reports, which for some weeks past have been piling up on my desk, is the burden of taxation. Indeed, so much stress is placed on this subject that casual reading almost leaves the impression of whole segments of business sinking into the red. Only after more careful inspection does one discover that greatly increased tax bills are being met out of greatly increased profits and that most corporations, after providing for the demands of the Treasury, have larger sums available for their shareholders than in 1939, which wasn't exactly a lean year either.

A useful compilation of the National City Bank summarizing the financial results of 925 leading manufacturing corporations shows us that 1940 cannot be accurately described as a period of "profitless prosperity." Net profits of these corporations, after deducting depreciation, interest, taxes, and all other charges, but before dividends, amounted to \$1,554,280,000 compared with \$1,225,069,000 in 1939. This represents an increase of 26.9 per cent. In terms of return on net worth it means a rise from 8.4 per cent in 1939 to 10.5 per cent in 1940. This seems a pretty generous yield on "risk" capital, especially at a time when "safe" long-term bonds give an income of less than 3 per cent.

The following table shows how some leading industrial groups have fared in the past year.

No. of corporations in group	Per cent change in profits compared with 1939	Per cent return on net worth	
		1939	1940
111 Food products	+ 2.7	7.7	7.8
39 Beverages	- 2.0	12.9	12.0
19 Tobacco products	+ 3.6	13.6	13.9
101 Textile	+ 32.9	5.9	7.7
17 Rubber	- 0.6	9.4	8.9
59 Chemical	+ 3.0	13.7	13.7
43 Iron and Steel	+ 98.5	4.4	8.5
77 Machinery	+ 68.5	8.5	13.9
29 Electrical equipment ..	+ 36.1	8.9	11.8
14 Automobiles	+ 9.9	17.2	18.4
38 Auto equipment	+ 46.4	13.0	18.1
20 Railroad equipment ..	+ 241.0	2.2	6.0
18 Aircraft and parts ...	+ 290.0	10.2	25.7

It will be noticed that, except for textiles, the groups enjoying large percentage increases in profits all fall into the capital goods class. They are the industries which have received the first and most direct impetus from the defense program. Textiles have received a fillip from the same source, owing to orders for uniforms, blankets, and other military necessities. Industries catering to consumers, on the other hand, show smaller improvement in net profits and even, in some cases, modest recessions. Many of the corporations in this category actually earned rather higher gross profits than the year before but, after paying taxes, found their net somewhat reduced. This hardship, however, is mitigated by the fact that their earnings in 1939 were fairly substantial.

During the current year, even allowing for the yet higher corporate taxation expected shortly, a further improvement in profits is forecast for both industrial categories. Thanks to defense orders, the heavy industries will be working near capacity throughout the year, instead of for a few months only as in 1940, and with overheads spread over a much larger output, they should be able to effect additional savings in production costs. Republic Steel, for instance, is now working at 100 per cent of capacity while it is geared to operate at a profit when producing only 65 per cent of its maximum tonnage. As a result, one of its directors has forecast earnings 25 per cent better than last year, even allowing for additional 1941 taxes.

Increased payrolls in the defense industries are now beginning to be reflected in heavier demands on the consumer goods manufacturers and on the retailers. Sales of automobiles in the current quarter may establish an all-time record; food companies are reporting sales volume at around 10 per cent better than a year ago; and department stores, which normally make all their profits between July and December, are expecting to show net earnings for the first half of this year, after the best spring business in a decade.

This forecast of profit trends would be incomplete, however, if it left out of account the possibility of both higher prices and higher wages. Normally, a sellers' market, such as prevails today in many lines, would mean that extra profits attributable to capacity operations would be supplemented by the bonanza effects of rising prices. But, from the inception of the defense program, the Administration has been endeavoring to hold down prices by persuasion and publicity coupled with an implied threat that failure of these methods would lead to more formal controls. In respect of a number

of leading commodities, including steel and copper, it has achieved considerable success. But the whole industrial field is an enormous beat to cover and, while the attention of the small band of price policemen in Washington has been concentrated on key situations, quotations for quite a list of articles have been moving out of bounds. They include such varied items as carpets, china, household electrical equipment, plumbing wares, lawnmowers, bicycles, and kitchenware. Food prices, also, have been trending upward, with meats sharply higher and, perhaps most important of all from the point of view of the cost of living, rents are being steadily boosted in those areas where defense work is concentrated. In Detroit, for instance, rents are estimated at 10 per cent above a year ago and in some shipbuilding centers still larger increases have been reported.

The impact of this upswing of prices on the pay envelopes of the nation forms part of the background of the present widespread demand for improved wages. Yet the granting of such demands is likely to prove an excuse for further price boosting and we may start the old vicious circle in which wages chase prices but, except in a few strategically placed trades, never succeed in catching up. It seems high time, therefore, that Washington's price police were reinforced and given power to make arrests.

We must recognize, however, that a definite ceiling could not be imposed on prices without some limitation of wage increases. This idea may be unpopular in labor circles but it is worth noting that since 1929 falling prices have made a bigger contribution to the workers' standard of living than have higher wages. For while average weekly "money" wages in the manufacturing industries have risen 5.8 per cent during this period, the decline in the cost of living has meant an improvement of 23.2 per cent in "real" weekly earnings. It would be an ill service to the workers as a whole if favorably placed groups pushed wage demands to a point where the cost of living began once again to overtake earnings. This does not mean freezing present standards altogether, for in many industries, and steel is an example, the present scale of profits would permit some increase in wages without necessitating any rise in prices. Nevertheless wise labor strategy at the present time would confine itself to moderate demands and not press for all that the traffic may seem able to bear.

Correction. In Everybody's Business of March 15, a typographical error turned Mr. Maurice Feldman, the Austrian economist and journalist, into Maurice Seldman.

In the Wind

SIGNS OF RAPPROCHEMENT between followers of Stalin and Trotsky have been numerous since the death of the exiled revolutionist. In New York City the two groups sponsored a joint slate in the Cafeteria Workers' Union, and both supported the candidate of the left wing of the American Labor Party in the recent special Congressional election. In Europe, according to *Inside Germany Reports*, persons formerly reviled as Trotskyites are now sought out as allies

by Comintern agents. The same source asserts that an official order has gone out from Moscow informing Stalinist leaders that the death of Trotsky can be made the occasion for a new program of unity.

A POLICE ROUNDUP in Gainesville, Florida, on March 15, netted "six persons and a Negress," according to the Gainesville *Daily Sun*.

THE UNKINDEST CUT: According to those who know William Randolph Hearst, his real objection to Orson Welles's "Citizen Kane" is not the film's treatment of the publisher's career, but the scene which shows him dead. Hearst does not allow death to be mentioned in his hearing.

COMMENTING on the current controversies over education in New York State, Senator Clifford Hastings told the *Troy Record*: "I say that the parent has a problem when the child comes home, with concepts instilled into his mind, that are contrary to everything that he knows to be based on fact or evidence. If a parent tries to contravene the teachings which the child has received in one particular thing, he is encouraging the child to disregard everything that he is taught in school. Just as failure to enforce one criminal law encourages all criminals to commit acts which violate the law."

NAZIS IN AMERICA are making a strenuous effort to speak and write in a native idiom. The latest issue of *Facts in Review*, German newsletter, speaks of "carrying water to Lake Superior, coal to Pittsburgh, religion to Rome."

GERMAN OFFICIALS in conquered Norway face a serious dilemma. Shortly after the occupation, they forbade the owning of firearms of any kind by Norwegians. The result is that wolves have destroyed some 47,000 kroner worth of sheep. To save the sheep, whose wool and meat go largely to Germany, the Nazis must restore guns to the Norwegians, who, in turn, are likely to use them on the Nazis.

WALL STREET men who have recently acquired an interest in the Harvill Die Casting Corporation are not entirely displeased by the strike at its Los Angeles plant. The shut-down has served to advertise the key importance of this rapidly growing company to the West Coast aviation industry and as a result the price of its stock is rising.

STATION CKCL, of Toronto, announced on March 19 that "Wendell Willkie, unelected President of the United States," would soon visit Canada.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN'S "Sports Calendar," an advertisement regularly placed in New York hotel guides, recently included a notice of a mass meeting of the Communist Party, sandwiched between notices of a professional hockey game and a college basketball tournament.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be easily authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Spring Fervor

IT IS full spring by now at Camp Shelby near Hattiesburg, Mississippi, which a sentimental Southerner named for his wife when he came to cut down the long-leaf pine trees. The girls in the Baptist college and the state teachers' college and the silk mill there have put on wash dresses and all look very fresh and sweet in them. In Columbus, Georgia, close to Fort Benning, the white dogwood and the purple wisteria are blooming together. Wash dresses and wisteria come regularly every year, but this is the spring of defense and as thick as the crocuses are the Yankee boys in khaki in Southern camps. Their great-grandfathers were down that way, but Sherman kept them busy—so the girls complained—stealing chickens and burning barns. Their fathers were down that way too. But never before has there been such a national planning to put the Northern boys by the Southern girls. That may mean the unity about which the President talks so confidently. It may mean anything in the spring.

Already, indeed, the conjunction of South and camp has meant the widest variety of meetings. Not only are the boys bivouacked in a strange land; in many places the land has become strange for the Southerners. Stark, Florida, was too small even to rate the listing of its population in the *World Almanac* before Camp Blanding was built. Alexandria, Louisiana, was a sleepy town living on the presence of the institutionalized unfortunates and on the plantations along the Red River before two new camps and an expanding old one grew around it. Fayetteville, North Carolina, was quiet around Scotch memories and a slot-machine promoter before Fort Bragg grew under hammers and commands with a livelier noisiness than woodpeckers and jays had made in the empty land before. Now they and other small towns are almost as changed as the camps. New civilians have come as well as new soldiers. Even town loafers have gone to work or found their loafing places vastly disturbed. And one thing is certain. If Carl Carmer of New York State, after residence in Alabama, was exact in his observation that though "the Eastern miss counts herself fortunate to have one beau, the Southern is not content with a dozen," the Southern miss's problem may soon be solved. And upon the terms of its solution may depend a more romantically united—or a more bitterly divided—United States of America.

The problem of boys and girls is not being entirely neglected. Some such cities as staid old Richmond have devised plans, inaccurately called drafting, to provide dancing partners for the soldiers at Camp Lee. In another large city close to big defense concentrations the local merchants have been building good will by sponsoring dances for the boys in brown—with the help of girls wearing every color in the world. Other towns have not been so hospitable. Householders can be patriotic and still not like it when officers' families push up the old-fashioned level of rents. Some men of business have not given dances but instead have doubled the price of beer and soft drinks in the places where the nickelodeons play. Soldiers in some places have had to take their girls and their fun where they found them, which was occasionally in strange places.

It is entirely possible for a chamber of commerce to be eager for a camp without the local boys liking it when the regiments pour into town and also into the clubs and the dances and the parlors and the gardens. Pensacola has had a longer time to build its relationships with the nation's defenders than most towns have. It is the mother-in-law of the navy, but the local males definitely do not like their flying-cadet competition. They might feel, I think, a greater unity with the girls left behind in Rhode Island and Vermont. The Southern boy sees and suffers. But the girls up where there is snow still lying on the ground know by both intuition and report that Southern girls at their worst have a longer spring in which to work. That is not a knowledge which makes a girl happy in Maine.

The President and the Congress have not presented a solution for this problem. But Washington is not unaware of it. An able, energetic New Yorker called me from Washington the other day about it. He had been pulled from private life to deal with it, among other human problems in defense.

"This thing," he told me, "can create fine feelings or bad ones. North and South—"

I know he is right. Also, I know it is already spring in Hattiesburg. And when it is spring there or in Columbus or Columbia, it never seems quite so far home to the Northern boys. It may be sentimental in these grim times to talk about wisteria and wash dresses instead of about men and machines and maneuvers. It is still a sentimental South as well as a warm one. And when you mobilize an army, it marches to more things than war.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Song

BY W. H. AUDEN

Jumbled in the common box
Of their dark stupidity,
Orchid, swan and Caesar lie;
Time that tires of everyone
Has corroded all the locks,
Thrown away the key for fun.

In its cleft the torrent mocks
Prophets who in days gone by
Made a profit on each cry,
Persona grata now with none;
And a jackass language shocks
Poets who can only pun.

Silence settles on the clocks;
Nursing mothers point a sly
Index-finger at the sky,
Crimson in the setting sun;
In the valley of the fox
Gleams the barrel of a gun.

Once we could have made the docks;
Now it is too late to fly;
Once too often you and I
Did what we should not have done;
Round the rampant rugged rocks
Rude and ragged rascals run.

"Family Feeling"

IN *THIS OUR LIFE*. By Ellen Glasgow. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.50.

SOMEONE like myself, who knows little of Miss Glasgow's work, must be deceived by this book until he is very far along in it. It seems, until then, like the kind of fiction we long ago lost interest in. It seems like one of those studies of middle-class family life which we used to read at our ease in a pleasantly stable world—one of those traditional, tolerably accomplished novels with lifelike enough characters and situations, but with no real power to stir or stimulate us, and no ability to linger in our memory.

But as the book proceeds, it takes on edge, it takes on weight. Its form, to be sure, is so traditional as to be uninteresting. Its style, though sometimes witty, seems serviceable and fluent rather than anything more. Its characters enact too many similar scenes and go in for too many explanatory "reflections." All the same, these things date Miss Glasgow rather than delimit her. Before we have finished her book,

things have happened which do not happen by accident. We have come to know its people; we have begun to see what middle-class families are like and what, aside from consanguinity, they are the products of. Most of all we have learned how Miss Glasgow, within a familiar form, works with a special insight; and not only cuts psychological corners, but blasts social rock and storms moral fortresses. Her book tells us something about human nature and human institutions alike—a very respectable day's work, to say the least.

Miss Glasgow's approach to the Timberlake family is largely through the eyes of Asa, the father—a man of sixty tied to an invalid wife he has never loved and to a job (with his wife's rich uncle) he has never succeeded at. Dutiful and kindly in his habits, he is yet skeptical and undeceived in his thinking. The one person in the family he really loves is his married daughter Roy, and never more than when Stanley, his other daughter, blasts Roy's happiness. In terms of plot the book tells of the trouble that Stanley, who is shallow and selfish, stirs up—first in jilting her fiancé to run off with Roy's husband Peter; then in driving Peter to suicide; again, in winning back her fiancé after he has become engaged to Roy; and finally, in getting a young Negro blamed for a reckless act of her own. But the incidents of the plot are important only for their effect on the characters, for what they reveal about "family feeling," and for what they expose of family life as a middle-class institution.

There are no villains in the story; only people; which is why Miss Glasgow's study of family feeling is the more damning. Family feeling is not enough to keep Stanley from running away with her sister's husband. But on the other hand it is quite enough to make Stanley's relatives conspire to save her skin at the expense of sending an innocent young Negro to prison. It would be hard for two incidents to say more—morally speaking—about the family as a middle-class institution than these two do.

The whole book, in its modulated but merciless way, probes the social morality of the thousands of families that the Timberlakes, in their Tidewater city, represent. But Miss Glasgow comes to concepts by way of people, and her people react upon one another, in the end, as human beings. Stanley, petulant and irresistible and weak, reaching out hungrily for happiness, is not less real for being also a type; nor is Roy, proud of her strength and defiant in her courage, unreal for being a familiar species of "heroine." Asa, I think, is not so much a character as a set of values; through him Miss Glasgow is able to pass judgment on the others, and even on life. Nor is it only in his sympathy and skepticism and moral sensibility that Asa seems to speak for the author; he speaks just a little also—though not defensively—for the generation they both are part of. No study of a family can avoid being concerned with the conflict between generations.

Miss Glasgow is not only an adult novelist but, like very few others of her sex in America, an unsentimental one. She

understands what is Southern about her people as she understands what is human about them; but though she shows sympathy, it never corrupts her judgment. Her art, I should think from my scant knowledge of it, has been overestimated, but not her astuteness. The people who could give her cards and spades on technique, or with the help of Hemingway sharpen her dialogue, or toss out whole pages from her book as wasteful or slow-moving, still could learn from her a good deal more than they could teach.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

From Peace to Peace

VERSAILLES TWENTY YEARS AFTER. By Paul Birdsall.

Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.

GERMANY PREPARES FOR WAR. By Ewald Banse.

Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

UNION NOW WITH BRITAIN. By Clarence K. Streit.

Harper. \$1.75.

ONE of the most potent weapons of German propaganda has been the ascribing of all the ills of the world and the second world war to the treaty of Versailles. It is conveniently forgotten that the first world war broke out with no treaty of Versailles to precede it and with a Germany not defeated but victorious and rapidly acquiring wealth. To learn the causes of the second world war one must go deep, not attribute them to the treaty-makers of Versailles. As long as public thought is not cleared up on this point there will be no understanding of the present situation. It is therefore most fortunate that at this moment an American historian, Paul Birdsall, should publish a well-documented and readable history of the Versailles negotiations. This excellent volume attempts a reappraisal of the forces which shaped the peace treaty. It may be called a scholarly revindication of Woodrow Wilson and his policies. It shows the immense difficulties with which Wilson's program was beset, not only (and not even primarily) because of European statesmen, but because of the isolationist and nationalistic sentiment of all peoples, especially the Americans. The argument is presented with exemplary balance of judgment and restraint of language. The book should be read by everyone who wishes to talk about the peace treaty and do more than indulge in the glib phraseology current in the past twenty years. For the legend of the treaty of Versailles has not only served as a basis for present German aggression; it has also obscured from the American public the real issues to be settled before there is any lasting peace and has allowed them an escape into a wishful, and at the same time an unexact, sentimental pacifism. "By curious logic the inevitable European chaos which resulted from American isolation has been used as a further foundation for isolationist argument. The complete distortion of the role of the United States in the first world war and at Versailles crystallized a powerful isolationist sentiment which threatens to paralyze American foreign policy in the present increasingly critical world situation."

The leading circles in Germany did not resent the treaty of Versailles; they resented the loss of the war, the frustration of their plans to achieve in the first world war that master position which they are now trying to attain. They

regarded the defeat as a temporary setback, and prepared for the resumption of the war for world domination as soon as their own preparations and the blindness of the democratic nations created a favorable situation. The plans were laid for a long time. In 1932 Ewald Banse, a German geographer and strategist who was nominated professor of military science immediately after the National Socialists came into power, published a book called "*Raum und Volk im Weltkriege*," in which he pointed out the mistakes made in the first world war and from them drew lessons for the second. It predicted in many details the events of the present war. As soon as public attention in England was drawn to the book, the National Socialist government banned it and tried to make the appearance of an English translation impossible because, as the Germans obligingly said, it would "unfortunately give anti-German propaganda abroad occasion to throw doubt on the peace policy of the German government." The strategic theories developed by Professor Banse (and since put into effect by the German government) were then called by the National Socialists "absurd" and "senseless babblings" of an "irresponsible theorist." That the National Socialists said this is understandable; that the people in the democracies seemed to believe them is less understandable. The American publishers have now republished the book, which in its first edition (1934) attracted very little public comment.

From the past peace and the preparations for the present war our attention is inevitably drawn to the most urgent problem at the moment: the present war and the peace to follow. That the free peoples, including the United States, are threatened by a combination of ruthless aggressors is generally conceded today, even by those who refused to see the facts a year ago: the introduction of conscription and the voting of many billions for armaments and for a two-ocean navy by overwhelming majorities in Congress are the best proof of this. But to make America secure and to establish this time a lasting peace demands more than the routine resolutions appropriate to another age. It demands a courageous determination to meet an unprecedented situation by fresh thought and unprecedented action. Clarence Streit has deserved well of America and of democracy by pointing out the path which, if trod in time, would have saved the democracies of Europe and the New World from the physical and mental agonies which they are now experiencing. His suggested world federal union is, in my opinion, the logical solution of problems arising from the interdependence of all nations in the twentieth century. His new book is an answer to the problems that have developed during the past eighteen months as a result of the refusal of the democratic nations to establish a closer cooperation.

The fate of mankind for centuries to come may depend in the present crisis on right timing; steps taken too late or too half-heartedly may seal the catastrophe which they were intended to prevent. Mr. Streit submits a closely reasoned and cogent argument for action *now*. Without necessarily agreeing with every detail of his outline, this reviewer believes that it offers the only rational solution of the world crisis. Thus it is an indispensable book for every American to read and ponder. It points the way to the establishment of a society in which democracy will be safe and peace will be lasting.

everywhere. If American public opinion will accept Mr. Streit's plan for the future the mistakes which have frustrated the peace efforts of the past twenty-five years will be avoided.

HANS KOHN

Mrs. Stowe

CRUSADER IN CRINOLINE: THE LIFE OF HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. By Forrest Wilson. Lippincott. \$3.75.

FORREST WILSON'S manifest adoration of his heroine, which might have ensnared him in a maze of tiresome eulogy, seems to have been the spur driving him to produce a fascinating and balanced history of her life. For instead of setting out to prove that she was the foremost genius of her day, he takes that assumption as his first premise, then allows his thoughtful narrative to captivate the reader's attention.

In order to enliven a scholarly discourse with a dash of atmosphere, a biographer will occasionally open fire with a brisk description of the members of his subject's family, dismissing these unfortunate stooges as soon as they have served their turn. Mr. Wilson, shunning the treatise for the chronicle, has given just weight to the remarkable Beecher family, never obtruding upon, but never out of touch with "Hattie."

Like a number of other women of literary renown of the last century, Harriet Beecher Stowe was born into a family whose salient characteristics were fire-and-brimstone theology—and fecundity. Lyman, with his missionary spirit, hypochondria, penchant for getting married, and his son, Henry Ward, sensational pulpit orator, headed the Beecher clan, while the dominating Catherine, and even Harriet herself, ostensibly remained the weaker vessels.

Seeking fresh worlds to conquer, Lyman Beecher transplanted his family from New England to Cincinnati, and it was there that Harriet, by the skin of her teeth, and at the ripe age of twenty-four, graduated from schoolmarm spinsterhood to matrimony. Mr. Wilson contrives to imbue the story of the wedding of Harriet Beecher and Calvin Stowe with an air of authentic stuffiness; the natural outcome of spiritual affinity's transcendence of a tendency to pouchiness and premature baldness in the widower-bridegroom.

Before she had been married a year, and during her husband's absence on a European tour, Mrs. Stowe, stirred by the sordid horror of the anti-Abolition riots, entered her first plea in the press under a masculine pseudonym. However, no interest in social endeavor could withstand the pressure of keeping house and raising a number of children on an inadequate income. Fifteen years of pulling the devil by the tail, goading a lethargic husband, fighting the cholera epidemics that broke out in the stagnant summer heat, left Mrs. Stowe a rag of a woman straggling back to New England just in time to give birth to her seventh child, and prophesying an early death.

Beset with such vicissitudes, many women would have grown apathetic. But Harriet Beecher Stowe, braced by the return to her native New England and by the easing of financial tension, produced her last baby with an air of finality and fell to writing what turned out to be the last chapter of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The years in Cincinnati

had left latent images, and these welled up and overflowed at the first slackening of domestic activity.

Mr. Wilson's account of the conception, execution, and undreamed of acclaim of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is irresistible. He carries the reader, as if on the crest of a wave, through the transformation of the jaded housewife into a female Messiah. In spite of his genuflections in front of what he describes as the miracle of the book, the book's most remarkable quality remains its success. As the product of a fiery conscience, of a sharp tongue partly sheathed by the mellifluous language current in Calvinistic circles, and of a deep capacity for day-dreaming, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" touched off every emotion of partisanship on the highly controversial subject of slavery.

The remainder of Harriet Beecher Stowe's long life was based on her initial and astounding success. The impulse to reform which pervaded her work she ascribed to divine inspiration, combining a tribute to her own humility with the satisfaction of leaving the final responsibility with the Almighty. Dotage overcame her before the intellectual reaction of the younger skeptics could touch her. From the dangerous anarchist of her heyday, she became an Aunt Sally for the new generation of her critics, but, ignorant of the deadly change, remained to the end queen of her dwindling realm.

Whether or not American democracy was shaped by Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Mr. Wilson almost implies that it was, "Crusader in Crinoline" stands well on its merits as the story of an amazing career.

EILEEN HOLDING

Fifty Years of Russian Labor

WORKERS BEFORE AND AFTER LENIN. By Many Gordon. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$4.

THIS book is modestly named, for it is more than a history of the Russian working class before and after the Bolshevik revolution: it is the first comprehensive social and economic history of the Soviet Union from an author possessed of the knowledge, the energy, the ability, and the desire to do the necessary preliminary work. Many Gordon's book is that rare product—a volume of painstaking and honest research vividly presented and of equal value to expert and layman. She not only knows the Russian language but having herself at one time been a member of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party, is able to compare conditions in Tsarist Russia with conditions under the Soviet government. Her indictment of the Bolshevik regime is rendered unanswerable by her references to official Soviet data, or press reports, or pronouncements by members of the Soviet government, in substantiation of every statement. Since such evidence is only to be obtained by reading an enormous number of publications, it is perhaps not extraordinary that no other Russian-born citizen of the United States or exile in Europe has ever had the patience and energy to undertake the task.

It will surprise most readers to learn the extent of Russian labor gains and the tempo of industrial progress from 1903 to 1914. Bad as conditions were under the tsars, there was a steady improvement; under Stalin there has been an almost continuous decline. Calmly the author examines the material

situation of the workers and peasants, the results of the Five-Year plans, the consequences of forced collectivization, the educational system, social legislation, the labor of children and women. She deals also with the liquidation under Stalin of the great handicraft and village industries which once supplied so many of the people's needs, and with the failure of the new factories to satisfy these needs. Illuminating comparisons are made between labor's slow but certain progress after 1903 and the gradual degradation, from 1928 onwards, which has brought the Russian workers and peasants back to about where they were before the abolition of serfdom in 1861. The decline in real wages over the past decade to far below the 1913 level is conclusively demonstrated.

Perhaps the most important section of the book is that relating to the changed status and functions of the trade unions. We are shown how Lenin quickly abandoned his original thesis that "the trade unions could be relied upon to produce a given number of managers." In 1921 he decided, in his own words, "to throw the whole syndicalist absurdity into the wastepaper basket," and announced that henceforth the government would itself appoint the managers of enterprises. The Bolsheviks of that period were, however, genuinely and sincerely interested in the welfare of the proletariat, and Lenin, although he found it necessary to create order out of the chaos produced by workers' control of industry, said:

"Our present government is such that the proletariat, organized to the last man, must protect itself against it. And we must use the workers' organizations for the protection of the workers against their government."

In 1928 Stalin completely reversed Lenin's policy. He gave out the slogan "extirpate trade unionism" and told the trade unions that henceforth they must "play a decisive role in the task of building socialist industry by stimulating labor productivity, labor discipline, and socialist competition." When Tomsky refused to cooperate in converting the trade unions from protectors of the working class into agencies for its exploitation, he was removed by Stalin from his post as head of the Soviet trade unions.

Today the wheel has described a full circle. The trade unions, which in 1917 were told to manage industry, and in 1921 to protect the workers from oppression by the state, are now themselves organs for the suppression and speeding up of the workers. It is treason for them to try to protect labor standards, and the state-appointed managers are the sole authority on wages, work norms, hiring, and firing. A worker who is a few minutes late on consecutive days is dismissed and may not be reemployed for six months. One must have had the experience of trying to fight one's way on to a Russian street-car to appreciate the cruelty of this decree. One must also be aware that dismissal usually means the loss of the room in which the worker and his family lives, and that there is no unemployment pay or poor relief in the Soviet Union. Unemployment is liquidated by the simple device of liquidating the unemployed. The inhuman speeding up of labor has not achieved its purpose of increasing productivity. The neglect of the human factor has its repercussion on the material factors as shown in the rapid deterioration of neglected and overdriven machinery.

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from the Soviet press and official sources, the author shows the continual downward revision of the legislation dealing with social insurance, education, and the employment of women and children. Women now work in the mines and perform the heaviest physical labor as in England in the early days of the industrial revolution. With telling effect she quotes such frank admissions as that of the Soviet journalist who wrote in *Za Industrializatsiu* in 1931: "We are not in the habit of worrying about people. Rather we feel that of that bounty—people—we have more than enough."

However, Hitler's rise to power and the real menace of attack from the outside world at last led the Soviet government to recognize that perhaps, after all, there might not be enough "people—that bounty" to use as cannon fodder. The census of 1937 (the results of which were suppressed) revealed that there were between twenty and twenty-five million fewer people in the U.S.S.R. than had been expected. Famine, semi-starvation, overwork, bad housing, and a decline in the birth rate were obviously responsible, but Stalin's first remedy was the liquidation of the statisticians who had carried out the census. Then in a desperate effort to force a population increase, abortions were made illegal and *Pravda* announced that Soviet women must become record-breakers in the production of babies. Women were told to consider themselves henceforth as the Stakhanovites of the human productive machinery. But the state still fails to provide them with decent housing accommodation, or clothing and nourishment for their babies, or even rubber nipples for the babies' bottles.

No book yet written so well illustrates the truth of the

bitter saying current among the Russian workers concerning their rulers: "*They* have constructed socialism for themselves." It should be required reading in the universities, and one wishes that every "friend of the Soviet Union" could be made to study it. Unfortunately, the very fact that it is so scholarly, so fully documented, objective, and free from sensationalism, makes it unlikely that it will receive the wide attention it deserves.

FREDA UTLEY

The World of the Budds

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS. By Upton Sinclair. The Viking Press. \$3.

THE sixty titles of Upton Sinclair's books and plays are honorable battle-flags commemorating a lifelong crusade against rackets and oppression and injustice of all kinds, and his skill at combining humanitarian propaganda with fiction has placed the liberals of this country under a much deeper obligation to him than most of them realize. But that the old warrior, after three or four decades of single-handed, often quixotic combats in the politico-literary arena, should turn out two novels of the breadth and objectivity of "*World's End*" (last year) and "*Between Two Worlds*"—that is a minor miracle.

With the sequel or sequels which he has obviously projected and very likely already embarked upon, these books will come closer than any other American novels to the scope and spirit of "*Men of Good Will*" or "*The World of the Thibaults*." But while Romain Rolland and Du Gard probe microscopically into the souls of their characters, leaving the history of twentieth-century Europe to weave through their lives like an undercurrent, Sinclair uses his people frankly as lenses and mirrors for observing and reflecting the events, trends, scenes, personalities of the time; while you may never thoroughly believe in his characters as men and women, you see through their eyes a stereoscopic panorama of the yesterdays that lighted so many fools the way to dusty death.

"*Between Two Worlds*," beginning at the close of the Versailles peace conference, where "*World's End*" left off, offers you a box-seat at the morbidly fascinating drama-spectacle of Europe and America in the 'twenties. Through it, you walk the streets of a dozen of the world's cities; you sit in, both before and behind the scenes, at all the principal "disarmament" conferences. You talk tête-à-tête with Lincoln Steffens, Isadora Duncan, Lloyd George, Zaharoff, Matteotti, and Mussolini (known to his early associates as The Little Pouter Pigeon), and overhear some inflammatory speeches delivered by Adolf Hitler Schicklgruber in a Munich beer-hall.

Your entree to these international didoes is provided by young and winsome Lanny Budd, son of a wealthy Connecticut munitions manufacturer and a beautiful artists' model. Like Julian Bern in "*Europa*," he knows everyone, goes everywhere, listens to all sides. Living among the wastrels and blue-bloods on the Riviera, he burns with a hard, gem-like flame for the beauties of music and painting, yet his generous heart and shrewd intelligence bring him intermittent qualms over the poverty and ferment beneath, and sometimes breaking through, the glittering surface of his world.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

By ascribing to him a concern for the masses and occasionally showing him among the "red" friends of his uncle Jesse Blackless, the author is clearly educating Lanny for an active role in a subsequent novel which will usher in the grimmer, more turbulent 'thirties.

Even though the book is primarily a novelized "Only Yesterday," Mr. Sinclair succeeds in making the story of Lanny Budd's worldly pilgrimage an engrossing tale in its own right. Though it dives temporarily into a slough of Dickensian caricature with the marriage of Lanny's flighty mother to the ascetic Mr. Parsifal Dingle, it recovers quickly and closes with the most dramatic picture of the October, 1929, stock-market crash that I have ever read in fiction.

It is a far, far cry from the appearance of these two voluminous novels under the imprint of the Viking Press to those days when Upton Sinclair had to publish and peddle his books himself because publishers were afraid to handle his "radical" exposés of the mistreatment of the little man. One might remark that the change is a highly encouraging sign; and, Pollyanna-wise, that perhaps the very obstacles and prejudices against which he has so long leveled a fearless pen have helped to equip him, better than any other contemporary American novelist, to serve as impresario for this tragi-comedy of two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Coroner's Inquest: A Dialogue

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Twenty Years of Independence. Edited by Robert J. Kerner. The University of California Press. \$5.

HISTORY: Theories are no pastime of mine. Like most American journalists I care only for facts. Nevertheless, here is a perplexing problem: how states are born and why they die. Wouldn't your case supply a useful explanation?

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: In some ways it would—as you can see in the informing, yet delightful volume bearing my name and edited and partly written by Professor R. J. Kerner of Berkeley. Incidentally, I wish you would observe how much more he and Professor Malbone W. Graham, both in California, know of my past than the Cliveden set in England ever knew. Knowledge seems to increase with distance.

HISTORY: And what theory does your case support—Professor Laski's that the state is the government, or Professor Kelsen's that it is a system of legal norms?

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: It supports neither. There is no Czech government—except in exile; there is a system of legal rules, but the oppressors respect only their own arbitrariness.

HISTORY: Am I to understand, then, that this book is an obituary rather than a biography?

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Certainly not. Czech independence may be dead at the moment, but the Czechoslovak nation is more alive than ever. Though Philadelphia and Munich were milestones of sovereignty, the nation had developed, since the Premyslide rulers, a standard of spiritual culture and economic prosperity. Not even three centuries of Hapsburg blackout could obliterate it. As our great humanist, Jan Amos Comenius predicted in his "Testament": "... The rule



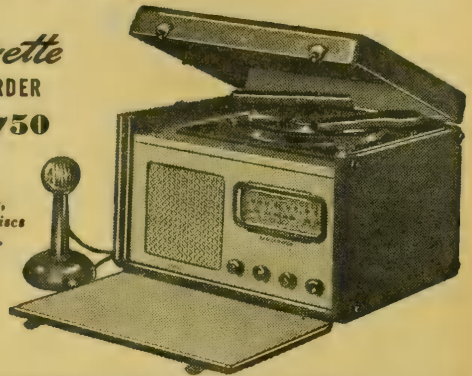
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of thy country will again return unto thee, O Czech nation!" True, it returned for only twenty years, but the trend and rhythm of events leave no doubt about the future.

HISTORY: That I grant you. But for the time being you are under the wheels of the Nazi juggernaut. I remember that Palacky—as Hans Kohn puts it—identified "the Czech cause with that of democracy" and that the President-Liberator coordinated Czech democracy with the ideal of humanism. As Professor Graham says in his masterful chapters: after a distinct break of nearly two hundred and fifty years the "resurgent Czechoslovak nationality passed out of existence on October 5, 1938." I must admit that this was the result of betrayal and not of defeat. However, don't you think the chief cause was the inclusion of nationalities of which a third were neither Czech nor Slovak?

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Possibly it was an error to create

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Spring Book Number

April 12

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Advertising Department

THE *Nation*

a polyglot republic. Yet this could not have been avoided entirely. Professor Joseph S. Roucek asks: "Did Czechoslovakia make a mistake in trying to solve her problem of minorities by democratic, rather than by brutal and violent, methods, as her neighbors have done?" The question seems to need no answer. Places in state-supported minority schools were in proportion to, or even in greater proportion than, the numbers of children among the minorities represented. From Professor Stuermer's account it appears that, acting under American stimulus, Minister Dérer did what the Weimar Republic omitted to do: he organized a democratic educational system. Some people might object that neither the theory of revisionism nor that of *Lebensraum* was taught in these schools, but on the whole Professor O. Jaszi's conclusion, in his chapter on Ruthenia, that the old "Utopia" of an Oriental Switzerland would be the only realistic solution, is vindicated.

HISTORY: No use crying over spilt political milk. The question is one of the future. In Professor Shotwell's authoritative opinion, "The great experiment . . . will be lost to the world only if Europe itself is lost." But was it really only an experiment?

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: I would not call a necessity an experiment. Czechoslovak democracy, thriving on a homogeneous culture, was the core of Hussitism. Masaryk and Benes, both of peasant descent, supported by the ability of our people, unearthed this democracy from the debris of the Austro-Hungarian landslide and made it work.

HISTORY: And the result?

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Eight contributors to this book, most of them Americans, bear witness to the economic, social, and intellectual development. There is no bragging, no over-estimation of the achievements. From what Brackett Lewis tells us, we may conclude that the social legislation of the republic topped that of post-war continental Europe. Whoever reads Professor Vojan's succinct chapter on art and literature will regret that many other Czechoslovak names are not as familiar in this country as are those of Smetana, Dvorak, Novak, or of Karel Capek, Langer, and Hasek.

HISTORY: This, of course, would certainly not justify such a phrase as the "passing of Czechoslovakia." From a brilliant chapter by Wickham Steed we learn that Masaryk himself diagnosed the mental and moral disease now called "Hitlerism." Only an ignoramus takes a disease for an alternative form of government or for a "wave of the future." Those who cherished the insane hope of turning the losses of the first world war into profits had to ride on the crest of this "wave" to Munich. There is no stronger proof of the Czechoslovak democracy than the coalition of feudalism and mobocracy against its existence. However, there is a future not only in heaven, but beyond Munich as well. Believers in the self-created savior of Europe whom they mistook for a savior of their continental investments may disbelieve the truth inscribed on the Czechoslovak coat of arms. Yet democracy on earth is the only form of government corresponding to divine absolutism in the universe.

My verdict is: Czechoslovakia may have fallen a victim to the treachery of fools and the violence of cavemen, but no one can evade or kill the word of the Scriptures: "Truth is mighty and will prevail."

RUSTEM VAMBERY

RECORDS

"**M**USIC for the Theatre," when I heard it in 1925, gave me the impression of Aaron Copland as the outstandingly talented American composer—an impression which I have had even from subsequent works that I have found emotionally arid and twisted and ugly, and which I have had, certainly, from the recent "Billy the Kid." The excellent Victor recording of "Music for the Theatre" made by Howard Hanson with the Eastman-Rochester Symphony (Set 744, \$3.50) has given me a chance to hear the work again and discover that I think as much of it as I did in 1925. Copland has remarked on the fact that it is the most frequently played of his works; but that isn't at all remarkable: I would say that the performances it has received are evidence of its quality as music, whereas the performances of most of the other works are evidence of his efficiency as a promoter.

Soon after their performance of Brahms's B flat Piano Concerto in Carnegie Hall last year Horowitz and Toscanini and the N. B. C. Symphony recorded it for Victor (Set 740, \$6.50). On this occasion Horowitz seems to have played with more emotional and physical relaxation: on the records he still answers the quiet opening measure of the orchestra too emphatically and does a few other things of the sort; but for the most part his playing doesn't exhibit the stylistic elephantiasis with which, in the concert performance, he found it necessary to measure up to the "bigness" of the music; and as a result there is none of the harsh, jangling sound that he produced from the piano at the concert. On the records, that is, he plays in his normal style—sinuous, svelte, and as such hardly suited to the character of the music—and with his normal dazzling beauty of physical sound. Sheer beauty of sound, in fact, is the outstanding quality of this new set—the beauty of the sound of the piano part, and the extraordinary beauty of the sound of the effective orchestral framework created by Toscanini and recorded not in Studio 8H but in Carnegie Hall. As against this the older Victor set offers a performance of the piano part by Schnabel that is authoritative in style, though occasionally pretentious and often technically messy, with an adequate orchestral framework by the B. B. C. Symphony under Boult. People still talk about Artur Rubinstein's wonderful performance in the early Victor set; why doesn't Victor re-

issue this as a Black Label Classic; and why doesn't it do the same thing with Bachaus's superb set of Chopin's Etudes?

Stokowski's record of Debussy's Prelude to "L'après-midi d'un faune" with the Philadelphia Orchestra (17700, \$1) offers gorgeous orchestral sound but annoyingly fussy phrasing. Beecham's version—beautiful in sound and admirable in style—is still the one to own. Hans Kindler has recorded with his National Symphony an excellent performance of Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 3 (Set 747, \$5.50), in which Tchaikovsky's qualities and powers are evident, sometimes with fine effect. In my review copy the sixth side wavers in pitch. There is superb playing by Edwin Fischer's Chamber Orchestra in Mozart's Serenade K. 361 for thirteen wind instruments, which I find dull (Set 743, \$3.50). And Fiedler's Sinfonietta has recorded a good performance of Corelli's Concerto Grosso No. 11, which I find only moderately enjoyable (13587, \$1).

When Victor issued the volume of Bach's Suites Nos. 2 and 3 for solo 'cello played by Casals I wrote that listening to this music one is aware of Bach's success with the difficult problem he set himself, but also of the fact that solving

the problem was not equivalent to writing great or interesting music. I would say the same thing about No. 1 in the second volume that Victor has issued (Set 742, \$7.50), and of much of No. 6, which is more impressive. And I would say again that the life which the works have on these records is mostly the life created by the coloring, the movement, the tensions of Casals's phrasing—not only the bold, powerful distention of the phrases of the vigorous movements, but the subtle inflection of quiet movements like the Sarabande and second Minuet of No. 1, the ornate Allemande of No. 6.

Beethoven's high-spirited String Quartet Op. 18 No. 6 needs a performance with the brilliance and sparkle that the otherwise good Coolidge Quartet performance does not have (Set 745, \$3).

The works on the first three records of the volume of Medieval and Renaissance Choral Music (Set 739, \$6.50) I found less enjoyable than those on the other three: the parts of a Mass by Obrecht (13558/9), the Gregorian chant and pieces by Taverner, Lassus, and Palestrina (13560). The singing of the Choir of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music conducted by Mother Stevens is superb. Melchior is in his best voice

HAVELOCK ELLIS

PSYCHOLOGY OF

SEX

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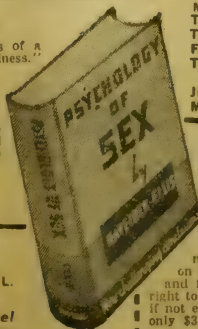
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of today in the passages from Wagner's music-dramas that Victor has issued in one volume (Set 749, \$5.50); and Flagstad, who joins him in the first-act duet from "Götterdämmerung," sings marvelously. The two Sibelius songs recorded a while back by Marian Anderson, "Aus banger Brust" and "Langsam som Kvalsskyn" (2146, \$.75), are inconsequential; Miss Anderson's voice is lovelier on the record than it is today.

Rodzinski and the Cleveland Orchestra recorded for Columbia a fine performance of Strauss's "Heldenleben" which emerges from the records (Set 441, \$5.50) sounding dull and muffled.

B. H. HAGGIN

FILMS

Defense and the Movies

Hollywood, March 18

THE industry at the moment presents the most delightful prospect of patriotic fervor and cooperation with the government in the matter of the defense program—truly a most laudable spectacle. Naturally the considerations which motivate this are, first, the almost universal support and approval of the government's foreign policy amongst the big producers and, secondly, the box-office demand for an expression of that support. However, certain factors may be said to help noticeably in making the bed more comfortable for such strange companions as the Hollywood executives and the Roosevelt Administration. Joseph Schenck is now in the dock in Washington on a charge of income-tax evasion amounting to nearly half a million, thus demonstrating with distressing clarity the vulnerability of the most powerful movie potentates; while the threat of an investigation of the activities of the major studios under the anti-trust laws is a powerful whip which Washington might crack.

Hollywood's major service to defense is, of course, its South American goodwill program, which has not so far been remarkably successful, but which is shortly to be expanded and it is hoped improved under the guidance of Jock Whitney. Mr. Whitney, who is associated with Nelson Rockefeller in the attempt to promote friendship and understanding with the Latin Americas, has recently arrived in town to give advice on productions for South American consumption. On the home front, the industry is chiefly concerned with fostering Americanism and popularizing

various of the least acceptable parts of the defense program, such as the draft. A certain crudity of approach to these subjects must be excused on the grounds of enthusiasm: for instance, in any current production the most hard-boiled characters are apt to dissolve into maudlin tears at the sound of "The Star-Spangled Banner," and practically any player with a foreign accent will, some time during the course of a picture, stare glassily at the audience and in broken accents itemize the virtues of the United States, regardless of the plot. Also, Warner Brothers are turning out in increasing numbers the patriotic "shorts" they have been making for several years under the auspices of Harry Warner, with whom Americanism has always been a major concern.

The most direct contribution of the industry to the defense program is a series of shorts for army consumption only. These shorts will not be shown, under any circumstances, to the general public and as they are non-profit-making and as no credits or publicity are supposed to attach to them the burden of production is being shouldered by the Research Council of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences headed by Darryl Zanuck. The research council is sponsored by the producers, who thus have joint responsibility. The army has recently been sending to Hollywood one officer each year from the Signal Corps to study methods of motion picture production: these officers have worked with the research council, placing it in a good position to embark on productions for the army.

The shorts are supposed to be made by all of the studios, or at any rate by most, but so far Darryl Zanuck's studio, Twentieth-Century Fox, seems to have the monopoly. Actually only two have been made so far—on hygiene and on venereal disease. One was directed by John Ford, the other by Irving Pichel, and both are reported to be frightening to a degree and extremely well made.

Training and technical films of every variety are scheduled for production and the army hopes for excellent results and increased speed in getting recruits into shape through the medium of the screen. Certain Hollywood writers have volunteered for service in the Signal Corps with the intention of writing commentary and dialogue for these films; there is a rumor (unsubstantiated) that in some studios writers under contract who are considered not to be earning their salaries have had pressure put on them to join the Signal Corps. However,

Hollywood's defense program is progressing with only minor frictions.

HIGH HAT

The function of the week was the Screen Actors Guild Gambol, a charity affair held at the Cocoanut Grove. The usual brilliant constellation attended the party, which was remarkable only for the fact that President Roosevelt's campaign hat, which he had recently presented to Edward Arnold, was put up for auction and sold to Edward G. Robinson and Melvyn Douglas for \$3,200.

RECENT FILMS

For muddled thinking and mawkish sentiment "Meet John Doe" undoubtedly deserves a special academy award . . . a gilt crocodile in tears. Frank Capra, who directed this picture, has long been associated with hearts of gold and virtue triumphant, but his more successful creations, such as Mr. Smith and Mr. Deeds, had a certain allegorical robustness about them which John Doe sadly lacks. John Doe, the brain child of a sob-sister (and he could hardly have been anything else), is materialized in the form of a hobo who starts a nation-wide movement based on good neighborliness; the movement is exploited by a big business shark who wants to run for President on the John Doe ticket and who dresses his henchmen in black uniforms (get it?) The final sequence discloses big business in repentant tears and John Doe, who is a sticker if nothing else, determined to keep the John Doe movement alive. The picture is designed to deliver a message, a task in which Gary Cooper, Barbara Stanwyck, and Edward Arnold give able cooperation, but what the message is remains a mystery.

"That Night in Rio" strikes another sledgehammer blow for—or should one say at?—Pan-American friendship. This musical in vivid technicolor which features Alice Faye, Don Ameche, and Carmen Miranda (who radiates more energy than a dynamo) is luxurious and high-spirited to a degree.

Untrammelled by historical fact Alexander Korda's production of "That Hamilton Woman," based on the lives of Nelson and Lady Hamilton, makes a lovely spectacle and an interesting if slightly lengthy and incredible tale. Vivien Leigh and Laurence Olivier do wonders with their somewhat stilted dialogue and Miss Leigh looks unbelievably beautiful. The battle of Trafalgar provides a terrific climax and there is plenty of opportunity for anti-dictator propaganda.

ANTHONY BOWER

Letters to the Editors

Inside Germany

Dear Sirs: The following is a letter recently received from a German friend:

"Somewhere in a
German Occupied Country

"Dear Charles: If I was not on an inspection trip through occupied areas there would hardly be a chance to send you an uncensored report on our domestic 'theater of war.' But from here I can make use of an underground channel for postal service. . . .

"The maintenance of the public safety in our different occupied areas is the duty of the police administration rather than of the military forces. The number of the military forces in the occupied territories is relatively small; they are mainly stationed at points of military importance; for instance, along the Channel. 'The police protects the rear of the army,' is an official pronouncement. In other words, Heinrich Himmler's police organization, which is several hundred thousand men strong, is the true master of continental Europe. His chief executive officers are the 'Supreme SS and Police Leader East' in Cracow and the 'Supreme SS and Police Leaders' in Oslo, in The Hague, and in Prague. These police generals are in command of the large police armies which are divided into machine-gun, tank, pioneer, mounted, and other units. These uniformed police forces, in cooperation with the forces of the secret police (Gestapo), have the task of ruthlessly suppressing any form of revolutionary movement in its very beginnings.

"A great difficulty in the establishment of the administrative set-up of the New Order is caused by lack of appropriate personnel, particularly noticed in the police force. Where can we find the ten thousand new police officials required? We have been instructed by a confidential administrative order of Heinrich Himmler 'to select men between twenty-six and forty years of age.' With regard to the great need of personnel: 'We shall lower the standard of the candidates' physical fitness.' But in order to show other nations that we are really a master race, Himmler's circular further instructs us that 'only racially good-looking applicants are to be selected for active service.' I cannot imagine what is going to happen should we have to suppress a revolutionary movement with racially

good-looking but physically unfit policemen. Hermann Goering made objections to this kind of selection, but unsuccessfully.

"By the way, Goering's new letter-heads carry the title 'The Reich's Marshal of Greater Germany' (*Der Reichsmarschall des Grossdeutschen Reiches*).

"If you in the other hemisphere believe that our administration runs without inner resistance and sabotage, you are very much mistaken. The Fuehrer, of course, still believes he can overcome all resistance by the utmost severity and ruthlessness. So the old Russian system of the knout has been resurrected during the past weeks. You can find evidence of this in the numerous newly introduced legal provisions for the punishment of soldiers, air-raid wardens, and parents of juvenile delinquents.

"The following law is now valid in the navy: 'The commander of any vessel will receive capital punishment if he surrenders his ship or his crew to the enemy without previously having taken all steps which might have prevented such an act of surrender.' Thus, Hitler has introduced the principle of destroying a ship rather than letting her fall into the hands of the enemy.

"It is typical of our attitude toward the Italian Axis partner that the German martial laws apply also to the Italian officers attached to our army. But no corresponding regulation applies to the German officers attached to the Italian army.

"You will be surprised to hear that our air-raid protection does not work efficiently, in spite of the continuous press and radio propaganda and of severe punishments by the police administration and the courts. This is not my private opinion but that of the Fuehrer himself. He recently expressed his 'deepest dissatisfaction' with the lack of discipline during the blackouts, especially in Berlin. At his instigation the Deputy Leader, Rudolf Hess, sent a circular to all district governors, ordering immediate improvement. In this circular it is emphasized that the working-classes do not properly black out the rear windows of their houses. The circular says: 'Heavy infractions against the blackout regulations occur continuously during night alarms. Therefore, in order to guarantee the necessary discipline, infractions must be punished more severely than before.'

"The higher officials worry a good deal about the political developments of 1941. I wonder whether the Fuehrer himself believes what he writes, for instance, about the 'final victory which will come soon.' "

R. M. W. KEMPNER

Philadelphia, Pa., March 18

The Ex-Descendants

Dear Sirs: The letter from the recording secretary of the Descendants of the American Revolution (in the March 15 issue) attempts to defend the mailing to the House and Senate Foreign Affairs Committees of a strongly worded condemnation of H. 1776 without first polling the membership of the organization. No resolution adopted by the national committee is binding on the membership, for it is no more than a recommendation for action. The executive committee, invoking democracy, performed as dictators. The committee well knew the acute differences within the organization regarding the constitutionality of H. 1776, and the resigning members have published their denial of its authority to impose upon them a partisan personal opinion.

The committee were not unanimous in adopting the resolution. The two members specifically referred to in the recording secretary's letter abstained from voting and assumed no responsibility for the action.

HELEN TUFTS BAILIE

Cambridge, Mass., March 15

Add Vichy and Bergson

Dear Sirs: In a letter about Henri Bergson and the respectful treatment accorded him by some members of the Vichy government, published in your issue of February 22, Miss Betty Barzin states that "the gulf which divides, and always will divide, Latin civilization and German Kultur" is illustrated by the fact that "post-1933 Germany did not treat him [Edmund Husserl] as the Vichy authorities are now treating Bergson." In drawing this contrast, Miss Barzin misstates several facts.

Husserl never "fled to Czechoslovakia" or to any other place. In 1936 he lectured in Vienna and Prague, obviously with the consent of the German authorities who gave him his passport. He then returned to his home in Freiburg, Baden,

where he continued to live, write, and publish, though his only subsequent work appeared in Yugoslavia. It was in Freiburg, not in Czechoslovakia, that he died in 1938. Shortly after his death, the University of Louvain provided a place for his manuscripts and, again with the consent of the German government, two young scholars, non-Jewish German nationals, went to Belgium to prepare his unpublished work for the press. These men were still at work in Louvain when the German armies invaded Belgium. Meanwhile, Husserl's widow had also removed to Louvain, in the spring of 1939, a few months after the manuscripts had been installed there and work on them had begun.

It is a question whether the quasi-official funeral honors accorded M. Bergson argue "a love of the spirit still shown by the very French government that is at the same time ousting Jews from places of learning." The facts suggest an interpretation less paradoxical and less flattering. But surely the claim "that German pressure is in no way affecting French culture" is exaggerated, even if one grants that the land of Dreyfus has probably continued to produce enough native anti-Semitism to explain Vichy's anti-Jewish regulations.

"France," Miss Barzin assures us, "may be crushed materially, politically, and even morally. But the love of the spirit for the spirit's sake will live there forever." Is it foolish to cherish a like hope for Germany, even while we go about the task of defeating German arms?

DORION CAIRNS

Rockford, Ill., March 14

Dear Sirs: I am sorry my letter about Bergson and Vichy contained the misstatements to which Mr. Cairns has drawn your attention, but I feel that his corrections provide in themselves further evidence that there is a gulf dividing Latin civilization and German Kultur.

Mr. Cairns points out that Husserl died in Freiburg (Germany) and not in Czechoslovakia, as I wrongly assumed. If the German civilian and academic authorities had honored Husserl in the way the French have honored Bergson, I could not have made this mistake, for which, once again, I apologize.

Mr. Cairns further writes that Husserl's manuscripts have found a home at Louvain University. No doubt he has good reasons for that statement. Nevertheless, in Brussels, shortly before the German invasion, I was asked for advice on what Husserl's widow should

do with "several cases of her husband's papers." Hence my second misstatement. I sincerely hope that the Husserl manuscripts that reached Louvain were not lost in the second destruction of the Louvain Library. To my knowledge, Bergson's papers and manuscripts are not "exiled."

I must draw attention to a misstatement made by Mr. Cairns. He writes ". . . he (Husserl) continued to live, write, and publish (in Freiburg), though his only subsequent work appeared in Yugoslavia." This sentence is mysterious to me. What, in that instance, is meant by the word *publish*? As far as can be ascertained from Husserl's bibliography, Germany's greatest philosopher did not *publish* one single line in Germany after 1933. Three works by Husserl have been published since Hitler's advent, and all three outside Germany: (1) A letter addressed to the 1934 Prague Congress of Philosophy (which obviously had to be published in Prague); (2) *Die Krisis der Europäischen Wissenschaften und die transzendente Phänomenologie*, published in Belgrade in 1936, which is, I suppose, "the only subsequent work," appearing "in Yugoslavia" to which Mr. Cairns refers (printed in *Philosophia*, a review edited by a group of exiled German philosophers); and (3) a volume of 478 pages, *Erfahrung und Urteil*, published in Prague in 1939 by Husserl's disciple Landgrebe on the eve of the German invasion of Czechoslovakia. I feel very strongly that Bergson would never have been compelled to publish his writings outside France.

BETTY BARZIN

New York, March 20

Pirates' Accomplice?

Dear Sirs: I find one point disturbing in Mr. Brooks Atkinson's article (issue of March 8).

In seeking to interpret today's crisis in the clear-cut terms of an issue which is basically moral, it seems to me that Mr. Atkinson falls into the common error of painting things too wholly in terms of blacks and whites. No one can disagree with his vigorous condemnation of international piracy as being morally wrong. But why condemn only the pirate, and, by implication at least, condone his accomplices? Of course it was morally wrong for Italy to ravage Ethiopia and for Italy and Germany together to rape Spain. But was it morally right for England to permit the former, and for England and France together to conspire actively to do the latter? We fail to serve the moral cause by suppressing

facts or by interpreting only part of the picture.

If out of the "blood and tears and toil and sweat" of this war the necessary social rebirth is to come it is important that we continue to condemn the moral mistakes of England too, if the mistakes of 1919 are not to be repeated.

RABBI ROLAND B. GITTELSON

Rockville Centre, L. I., March 17

CONTRIBUTORS

RAOUL AGLION, formerly legal attaché in the French legation at Cairo, has in preparation a book titled "Victories in the Desert," to be published shortly by Henry Holt and Company.

ROSE M. STEIN, who is now doing labor research in Washington, is a regular contributor to *The Nation*.

W. H. AUDEN, English poet and critic, is at present in this country. His latest volume of verse is "The Double Man."

LOUIS KRONENBERGER, dramatic critic of *PM*, is a frequent contributor of literary reviews to *The Nation*.

HANS KOHN, professor of modern European history at Smith College, is the author of "Not by Arms Alone."

EILEEN HOLDING is an English journalist and lecturer now living in the United States.

FREDA UTLEY is the author of "The Dream We Lost: Soviet Russia Then and Now."

LOUIS B. SALOMON, a member of the English department of Brooklyn College, reviews fiction regularly for *The Nation*.

RUSTEM VAMBERY, distinguished Hungarian criminologist and sociologist now in this country, has written extensively on European problems.

ANTHONY BOWER, formerly film critic for the *New Statesman and Nation*, contributes a fortnightly column from Hollywood to *The Nation*.

CORRECTION: ALBERT VITON teaches at Northwestern University and not at the University of Chicago, as stated in *The Nation* of March 22.

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The Shape of Things

THE ITALIAN FLEET HAS SHOWN SUCH A penchant for snug harbors and so strong an antipathy for close contact with the enemy that it is hard to believe that it ventured into the Ionian Sea seeking a real battle. Perhaps the Italian High Command was misled by an official British announcement a few days earlier to the effect that the fleet had returned to Alexandria after a sweep through the middle Mediterranean. This might have suggested that Britain's heavy ships would be refueling at a safe distance and that an attempt to intercept convoys off the Greek coast would not be too risky an enterprise. Whether or not this was the means used to entice the Italian navy to sea, it certainly fell into a trap and paid the heavy price of three first-class cruisers and two destroyers certainly sunk. In addition, one battleship of the Littorio class was badly damaged. Among the prisoners picked up by the British were a number of Germans. Has Hitler put his bailiffs on board the Italian fleet? If so, this battle, which leaves the Italian navy in a parlous condition, suggests that it will take more than German leaven to raise Italian morale. At the other end of the Mediterranean there has been a clash between the British and French following an attempt by the former to halt convoyed merchant ships off the Algerian coast. This may prove a minor incident but now that its relative strength in the Mediterranean has been further increased by the battle of the Ionian Sea, Britain may be less tolerant of French breaches of the blockade. At the same time Nazi pressure on Vichy to obtain use of the French fleet may well be intensified.

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THE FALL OF CHEREN AND HARAR MARK THE beginning of the end for the Italians in East Africa. With the whole of Italian and British Somaliland in British hands, the Addis Ababa-Jibuti railroad cut, and the capture of Massawa in Eritrea now apparently only a matter of days, the main Italian forces in Ethiopia are completely barred from escape. Rather than allow the tens of thousands of Italian colonists to fall into the hands of natives bent on revenge, the Italian command may have to surrender outright to the British. Although the

territory itself is not of first-rate importance, such a surrender would be a bitter blow for the Axis—particularly after the recent setback in Yugoslavia. It would liberate a substantial British army for action in either Greece or Western Libya. It would eliminate the last remaining bases for Axis naval activity in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. And in eliminating that region as a belligerent zone, it might open the way for the direct shipment of war supplies on American ships as far as the Suez Canal. This might become a decisive factor if a German attack made the Balkans a major theater of war.



SEIZURE OF ITALIAN, GERMAN, AND DANISH merchant ships by the Coast Guard following the revelation of sabotage aboard many of the Italian vessels constitutes an undeniably grave step. The action has already been protested vigorously by the Axis powers. A rupture of diplomatic relations is even possible if the United States takes the further step of taking title to the ships under the Espionage Act. Yet the seizure has a firm basis in both international and domestic law. The action was taken under what is known as the "right of angary." This right has its roots in long-established custom going back into the Middle Ages. It was carefully defined in a number of treaties in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Italy itself invoked this right in seizing 34 German ships in November, 1915, before it entered the war against Germany. In domestic law, the Espionage Act of 1917 gives the Secretary of the Treasury the right to seize vessels to protect them against damage. It is difficult to see how action could have been avoided in the present instance. The damage inflicted on many of the ships by their Italian crews was considerable and doubtless would have been intensified if the vessels had not been taken over by the Coast Guard. The damage was done apparently on the direct orders of the Italian consular officials. Ironically enough, the orders were transmitted through the Italian consulate in Newark, the closing of which had been requested by the United States government. Whether the seized ships will be put into use by the United States government remains to be seen. But in view of the government's need for ships to transport raw materials for our armament program, there is every reason for believing that the ships will be drafted into immediate service, as permitted by law.



ALL THE COUNTRIES OCCUPIED BY GERMANY, even those like Denmark which submitted to protection without resistance, are compelled to pay for the privilege. They are assessed amounts supposed to represent the actual costs of the armies of occupation but it would seem that questions of what the traffic will bear also enter into the Nazi calculations. According to estimates given in

the House of Commons recently, the total bill for the conquered western countries alone is about \$4,600,000,000 annually. The levy on France, in respect of which definite official figures have been published by the German authorities, represents almost three-quarters of this total and is equivalent to \$80 for every Frenchman. The assessment on the Norwegians, however, is believed to be still higher, amounting to around \$100 per capita annually. These amounts appear to be considerably in excess of the sums actually spent by the German army within the countries in question. A recent report from Vichy quoted financial experts as agreeing that Germany is spending only about 125 million francs daily on its forces in France while it receives from the French government 400 millions. As a result, the German government is rapidly accumulating a huge credit balance at the Bank of France which on February 1 is said to have reached 53 billion francs. This gives the Nazis abundant funds for financing propaganda inside France, for purchasing food and material in the unoccupied area, and for buying control of French industries. The French government, struggling with a hopelessly unbalanced budget, can only supply these funds by means of interest-free loans from the Bank of France. The upshot is that money becomes more and more plentiful while goods grow increasingly scarce. France seems doomed to suffer the worst sort of inflation and a complete financial breakdown.



THE LA FOLLETTE COMMITTEE'S LATEST report is so timely that it will probably get little attention in the press. We hope to discuss it at greater length in a later issue and note only that this report—on the Little Steel strike—is of the greatest relevance to the defense program. The committee points out that in the last war "the most serious obstacles to defense had their roots in the refusal of certain employers to bargain collectively." Most prominent among those "certain employers" now, as then, are the Little Steel companies, especially Bethlehem. "With an enlightened labor policy written into federal statute," the La Follette committee says, "we should not permit this to happen again." Uninterrupted production of steel is more vital than ever and we agree with the committee's conclusion: "Certain it is that the nation cannot permit these companies today to take the same attitude they took in 1937. . . . Any company which today stands up and flatly refuses to enter into a signed bargaining contract under all circumstances . . . [is] endangering the national security. Such conduct not only threatens the vital continuity of production but challenges the nation's domestic authority, weakens respect of labor for the national aims, and destroys the sense of unity and national effort." If Bethlehem's workers were as contemptuous of the law as its management is, their attitude would be termed sabotage of defense.

YET BETHLEHEM STEEL WENT UNREBUKED in the press for ordering an employee representation plan election in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and carrying out its design in a manner calculated to provoke trouble. Bethlehem's shrewd managers know that the labor board regards the holding of an election on company property as one of the indications of company unionism, and it has become customary for that reason to hold these employee representation plan elections off company property. In this case Bethlehem set up the ballot boxes within the plant in a way that was almost certain to cause a walkout. There is a maxim of the law which says that justice delayed is justice denied. The S. W. O. C. filed its complaint against Bethlehem's employee representation plan in August of 1937 and an NLRB complaint was issued that same month, but the NLRB did not declare the plan invalid until August, 1939, two years later. Not until February 17, this year, did the Circuit Court of Appeals finally hear the case and a decision has yet to be rendered. The settlement of the strike in Bethlehem was a victory for the union, but the company provoked another strike in the same way in its Cambria plant at Johnstown, where arrangements were made for a plan election. Trouble now threatens again at Lackawanna, where the company is accused of failing to live up to its agreement. Eugene Grace, who headed Bethlehem during the last war, seems intent on making the same disgraceful labor policy record in this one.

★

A GOOD START SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN MADE by the new National Defense Mediation Board. Of the first four strikes certified to it, settlements have been reached in two, those at the Condenser Corporation in Plainfield, New Jersey, and the Universal Cyclops Company in Bridgeville, Pennsylvania. While the agreements do little more than safeguard the rights of the returned strikers and lay the basis for mediation, the truth is that labor has been ready to mediate most of these walkouts anyway. Even the *New York Times* on March 29 felt compelled to condemn the International Harvester Company for its refusal to mediate after the C. I. O. union on strike had accepted the mediation board's proposal. International Harvester, despite tripled earnings last year, is unwilling to grant any wage increases. The union, as shown in its newest reply to the board, would like to arbitrate the wage issue, but as we go to press all the company will accept is mediation. The fourth strike certified to the board is that of the Vanadium Corporation at Bridgeville, where the union claims that the hiring of five non-union men as guards is a violation of their agreement with the company. E. D. Bransome, head of the company, is one of Sidney Hillman's assistants at the OPM but this does not seem to make him any readier for the minor concessions needed to settle the strike.

"HYSTERIA" IS THE WORD MOST COMMONLY used to describe the temper of certain Congressmen now engaged in cooking up dire threats against organized labor. We dissent. The word implies a genuine conviction on the part of these gentlemen that collective bargaining is blocking the defense of the republic. The callous truth is that they have found in the defense program a heaven-sent opportunity to sizzle labor into submission by a fierce war of nerves. "When the time comes that it is necessary to deal with the enemies of the nation in the factory or elsewhere, I believe I can speak for each member of the committee . . . they would not hesitate one split second to enact legislation to send them to the electric chair." The author of this sentiment, unlike the idiot who yells "Fire!" in a crowded theater just to see what happens, is in no danger of being hauled up before a magistrate for creating a panic. He is Representative Sumners of Texas, he was talking of defense strikes when he made the remark, and he will go right on serving his country as chairman of the House Judiciary (of all things) Committee. Mr. Sumners unhappily is not alone in his blood-curdling ambitions. His Georgia colleague, Mr. Cox, would draft all manpower in the country between the ages of twenty-one and sixty-five. Representative Smith of Virginia, who "investigated" the National Labor Relations Board half to death, wants his smear area extended to take in all phases of defense. And Mr. Ford of California would make defense strikes "treason," punishable by twenty-five years' imprisonment or by death if the strike causes fatalities. We hardly think these gentry expect their electric-chair-and-forced-labor prescription to be taken seriously—there's nothing like demanding a mile when you hope to get a yard—but their ravings are not calculated to stimulate the country's morale. Sumners, Cox, *et al* could do with that "cooling-off period" we've been hearing so much about.

The Spell Is Broken

THE hypnotic spell cast upon the world by Hitler's methods of terror has been broken by the Yugoslav people. Reports from Belgrade picture them as light-hearted in their successful overthrow of the capitulating Cvetkovitch government. But they are not light-headed, and in uniting to defy the dragon they know well the heavy price which may be exacted for their daring. Memories of the suffering and devastation that afflicted Serbia in the last war are far from dim. Yet Yugoslavs know also that to keep the independence for which they then fought, they must be prepared to fight again. For they are not deceived by the high-falutin promises of the "new order" and they realize that by accepting Hitler's protection they would be submitting their necks to a perpetual yoke.

Thus the new Yugoslavian government has taken the stand that it cannot put its neutrality into Nazi keeping. It does not threaten war but it states plainly that it will resist to the utmost any invasion of its rights. Nevertheless this action puts Hitler in a position where, for the first time in his dealings with small nations, he must choose between equally risky and disagreeable alternatives. Had he grasped in time the temper of the Yugoslavs, he might have decided to leave them alone, even though that would have complicated the problem of dealing with Greece. But he thought he had another Bulgaria on his hands and the only thing needed was the signature of the pliant Cvetkovitch. That he obtained and, ignoring the ominous rumblings from Belgrade, the Axis press broke into paeans of triumph.

Now Hitler's pact has been flung back in his face and he must either accept the rebuff and consequential loss of prestige or he must recast his whole Balkan plan in order to invade and punish Yugoslavia. There are signs that immediately he will make one last effort to get the Simovitch government to reconsider. All Germans are being withdrawn from the country while every weapon known to the war of nerves is being brought into play. Particularly the Nazis hope to split Yugoslavia by playing on both the fears and the racial sentiments of the Croats. This is truly a tender spot, for while the Croats as a whole are thoroughly anti-Nazi they occupy the region which will bear the first brunt of any Axis attack. Moreover, they have not in the past been fairly treated by the Serbians and they see in the new government elements which hitherto stood for Serbian hegemony in the triune kingdom. This is the kind of situation which the Nazis are skilled in exploiting but their efforts are likely to be wasted, as Stoyan Pribichevich points out in his article on page 399, if the Simovitch cabinet gives clear guarantees of Croatian autonomy.

Assuming, as we have every right to, that Yugoslavia stands firm, Hitler must call off his scheduled attack on Greece, and attempt to subdue the obstinate southern Slavs. His forces in Bulgaria will have to be turned west and new divisions concentrated north of the Danube. There are reports of Hungarian and Bulgarian mobilization which may indicate that he will attempt to make these enforced allies, both of which have claims on Yugoslavia, do some of his fighting for him. Northern Yugoslavia is open country and military experts do not believe that much would be done to defend it. But the Yugoslav army has the training and equipment to make a prolonged stand in the mountainous regions of the west and south.

The first victim of a German attack might well be the battered Italian army in Albania, for there is every reason to suppose that the Yugoslavs would drive in on its rear with the double objective of joining up with the Greeks and of capturing a new outlet to the sea. The story that

Italy is trying to persuade Hitler to be patient with Belgrade is probably well-founded.

Another reason why the invasion of Yugoslavia will be such an unpleasant necessity for Germany is its importance to German economy. Something like one-third of German imports of bauxite (from which aluminum is extracted) are derived from Yugoslav mines as well as important quantities of copper, lead, and zinc. Yugoslavia has also provided Germany with considerable amounts of food.

Economically as well as strategically then, Yugoslavia's refusal to knuckle under quietly means, at least, a serious setback to Berlin. It ruins Nazi plans for a bloodless conquest of the Balkans and threatens the stream of supplies which Germany has been drawing from that region. It has already given a tremendous fillip to Greek and Turkish morale, and as the news spreads it will fan the ever-smoldering resistance of the captive nations. Finally, it may well open a prolonged struggle on that second front which Hitler has striven so hard to avoid and force a fatal postponement of the invasion of Britain.

Knudsen's Coup d'Etat

AT 10 a. m. on Wednesday, March 26, Sidney Hillman left Washington by plane for a badly needed vacation in Florida. Before he left, Knudsen had discussed with him the possibility that the Allis-Chalmers plant in Wisconsin might have to be taken over under Section 9 of the Selective Service Act. This provides for the drafting, not of workers, but of plants. Hillman agreed this might have to be done, but nothing was said of a "back-to-work" order, an order the OPM has no authority to issue. After Hillman left, Knudsen went into conference with Max Babb, head of Allis-Chalmers, one of Babb's directors named Armour, and Under-Secretary of the Navy Forrestal. The result of that conference, held without Hillman's knowledge, was the issuance of an order to "both" the union and the company ordering a resumption of work. "This isn't an order," as one New Dealer put it; "it's a coup d'état."

If the Allis-Chalmers strikers permit themselves to be bullied back to work in this fashion, and if unions in the rest of the country fail to support them, the consequences for the labor movement and for its representatives in the OPM will be very serious. Knudsen, with the support of the press, will have become not merely the "czar" of defense but also the "czar" of labor, and employers will be encouraged to refuse concessions in controversies with their employees. For not the least shocking aspect of Knudsen's arrogant behavior is that the Allis-Chalmers Company, with a notoriously bad labor record as far back as the last war, has refused to accept the OPM compromise of March 1 to which the union had agreed. The

OPM, after obtaining the union's agreement, failed to bring pressure on the company. Knudsen a month later issued an ultimatum to the workers instead. It is no secret in Washington that the Allis-Chalmers Company is in no hurry to settle the strike. It has \$40,000,000 in defense orders. Its president, Max Babb, is a leading figure of the America First Committee. He would like to use the situation to break the union, and certain of his cynical reflections on the strike in an unguarded "off the record" moment with a government representative have leaked back to Washington and are well known in the OPM. They make Knudsen's attitude and action all the more reprehensible.

The terms set out by the OPM on March 1 were mild enough. The union was to order its members back to work. The management was to agree to the appointment of an impartial referee to pass upon union complaints of "disrupters" in the plant—this was the only concession asked. The referee's decision was to be binding on both parties. These "disrupters" were not merely non-union men who voiced opposition to the union, but a small group of a dozen toughs who picked fights with union stewards. At least one of them has a criminal record. This man, while in the navy, beat up an officer, was placed "in the brig," escaped through a porthole, swam ashore to Brooklyn and fled to Milwaukee, where he obtained a job with Allis-Chalmers. A girl friend betrayed him to the police. He served ten months in Leavenworth, and returned to Allis-Chalmers. He left to become a policeman, was dishonorably discharged after eight years of service, and then went back to work for Allis-Chalmers. Two of the men against whom the union complained, Nicholas Imp and Mike Bohachef, were the subjects of serious charges in a letter to Governor Heil of Wisconsin last December 26. The head of the union asked the governor to remove District Attorney Steffes of Milwaukee County from office for failure to order the arrest of these two men after they "deliberately and maliciously" drove their car into a union man outside the plant early on the morning of December 18.

These two men, Imp and Bohachef, brought the charges of "irregularities" in the strike balloting held under Wisconsin law on January 21. These charges have now been made the excuse for a newspaper campaign smearing the union and for hostile action by Governor Heil's reactionary Wisconsin labor commission. We should like to see these charges thoroughly aired and suspend judgment until all the facts are known. If irregularities were committed, they served the company's purposes beautifully by dragging a red herring across the real issues. One is whether a company with \$40,000,000 in defense orders is not under obligation to meet its workers half-way in peaceful settlements of disputes. The other is whether Knudsen is to be allowed to use the prestige of his office for strikebreaking purposes.

Vichy's True Colors

IN A moving and illuminating article in the April *Atlantic Monthly*, Raoul de Roussy de Sales, well-known French newspaperman, points out that while the Vichy regime claims to be saving France "as a living entity," it has repudiated "some of the essential ideas which made France live." It is this which shakes the confidence of so many Frenchmen in Marshal Pétain and his colleagues—this "willingness to collaborate with the Nazis not only in practical matters but also morally and politically." We see it in their outlawry of the slogans of the French revolution, in their efforts to stifle free opinion, in their shamefaced adoption of anti-Semitic laws.

We see it, too, in their willingness to assist the dictators in hounding the tens of thousands of hapless refugees who have become trapped in unoccupied France. The latest and most disgraceful example is the ban on the departure of 348 Spaniards bound for Mexico. These refugees were emigrating in accordance with an agreement made between Mexico and France last August. They all had passports with valid exit visas, but when the ship was ready to sail it was boarded by French police and all Spaniards of military age were ordered ashore. This action directly violates pledges given to the Mexican government and it accentuates the despair of 30,000 Spaniards who believed that they would be allowed to sail to the New World as soon as transport was available. The Vichy government cannot excuse this action, as it has excused the detention of German and Italian refugees, by reference to the terms of the armistice. It is under no obligations to Franco to prevent Spaniards leaving France and its behavior can only be explained by anxiety to curry favor with a hanger-on of the Axis.

In the ears of Hitler, too, such deeds speak louder than all verbal promises of collaboration, for they precipitate Vichy toward the same abyss of moral degradation which has long been the undisputed Nazi *Lebensraum*. They should also help to convince the outside world that when Pétain offers his hand to Hitler it is not so much an involuntary gesture as the act of a man who has invested his moral capital in Nazi victory and is hoping for quick dividends. As Fernand de Brinon, Vichy's agent in Paris, reported after a recent interview with the Marshal: "He is convinced that France must participate in the creation of a new European order and that is why he hopes to be able to work toward that end with victorious Germany." If that is Pétain's conviction, it is one the French people do not share. Their beliefs were voiced better by that spontaneous demonstration in Marseilles after the Yugoslav defiance of Hitler.

There are still many people in this country, including officials of the State Department, who close their eyes to the true character of Vichy. They disregard the incon-

sistencies in which the Pétain government has become involved by its attempt to combine claims to an independent status with the adoption of Nazi ideology. Mr. de Roussy de Sales, in the article previously quoted, catalogues a number of these inconsistencies. We have space only for one example: "Finally, it is not consistent to try to conciliate the traditional policy of Franco-American friendship and the ambiguous acceptance of the Nazi order in Europe when America has formally notified the world that it would not accept the establishment of that order."

Vichy's efforts to achieve this difficult straddle have been encouraged by altogether too much sympathy in this country. We have received Ambassador Henry-Haye as the free agent of a free state, overlooking his appeasing past and his still more dubious present. It is true he suppresses his pro-Nazi sentiments in public. But his propaganda against the British blockade and his omission of any reference to Nazi responsibility for French sufferings indicate clearly the primary source of his orders.

In pleading for American assistance in feeding France the Vichy government has again and again promised every kind of control to insure that food will not reach Germany. It is difficult, however, to place any reliance on official statements regarding the situation. When Admiral Darlan threatened to break the British blockade, he implied that all food shipments were being stopped and he contrasted the British attitude with German generosity in releasing requisitioned wheat in the occupied area. Now he has himself given particulars of imports into France between October and February including 260,000 tons of grain, 5,000 tons of meat, 180,000 tons of peanut oil, and 135,000 tons of fruit. Further, it has been officially made known in Vichy that the "generous" German gesture was really part and parcel of a barter arrangement made many months ago by which the occupied zone sends wheat, sugar, and potatoes to the unoccupied area in return for cattle, table oil, vegetables, cheese, and other products. As the Germans have the right of requisition in the occupied area this arrangement no doubt contributes usefully to their rations.

The arrangement goes far to justify the British contention that it is impossible to send supplies to France without favorably affecting the German position. We may well ask, therefore, why these facts remained hidden during the recent negotiations over the dispatch of food to France. The State Department has now asked Ambassador Leahy to make a full report concerning the exchanges between the occupied and unoccupied territories. We hope he insists on obtaining all the facts on the food stocks, imports, and exports of unoccupied France and on the activities of the German purchasing commission at Marseilles. That is information to which we are entitled, whether or not the Nazis object to its disclosure, before we are asked to urge Britain to modify its blockade.

Matsuoka's Visit

IF Yosuke Matsuoka, the Japanese Foreign Minister, went to Berlin and Rome to obtain assurances regarding an Axis victory before committing Japan to parallel action in the Pacific, his visit could not have been more unfortunately timed. He arrived in Berlin about six hours before the Yugoslav people had dealt Germany its most serious diplomatic setback of recent years. Between that time and the date scheduled for his elaborate reception in Rome, Italy suffered its most severe defeat of the war in Africa as well as a catastrophic blow to its fleet. These setbacks have undoubtedly increased the desire of the Axis partners to have Japan enter the war. In fact Japanese participation has become essential if the Axis is to deal a knockout blow against the British Empire before American assistance irrevocably turns the tide.

But it is increasingly difficult to see what the European Axis partners can offer Matsuoka that will overcome the doubts which led him to make his European trip. Military and naval assistance is out of the question. The strained relations which have arisen between Berlin and Moscow over the Balkans reduce the possibility that Germany can be of any help in bringing about the desired Soviet-Japanese non-aggression pact. Recent Axis defeats are also bound to curtail German influence in China. On the other side of the picture, Japan must take into account the fact that Britain's recent Mediterranean and African victories will permit it to strengthen its Far Eastern defenses. Additional British and Indian troops have recently arrived at Singapore to supplement the Australian and New Zealand forces dispatched there a few weeks ago. The Mediterranean naval victory may even permit a few light naval units to be sent into the Indian Ocean. Certainly the likelihood of American action to check further Japanese aggression has not been reduced. It has been intimated that in the event of an attack on Singapore, the United States might transfer to Britain some of the cruisers and destroyers now in Far Eastern waters.

In face of these difficulties Japanese entry into the war seems unlikely. Without doubt Japan will set about consolidating its position in Thailand and Indo-China so as to be prepared for any future opportunity. But its primary efforts will probably be directed toward liquidation of the disastrous "China incident." If China is to be destroyed, obviously this must be done before the United States either stops the flow of war materials to Japan or renders effective aid to Chungking. The danger of such an attack must not be minimized. Japan has been gravely weakened by four years of war; but so has China. Faced by a concerted Japanese attack, China may go down before the United States gets around to giving the assistance that has long been promised but never delivered.

Yugoslav Explosion

BY STOYAN PRIBICHEVICH

IN THIS war the greatest casualties have occurred so far among civilians and prophets. Just last week experts and authorities were interpreting the Yugoslav surrender at Vienna, which they had long foretold, when overnight they had to rearrange their arguments to explain an event inexplicable to them: the furious, whole-hearted defiance of Hitler's *Diktat* by a peasant nation of 16,000,000 almost entirely surrounded by Axis armies. Only a few of us had insisted publicly that under no conditions would the Yugoslavs accept a pact with the Axis and permit the passage of German munitions for use against the Greeks and the British. This apparently naive opinion was based, not on any inside information, but merely on a knowledge of the character and temperament of the people.

The Belgrade military coup of March 27 marks the first failure of Hitler's technique in the war of nerves: by putting on steam he provoked an explosion, and for the first time had a treaty torn up by somebody else. The primitive mind of the Serbian peasant usually makes instant courageous decisions in a crisis, because it sees each problem in its simplest terms. On the other hand the Nazis, shrewd and ruthless but singularly unimaginative, disregarded two essential qualities of the Serbs: their almost morbid feeling for the sacredness of their soil, and their capacity for accumulating hatred until it quivers, incandescent, in the air.

It is unfair to say that the former Regent, Prince Paul, or former Premier Cvetkovich, was pro-Nazi. The only influential Serbian pro-Nazi, Stoyadinovich, was delivered by them into Greek hands even during the negotiations with Hitler. Actually, the situation was simplicity itself: practically all Serbs are anti-Nazi; some have guts, some haven't; those who happened to be in the government hadn't—and they were overthrown.

Preparations for the revolt which put young King Peter and General Simovich in power must have been under way ("just in case") ever since the Nazi occupation of Bulgaria on March 1. For the coup was executed with such swiftness and precision that it caught both the Yugoslav and the German governments unawares, and not even the Gestapo had wind of it. Had Hitler understood Serbian psychology, he would have marched in the moment he heard of the initial street riots. He waited complacently for two days—and was irreparably late.

Of course, the boy king, Peter II—grandson of the heroic World War king, Peter I—is a symbol. The actual rulers now are the generals who as young officers drove the Germans out of Serbia in 1918. With them in the Cabinet sit representatives of the Serbian democratic and agrarian parties, most of whom were national revolu-

tionaries against Austria-Hungary. Vladimir Matchek, veteran chief of the powerful Croatian Peasant Party, quietly moved from Prince Paul's into King Peter's government, but at the time this is written he has not yet announced whether he will remain in the Cabinet.

It is glib to write, as some correspondents have, that the Croats are less anti-Nazi than the Serbs. The point is that, while they are more appreciative of democracy, they are less aggressive physically; and that their provinces, full of farms and industries and located in the flat northwest, are the most exposed and the least defensible. To make matters more difficult, the Croatian fascist, Ante Pavelich, who organized the assassination of King Alexander in 1934, is now an Italian guest, and is available for duty as a Croatian satrap under any Axis occupation. This, then, is Matchek's dilemma in case of war: to have Croatia hopelessly devastated or be regarded as a backstabber by the Serbs. Out of natural common sense, he is likely to remain Vice-Premier or to leave some of his lieutenants in the present Cabinet, especially if the new regime confirms the autonomous status of Croatia. But as long as Yugoslav troops command the borders German propaganda for Croatian secession on the Czechoslovak model has little chance of success. And in the event of war, most of the Croatian territory would have to be abandoned in any case.

To all German warnings the government headed by Dusan Simovitch is almost certain to reply repeatedly that it is resolved on strict neutrality and that the agreement signed by former Premier Cvetkovich cannot be fulfilled because it is contrary to the will of the Yugoslav people. For Hitler, on the other hand, retreat is now impossible. But the customary Nazi technique of threats and vilification, far from mollifying the Serbs, would at this point exasperate them to white heat. A Balkan war therefore seems inevitable in the near future.

The greatest part of Yugoslavia's 1,200,000 men have been moving south for some time. For the probable Yugoslav strategy will be to throw the Italians out of Albania, give up the northern and northwestern provinces to the Germans, and retreat into the wild mountains of Bosnia, Montenegro, Central Serbia, and Macedonia, where German tanks and motorized columns would not be of much use. If such a maneuver were carried out, the seasoned Greek troops in Albania could be thrown eastward into Thrace, and the Germans in Bulgaria would find themselves outflanked by the Yugoslavs. Whatever the outcome, the Germans would have to employ huge masses of men and matériel—and in no case could they prevent one disastrous result: destruction of Balkan foodstuffs and raw materials which the Reich has long depended upon. Even if the Nazis conquer the Balkan mainland, yet without the Greek islands and a Mediterranean fleet they will scarcely have advanced in the war against the British Empire.

Chungking and Washington

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 27

SOMEONE seems to have sold the isolationist news letter, *Uncensored*, a bill of goods. The March 22 issue reports that "In Washington close observers have noted a weakening of the Administration's eagerness to stand up to Japan—regarding China. The reason is not of course that anyone loves Japan the more. And there are factors other than the possibility of a Soviet-Japanese agreement. The report brought back from China by special emissary Lauchlin Currie was discouraging. For one thing Currie is said to have been impressed by the split inside China. He is also said to have discovered that too large a portion of the money the United States has loaned to China has found its way into the private pockets of members of the Chungking government. Quite possibly it was the Currie report which led the President to soft-pedal aid to China in his speech on March 15. He did not speak of China in quite the same way he spoke of Britain and Greece." This is not an accurate description of Mr. Roosevelt's attitude or of the Currie report.

It is possible from Administration and Chinese sources to obtain some idea of Currie's impressions. This story is an attempt to collate these scraps for what they may be worth. Currie came back rather more optimistic than otherwise, and his is one of the Administration's most discerning minds. One gathers that Chiang Kai-shek immensely impressed Currie by his astuteness, his austerity and his awareness of his own historic role and mission. In him China for the first time has a truly national leader. The seriousness of recent clashes between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists is not underestimated, but it is felt that they are not in as critical a stage as they were. Whether the improvement will continue remains to be seen, and depends in part on the extent to which Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union can arrive at some measure of parallel action in the East. It seems agreed that the Soviet government has been "scrupulously correct" in its dealing with Chungking. In a paradoxical way, renewed strife between Kuomintang and Communists reflects some improvement in Chinese conditions; cooperation is easy enough when the situation seems desperate; jockeying for position begins when prospects improve. China's upper crust is as resistant as our own to social and economic reforms, though the Chinese Communist program is a rural New Deal rather than Sovietism. That this is well understood in the West was reflected in the dismay voiced even by our conservative

press over the split, and the comment of such papers as the *New York Times* had a good effect in Chungking. Popular morale and guerrilla warfare within the Japanese occupied territory were hurt by the clashes with the Kuomintang, but the Generalissimo's speech before the People's Political Council is regarded as conciliatory and giving promise of peace.

Mr. Roosevelt did not "soft-pedal" aid to China in his March 15 speech. On the contrary, he promised more strongly than he has in the past to extend help to that country. The Chinese need more than we have been giving them, but the raw materials, artillery and planes required bulk very small amid the huge totals of the Lease-Lend Act. The chief artery for these supplies remains the Burma Road. Though Japanese planes operating from bases in French Indo-China may soon provide a new danger to the road, the Chinese are confident that they can keep it open. Bombed sections of the road are repaired in three hours and broken bridges replaced with pontoons or ferries in a day's time. The road has carried less freight than it should have because of the poor organization of traffic on it, not because of Japanese bombings. J. E. Baker, formerly head of the American Red Cross in China, has been appointed Director General of the Burma Road and expects to organize travel upon it more efficiently.

The Chinese have obtained more supplies from the Soviets than from America, but the prestige of the United States is much higher than that of any other country. The Japanese have gone as far as they can in China without getting into mountainous country and river gorges where their superior mechanical equipment would be of little use. Chinese guerrillas and irregular armies operate within so-called Japanese-occupied territory. Clashes between the central government and the Communists have had a bad effect on this guerrilla activity, for these roving bands live upon the countryside, and the tax and land reforms instituted by the Communists had tended to raise morale. Small enterprises were not interfered with in Communist territory but a progressive tax was laid on landholdings according to their size, and local democratic institutions were established.

It is hard to get a picture of just what is the difference in theory between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist programs, both groups basing themselves on Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles." The central government, as the only agency in Free China which can command adequate credit, has embarked on many large-scale

government-owned enterprises. But Chiang's greatness is as the unifier and leader of China; he has just begun to learn first lessons in democracy and social reform. China's gentry must pay a price for the struggles of China's common people if China's defense is to be effective, and in this its problem is not so unlike that of the older democracies.

In this respect we are only beginning to get rid of the mote in our own eye. The habit of exporting encouraging speeches to China and war materials to Japan is dying out slowly. Exports to Japan in January were 40 per cent below December and the lowest for any month since August, 1936. It is nevertheless interesting to note in the latest Department of Commerce report on trade with the Far East that exports to Japan in January were three times as great as to China, and that exports to China have been declining and are about half of what they were a year ago. The Department's figures exaggerate our shipments to Free China, for Chinese representatives estimate that easily four-fifths of the \$4,670,000 in goods shipped to China went to areas under Japanese control. It is also useful to recall that the \$100,000,000

in loans promised China on November 30 have not yet been made available, though this is expected soon. So far the total of our loans to China is \$65,000,000, a figure which makes our rhetoric seem a little shabby.

While exports were down in January, Japan took huge quantities of copper and lead, both now placed under licensing because of their scarcity and the need for them in the defense program. Licensing, of course, is not the same as an embargo, though one is often confused with the other. The State Department refuses to make information on licenses public and there is no way to find out what licenses are being granted. The oil companies are still doing a big business with Japan. Exports of petroleum to Japan totaled more than \$3,500,000 in January and continue at a high level, though the companies are becoming more and more worried about the publicity attending the business. I have before me a photostat of a Standard-Vacuum bill of lading for 265,200 gallons of Pennsylvania-emblem motor oil to be shipped aboard the Tusima Maru from New York harbor "about March 23/24." It is marked, "No Socony shield or mention of company name to appear on package."

Battle of the Atlantic

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL



BOTH Allied and Axis powers admit that 1941 is the critical year of World War II. If the British can hold out against Hitler this year, an ever-increasing volume of American ships and planes will be at their disposal to help turn the tide in 1942 and succeeding years. Conversely, the Axis, its forces not only weakened by blockade but spread over Europe because of the necessity of dominating a large and hostile subject population, will find its chances of victory materially diminishing.

But will aid in 1942 be too late? Hitler's military and diplomatic triumphs, British bravery against aerial attack, and the brilliant successes of the Greeks and British against the Italians in the Mediterranean have been the featured news of the past year of war. Much less spectacular but of probably greater importance has been the struggle at sea. Here a steady toll of sinkings, not as large as in any one month of the World War but with the same cumulative effect, has whittled away the margin of British security. Great Britain may be defeated on the land or even in the air and still survive, but should Germany succeed in completely disrupting the transport of British food and supplies the result will be either starvation or surrender.

Nothing is more dangerous than the assumption that

the present war at sea is roughly parallel to that of the last war. During April, 1917, nearly a million tons of shipping were sent to the bottom of the Atlantic. An Allied defeat by November of that year was prophesied by the Germans and fully expected by the British leaders. Then the adoption of convoys, at the suggestion of Admiral Sims, cut submarine losses among convoyed ships by 90 per cent. The arrival of American destroyers and patrol vessels, the invention of reliable hydrophones for anti-submarine ships, and the laying of mine barrages in the North Sea and the Straits of Dover, only outlets to the Atlantic trade lanes for German submarines, first checked losses of merchant tonnage, then increased the toll on *untersee* boats, and finally caused such loss of morale among the German crews that cocked revolvers in the hands of their officers would not induce sailors to go aboard the doomed vessels.

At the beginning of the present war naval authorities were inclined to feel that any effort Germany made to gain command of the sea or to cut trade lanes would have no more than a nuisance value. They regarded the situation as comparable to that of the World War, and contended that the defenses against the submarine had been discovered then and that now it was merely necessary to apply them. The surprisingly long list of sub-

marines destroyed and the relatively light loss of merchant tonnage during the early months of the present war confirmed this view. Even without the Russian, Italian, Japanese, and American aid which it had in the World War, and with a considerably smaller force, the Royal navy appeared to have the situation well in hand.

However, the German campaigns in Norway and France altered the situation inasmuch as they not only eliminated hostile land power from the continent of Europe but radically changed, in Germany's favor, the factors governing success in the war at sea. So many and far-reaching were the alterations in the conditions of sea warfare that few writers, even among naval men, appeared to grasp the full implications of all of them. And by the general public they were practically unnoticed.

The most obvious change, of course, related to German bases. Whereas these had once been concentrated along a narrow strip of North Sea coast, where their very crowding invited attack, they are now strung along the coastline from Norway to Spain—an achievement which greatly complicates the problem of successful enemy attack. But this is not the main advantage Germany derives from these new bases. Two of the three main anti-submarine devices of the World War—mine barrages and patrol vessels armed with listening devices—were effective only because they operated in comparatively narrow waters through which the U-boats were forced to pass. These narrow waters are no longer a condition of the sea war. Now that Germany has easy and direct access to the trade lanes of the Atlantic, its submarines do not have to run the gantlet of minefields and patrols before reaching their hunting grounds. Minefields in the North Sea and the Dover Straits have therefore become nearly valueless, and it would be dangerous to lay them near the French coast, in proximity to German air bases. With minefields close inshore out of the question and distant ones no longer effective, the greatest single threat to enemy morale has been dissipated.

The elimination of French sea power and Italy's entrance into the war have been too lightly regarded. Italian ships may have made far greater use of their extreme speed to escape action than they have of their offensive capacity. Nevertheless, the loss of French help has forced Great Britain to concentrate much of its navy in the Mediterranean. And because of the larger numbers of Italian submarines and the comparative absence of British air bases there, the ships in demand have been destroyers and submarines, the two classes that the British could least easily spare from the Atlantic.

It would thus be extremely unwise to view the Italian navy's recent losses as a heavy blow to Hitler. The mere existence of a reasonably strong Italian "fleet in being" drew warships into the Mediterranean at a time when Britain vitally needed them in the Atlantic for anti-submarine and convoy duties. Furthermore, the inability to

make use of the bases in western Ireland, which proved so useful in 1917 and 1918, has compelled escorting ships to make about twice as long a trip on each voyage. Forced to these unusual exertions in an attempt to do the work of several times their number, both ships and men are being rapidly worn out by overwork. Germans have naturally attacked the destroyers whenever possible, and even according to British figures, have sunk at least forty. Meanwhile, experienced seamen have become so few that the manning of the fifty destroyers sent by the United States had to wait for several weeks until crews could be gathered. Lacking destroyers, of which they now have only about one-half the number with which they finished the war of 1914-18, the British have armed old tramp steamers, pressed into service trawlers and drifters, and invented a new and cheaper class of anti-submarine vessel known as the corvette. But sinkings continue to mount.

Not only the submarine danger, but danger from surface raiders has greatly increased. During the World War raiders were at least forced to run a blockade in the North Sea. They must still do so but the task is infinitely easier since their proximity to air bases in Norway has compelled Britain virtually to abandon its strongholds in the Orkneys and northern Scotland, and since the Royal navy, with a much weaker force than once used to watch the 230 miles of sea lane between Scotland and Norway, can scarcely hope to make a continental blockade airtight. The belligerency of Italy has at the same time immobilized the very battle-cruisers and plane-carriers that would be most useful against commerce raiders.

So far, the British have apparently resisted the natural temptation to disperse their forces widely over a large area. As a result, their losses from the forays of German pocket-battleships, cruisers, and armed merchantmen in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans have gone up to startling figures; several entire convoys have been intercepted and badly mangled. Yet battleship protection is hardly possible. It is highly significant that the loss of the *Graf Spee* has been the only major German casualty in this phase of war and that that loss occurred when the strategic position at sea was very different from what it is today.

Aerial warfare against commerce has proved disappointing to many aviation enthusiasts who have long insisted that the bomber had spelled the doom of the battleship. According to both British and German figures the ship losses due to planes have been less than a third of the whole. This, however, is probably due in part to the fact that the giant German air force is notably deficient in large long-range bombers. At any rate, German planes have found their greatest value in scouting for merchantmen and reporting their location and course by radio to nearby submarines. The advent of aerial scouting has thus nearly destroyed the utility of the

World War device of using irregular routes and times of sailing.

The seriousness of the present emergency would be hard for an outsider to estimate. Figures of total losses are no longer released by the British Admiralty; those of the Germans are subject to heavy discount. Nevertheless, the indications are that they are enormous. The best American students of sea warfare estimate them at at least 5,000,000 tons or about one-fourth of the pre-war merchant marine; German figures run close to 9,000,000 tons. Added to the outright losses has been the burden on overcrowded dockyards of repairing damaged ships at a time when German air raids are aimed especially at shipping centers. Some of these losses have been replaced by the million tons of merchant shipping the United States sold Britain and by French, Dutch, Norwegian, Belgian, and Danish tonnage taken over. But countering these gains are the significant facts that the war has vastly increased the needs of ocean transport, that the Mediterranean lifeline has been largely abandoned for commercial use, and that the necessities of the convoy system itself, with its waits for escorts, reductions of speed to that of the slowest unit, and zigzag steering, have decreased the effectiveness of a given tonnage by at least 20 to 30 per cent. So serious is the emergency that British spokesmen in the United States have almost ceased emphasizing airplanes in the growing urgency of their demand for ships, and they have scraped the boneyards clean, purchasing every bottom conceivably useful.

Critical as the present situation is, there is no proof whatever that it will not steadily become worse. With a stronger industrial machine, more abundant resources and shipyards, and less need to produce for land war, there is no reason why German production of submarines should not far surpass the twelve to fifteen per month achieved during the best period of the last war. In fact, if reports of the mass building of tiny, standardized boats with just enough cruising radius to reach the hunting grounds west of Ireland are at all correct, forty to fifty ships a month might well be turned out. Since the runs are shorter, the proportion of ships at sea at any one time could conceivably reach one-third, far more than the 10 to 15 per cent usually active during 1917 and 1918. The provision of enough trained crews offers a more serious problem, but not one incapable of solution. If rumors of increased production of the new Focke-Wulf long-range bomber are accurate, air power also may well offer a much more formidable threat than has heretofore been the case.

The main feature of the German *Blitzkrieg* has not been the invention of any new weapons but rather the greatly improved and more imaginative use of old ones. Today virtually every condition in the war against commerce is drastically different from the circumstances of

the World War. Even German technique has greatly improved. A single submarine of the World War has given place to fleets of submarines, a single torpedo to entire salvos. It is probable that sound detectors have been improved to the point where U-boats are firing by sound alone without the risk of raising their periscopes above the surface. In 1917 Great Britain found answers to the submarine, then a new weapon, barely in time to escape defeat. To 1941 problems these 1918 answers have become as inadequate as was French employment of 1918 ideas in land warfare last spring.

By one of the curious parallels in which history abounds, American aid in World War II, as in World War I, is coming at a time when Great Britain faces defeat. The lending of mosquito and patrol craft and the building within three to four months of perhaps hundreds of additional submarine-chasers and torpedo boats are the most obvious measures of American aid now being undertaken. Coordination of British and American shipping to bring about the most favorable possible use of existing tonnage is also inevitable. Great Britain itself is taking steps to insure more rapid and efficient handling of merchant tonnage. Since ships take months or years to build, shipbuilding to replace lost tonnage cannot at once become effective. However, there is a noticeable speeding up here, together with R. A. F. attempts to cripple progress at German shipyards and bases.

Another suggestion of aid involves the use of American merchantmen in convoys, with United States warships serving as escorts. From a positive angle, such a course of action would augment considerably the protection now given convoys and increase the number of vessels which could be safeguarded. On the other hand, it would certainly involve loss of American ships and lives and the definite abandonment of the comforting legal fiction that the United States is not, after all, at war. The Administration is therefore weighing the idea with great caution. A more conservative plan, the loaning of additional warships to Britain, would avoid these psychological perils but would be much less effective, since one of England's greatest shortages is in skilled crews. By either method the extent of American aid would be more limited than many imagine, since large forces of destroyers are required with the Pacific and Asiatic fleets, the only really effective deterrent to a southward push by Japan. Nevertheless, the emergency is so critical that one of these schemes may have to be adopted.

Yet there is no assurance that any of these steps by themselves will be adequate. Will the British navy, traditionally conservative, find a successful defense against the submarine menace of 1941? In 1917 it was American ideas and invention rather than American material aid that brought ultimate victory. And again today the fate of Britain hangs on the rapid invention of new means to overcome heavy shipping losses.

Bombs Over the Hedgerows

BY CHARLES DUFF

London, March 10 (By Clipper)

IT IS comparatively easy for a trained observer, or one with good natural instincts, to estimate the psychological atmosphere of London or that of any of the big English provincial towns or cities in time of war. To do as much for the countryside is far more difficult, and the countryside, though almost ignored, is hardly less important. After all, it produces much food; it would bear the brunt of invasion; and it is the home now of hundreds of thousands of evacuees from the metropolis and the danger areas. Why it should be so neglected by journalists and correspondents I do not know, but this is a good enough excuse for my own observations.

In June, 1938, an Austrian friend and myself were discussing England's power of resistance in the event of war with Germany, which we both regarded as inevitable. He said: "If Hitler bombs London, he will do the job thoroughly; and this great soft monster will soon collapse. As a people, the English have had no first-hand experience of war. They have never had it on their doorsteps. From long prosperity and security at home they have developed qualities which do not offer wonderful prospects of resistance. In this they are unlike the Irish and the Spaniards—or even the French—and I shudder to think what will happen to your great city if there are serious air raids."

I had heard the same thesis before, especially from Nazis, all of whom seemed to think that England had grown too fat to fight successfully in the sort of *Blitzkrieg* they had in mind. Of course I disagreed—for reasons which have so far proved correct. The English are not a soft race, individually or collectively; and they may be counted upon to fight not only tenaciously but even ferociously to defend their homes, their mode of life, and their existence. It is not easy to find a tougher customer than the average London Cockney, whose morale, staying power, and dry, sardonic humor in the most adverse circumstances often evoked my admiration in the last war. I noticed then that even in a helter-skelter retreat they never lost their heads. There was certainly a lot of cussing and swearing; but signs of panic—never.

I lived through all that heavy bombing of London which began on last September 7 (without once going to an air-raid shelter) and saw precisely the same qualities that I saw in 1914-18. Londoners were grim, quiet—and very angry—all indications of good morale. The general feeling was: "If only we could hit back." There was a certain amount of awe at the barbarity of those first big

raids when the Germans, engaged in "area bombing" by night, razed churches, hospitals, schools, great office buildings, and the humble dwellings of the poor, in a way that the quick-witted Cockneys instinctively recognized as having terrorism as the chief military purpose. They seemed to know that Hitler's advisers had told him a story similar to that expounded by my Austrian friend, and they drew upon their rich spiritual resources to prove how wrong it was. In about a fortnight or three weeks the spirit of London resembled the spirit of Madrid, as I had known it during the Spanish war. There is no need to disguise the fact that life was difficult and sometimes chaotic, but the ordinary people rose above officialdom and bureaucracy and solved problem after problem for themselves. They worked like a rather good football team. There has never been a better example of what Kropotkin calls "mutual aid." Everybody helped everybody; the amount of looting was negligible, considering the population; and the stoicism of the people and the nightly heroism of workers and the services had epic qualities. Terrorism has failed in this war so far as England is concerned. It failed in London; it fails in the ports and industrial areas. It will also fail in the countryside.

In recent weeks Hitler has devoted some attention to country towns, villages, hamlets, and even to farms and isolated spots. I was myself in due course bombed out of my London apartment and decided I would sleep in the country until I could get another home organized. And so I have taken advantage of the respite to study the countryside. Every evening I talk to small-town dwellers, villagers, farm laborers, and others, some of whom have not visited a city many times in their lives. I find them quite a different breed from the Londoners—but not less interesting.

The town on the outskirts of which I live is in the center of an agricultural district and normally has about 11,000 inhabitants. With evacuees and bombed-out folk like myself, it now has about 20,000. One Sunday not long ago I was out for a stroll with a friend when two planes appeared amid the low-lying clouds. I suspected they belonged to the enemy, but was not sure. Suddenly there was the roar of exploding bombs. The planes swept directly overhead at a height of a few hundred feet—I saw the hooded head of the pilot of one clearly—and made off. In the distance was the wasp-like noise of our own fighters, and soon we heard the rattle of machine-gun fire. Later we were informed that a raider had been brought down.

That evening I went out for my usual ramble and visited a little roadside beerhouse frequented almost exclusively by poor small-farmers and farm laborers—about the simplest people one can find in England. I expected the conversation to turn upon that daylight raid, the first which our town had experienced. But no. Nobody even mentioned it, until I did. And then it was dismissed with testy remarks such as: "Those bloody Germans have a cheek to come here in broad daylight. Much good it does them bombing a place like this!" In another town a few miles away a German plane came on market day—Hitler's *Luftwaffe* has not forgotten the lesson of Guernica—and reduced a few houses to rubble, killed seven people, and wounded a score. It machine-gunned the marketers and stall-holders. A man who had a fish stall in the street showed me two bullet holes in the tray of his scales. "Can you beat it," he said. "Another foot to the left and he'd have got me. He hit a codfish on my stall, and if the price hadn't been fixed I coulda sold it for double in souvenir steaks." The point about all this is not that the country people seem more phlegmatic than the Londoners (which one might expect) but that their morale is as strong, even if they are perhaps not so quick in the uptake as Londoners, not so instinctively ready in team work. I began to speculate on what their behavior would be in the event of invasion.

Apart from the presence (especially in the evenings and at week-ends) of a few thousand extra inhabitants, one would not notice any difference in our town between times of peace and of war. A little more shopping activity, more aimless walking in the streets, bigger queues for the two cinemas and, of course, the food shortage—that is all. The food shortage sounds far worse than it is, and is chiefly in butchers' meat. Only twice in recent weeks have our butchers' shops been short of the ration allowance and then the allowance turned up a few days later. One can always buy other meats: hares, rabbits, fowls, fish, which are not rationed. In short, we have not really felt the food shortage. The carnivorous who can afford the money may go to a restaurant and have a good meat meal and then go home and eat their own rations. If they wanted they could go from one restaurant to another and gorge to repletion. Nobody expects that condition to last. It is unfair on the poor, and it is not only the poor who criticize it. Sometimes you can't get your favorite brand of cigarettes or tobacco; but you always have something to choose from. Prices of clothes have gone up and there's a purchase tax, but I find no profiteering to compare with that which was common in 1914-18. The ordinary English people, on the whole, seem to have developed a better civic sense, especially in regard to petty profiteering and speculating. This is not to say that these evils do not exist. Onions have been sold at two shillings a pound. Leeks went to some appalling price. But, in the

main, the grounds for complaint are few. This is true not only in London but in every town and village I have visited. Perhaps the storekeepers realize that the public is not in a mood to stand much nonsense (and it certainly is not); so they may not have a very much better civic sense after all.

Underneath the surface of life there is the quiet, persistent activity of war preparations. The town where I sleep and live at week-ends is proceeding to perfect its organization and defenses, but one sees very little evidence of either. There are I do not know how many town and country folk in the Home Guard, and with this is incorporated a fair leaven of old soldiers who saw active service in the last war—seasoned men, who have been under fire, bombardment, and in gas attacks, men who know military routine from A to Z. They have all had refresher courses and training in modern methods of guerrilla warfare.

The Home Guard is as near as England has ever got to a democratic army, and there is an excellent spirit prevailing between officers and men. This is a fortunate state of affairs in a corps which consists of all classes, creeds, and conditions. Indeed the men would not work with officers whom they disliked. In the Home Guard the lawyer, the company director, the farm laborer, and the newspaper-seller train alongside one another; and the man who is boss in the daytime may be taking orders from his employee in the evening. The general social significance of this leveling out is incalculable, and if there is no invasion, England should have good reason to thank Hitler for the threat of it. I meet many Home Guardsmen and have been struck by the way they have toughened up in recent months. One can hardly expect storm-trooper qualities from them, but I imagine that, should invasion come, they will provide many surprises. Some of them are expert at their jobs: as machine-gunners, grenade-throwers, and riflemen. All are volunteers and proud of their uniform. The majority of the men guarding key points are of the regular army, and they have been instructed to die rather than yield an inch. They will have the whole of the population behind them in this part of the countryside; there will be no panic, even if gas and flame-throwers are used, but a stolid, intelligent, and tenacious resistance, at times of a ferocity that may come as a shock to those who have not looked deeply into the English soul. "Let us get face to face with the Germans and we'll slaughter them," is a common sentiment.

As regards the general behavior of the civil population, many of the evacuees are women and children and they may be expected to "stay put" in the event of invasion. They will remain indoors. The townsfolk may be divided into two categories: those who will stay home and adopt passive resistance, following the official instructions which are to be distributed any day now; and

an incalculable number who may be counted upon not to resist the temptation to do something. I have met dozens of men who say: "It's all very fine to be told just to stay home by the fireside if the Germans come. I don't know what I'll do, but I'll do *something*. There's bound to be some mopping up wanted." While the spirit behind all this is good, the military nuisance value may be in proportion. There is another certainty: the people in these country towns and villages have had the lessons of Belgium and France so dinned into them that they will never clutter up the roads.

In one respect there is a striking difference between London and the countryside: that of political outlook. In London it is impossible to avoid hearing among the ordinary population views to the effect that after the war there must be a fundamental change in political structure, tending toward an undefined socialism. But even in London I find little evidence of a semi-revolutionary feeling. There is a vague yearning for a leveling out of the gross inequalities of life—those inequalities which that first month's heavy bombing brought into sharp relief. In London and, I understand, in the big provincial cities and industrial districts and bombed ports, the prism of war is splitting social thought into a spectrum in which

the colors stand out in violent contrast. In both London and the countryside it is realized that bureaucracy is stifling democracy, but whereas something may be done about it in the big cities, the countryside is unlikely to be greatly moved.

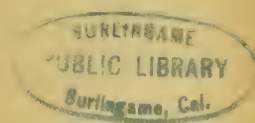
The people in my town and countryside are ultra-Conservatives down to the humblest farm laborer, and Labor or even Liberal town councilors are looked at askance and almost as reds. Here the church and land-owning influences are considerable—and reactionary. To me, who have lived for years in London, it is odd to feel that unpopularity or worse is the reward of some opinion that would pass unnoticed in the metropolis. Here there is hardly an adverse word or thought about the politicians responsible for Munich, and to talk of that episode as a betrayal produces a hostile silence. Having sensed the hostility, I get out of it by remarking: "Well, thank God we have Churchill"—with which there is unanimous agreement. Churchill's latest broadcast was listened to with religious awe. Of course Russia is outside the pale. Here, the Communist is a monster and the Conservative a gentleman. That, in general, expresses the spirit of this countryside. London is not England—any more than New York is the United States. Perhaps less so.



THE RICH PASS THROUGH THE EYE OF A NEEDLE

The Opportunists

BY CHRISTOPHER LA FARGE



THE Opportunists are individuals, without any official connections, who will get you a government order for goods to be used in the defense program—at a price. They have appeared in force in southern New England, one of the largest centers of armament production in the country, since last July. I know that fifteen pairs of them (they work in pairs as a rule) have turned up here in Rhode Island; and that, from their own accounts, they have not limited themselves to this territory. They cover a wide field in an anxious time.

The price for which the Opportunists will work varies from 2 to 10 per cent of the gross amount of the orders procured. If they can secure for a factory an order for \$100,000 worth of gun-carriages (that sum to include a profit for the manufacturer) the eventual cost to the army or the navy may be as much as \$110,000. This increase in cost the Opportunists would justify on the ground that, acting as a clearing-house and information center in a time of disorganization and confusion, they have expedited both the placing and the completion of defense contracts.

As far back as May, 1940, some of the Opportunists saw their chance and organized, though most of them began in July or August. They work in teams—composed, usually, of two men, one of whom is an engineer of sorts—management or industrial—and the other a sales promoter, or contact man. The better organized pairs carry elaborately prepared catalogues which list the equipment of those plants they claim as "clients." The plants are identified only by an unrevealing key number, for the common practice is to show or give this catalogue freely to manufacturers to consult in case they need supplementary equipment in order to put through a complex defense order. Thus, one manufacturer may not have Bullard lathes and may need them badly. In the Opportunists' catalogue he finds a plant having Bullards. If he can sub-contract part of his order to the other plant he gets his work finished and the Opportunists collect their commission from the plant that had the Bullards. It is obvious that the plants so catalogued must be anonymous, for otherwise what would prevent a direct contact between the two manufacturers, that would leave the Opportunists out in the cold?

In talking recently with state officials and manufacturers in New England, I found them eager to supply me with facts on this kind of defense profiteering, but reluctant to be quoted specifically, lest they be reproached for having furthered the schemes of the Opportunists.

The average manufacturer or politician can be only a victim of these practices, never a beneficiary, for none of the excess profits come his way. In order, therefore, not to embarrass honest men, I shall cite composite examples, in which names of places and persons are invented but none the less typical; much of the material that I shall quote, in letters and contracts, is exact though somewhat condensed.

Let us follow the course of that enterprising group The Arms and Ordnance Procurement Associates, which has set out to collect a percentage on national defense orders. On expensive stationery the president of the firm writes to the state government commission which acts as a clearing-house for manufacturers. The commission has production facilities listed in such a fashion that any manufacturer may learn where he can have this or that made or processed or finished. State listings are sent to production offices in Washington, to the army and navy, and to other states. The Procurement Associates request an interview with the commission. Soon granted an appointment, Mr. Lugg and Mr. Tinker of the Procurement Associates arrive at the commission offices; possibly they have brought along that prominent club man and broker, Mr. Dolan, who has an acquaintance with some member of the state commission. Mr. Lugg is a management engineer and Mr. Tinker is a sales-promotion expert. After some polite talk, they get down to business. Can the commission tell them who in this state can handle a particular defense requisite?

Suppose the Procurement Associates inquire about anti-aircraft guns. When the commission asks why they want this information they talk of their intimate connections with defense chiefs in Washington, then go on to explain that they are eager, like all good Americans, to help rearm the United States. They are out to cut red tape, get wheels moving. The commission is unable to refuse information that may bring business into the state; and the matter of any fee paid by the manufacturer to the Procurement Associates is utterly beyond its control. The commission finally informs the Procurement Associates that the A & B Machine Works have the equipment to make anti-aircraft guns. Then, in all probability, the Procurement Associates will go directly to the A & B Machine Works and introduce themselves as sent by the commission—a falsification which is not usually exposed by the indignant commission until the Procurement Associates' business is sufficiently advanced to be safe, or

has been flatly refused. If, the Opportunists explain, they should go to their connection in Washington, Mr. X (A Man Who Is Close to Knudsen), with a full description of a reputable New England plant capable of making, say, anti-aircraft guns, Mr. X (possibly the most honest of public servants) will be only too delighted to send government specifications directly to that plant and ask it for a bid on such guns. The only thing that is holding up Mr. X, they point out, is the regrettable lack of coordination of such information in Washington. The fact is, of course, that in all likelihood Mr. X would in time send, on his own initiative, those very plans to that very plant.

The Opportunists dangle a large bait before hungry men. If the men are hungry enough they bite and, virtually without proof that the allocation of such work to their respective plants is the doing of these salesmen and not the natural course of events in Washington, swallow a contract calling for a commission to be paid to the Opportunists upon receipt of a government order.

If by any chance this is a little more than the manager can easily take and he asks the Procurement Associates to get out, they may look sadly at him and tell him that they will feel it necessary, under the circumstances, to inform their connections in Washington not to send any inquiries for the time being to the A & B Machine Works, at least not until the manager has had time to think over their proposition and decide to come to some definite arrangement with them. They then leave.

Now let us look at another method. The Procurement Associates, who are interested by now in sub-contracts, first call on the state commission. Their experience at the offices of the commission is identical with the one already described, unless this is their second visit, in which case a certain coolness may mark the interview. After they have left the commission offices, they return to their own home office and start the good work by writing letters. A typical form letter will read like this:

The A & B Machine Works,
Mechanicsville.

Through the cooperation of the State Industrial Commission, we are advised that you have some plant facilities adaptable to the urgent requirements of the Ordnance Department. At the present time a considerable volume of overflow orders for parts is being distributed to machine shops in the East through this organization by nationally known manufacturers.

We are constantly receiving quotation inquiries and blueprints for many types of machine-shop work. The capacities of the shops which we represent are becoming greatly overtaxed and we seek additional outlets for such orders. If you have the facilities for such work and are interested, please write us.

In writing, please list fully your equipment, floor space, number of your employees, and also whether or

not all of your employees are American citizens, and the type of machine-shop work you prefer.

Please let us hear from you by return mail if you are interested, as we are flooded with quotation inquiries. (Signed) The Arms & Ordnance Procurement Associates

By: H. C. Lugg, President.

If the shop is at all interested (there is nothing in this letter about a commission) it is likely to reply, and thus to give the Procurement Associates another anonymous though detailed listing of equipment for their catalogue. This listing is impressive for the next prospect and it means that the job eventually offered to the A & B Machine Works will be temptingly well suited to its facilities.

The manager of the A & B Machine Works writes as requested, listing his equipment in full. Presently he gets another letter. Somewhat condensed, it runs:

We acknowledge receipt of your communication of September—with accompanying enclosure.

We are and will be in a position to forward blueprints and quotation inquiries in considerable quantities for work adaptable to your machinery. We have already placed much of this type of business and will be glad to add your plant to our clientele provided one copy of the Standard Form Agreement, herewith enclosed, is executed and returned to this office. . . . As all quotation inquiries forwarded to you will be strictly on a bid basis, our procurement commission will nowise affect your normal margin of profit but will merely be reflected in your bids and will only apply in those instances where work forwarded by us is considered acceptable enough to you to warrant your bid, and any re-orders from the same source.

Please let us hear by return mail, etc.

The "Standard Form Agreement" is so remarkable a document that I give it in full below:

We, the undersigned, do hereby employ and retain Arms & Ordnance Procurement Associates of New York to procure us quotation inquiries, specifications, blueprints, orders, or any of them, for production and fabrication of ordnance parts or equipment, and do hereby agree for value received and in consideration of services so rendered to pay the said Arms & Ordnance Procurement Associates a commission of ten percentum of the gross business so procured for us.

In addition to the above specified commission on the initial orders, we further agree to pay to the aforesaid Arms & Ordnance Procurement Associates a commission of ten percentum on all ensuing orders from the same source or sources either directly or indirectly received by us hereafter. We further agree that the ten percentum commission herein provided for will also include and be computed upon all jigs, tools, dies, etc., as well as parts which might be billed separately or collectively by us.

We further agree to pay the ten percentum commission promptly upon receipt of payment of our invoice

for said orders and we agree to send a duplicate of all invoices applicable thereto at the time we bill the same to the office of the Arms and Ordnance Procurement Associates.

We further agree that this contract remain in force and effect during the continuation of the present European war, or any wars in continuation thereof by the present nations, or any wars immediately growing out of the present war, and in any event remain in full force and effect during the period and continuation of the rearmament program of the United States government.

We further agree that this agreement shall be binding upon our heirs, executors, assigns, and/or legal representatives.

It is a charming document—and remarkable not only for its language but for the fact that, standard or not, the grim little paragraph referring to wars and the children of wars, had to be modified later, as follows:

We further agree to pay the above specified commissions on all ensuing orders or re-orders hereafter received from the same source or sources and directly resulting from our satisfactorily handling the initial orders so procured or any orders received resulting from contacts established by Arms & Ordnance Procurement Associates.

We further agree that this contract remain in force and effect for two years from the date hereof.

It may be wondered how the Opportunists get hold of these blueprints they peddle about. It can be done by a simple and ingenious method.

A salesman for the Procurement Associates calls on the manager of the E & F Company, a big, nationally known plant. The salesman asks the manager what work is giving him the most trouble. The manager says that it is very difficult to get three-inch internal boring. The salesman then says that his firm has as a client the G & H Company, which has precisely the equipment necessary, and he asks the manager for blueprints and specifications to take to the G & H Company for a bid on this work. The manager is usually unwilling to give government prints to the salesman, but he is willing to send them to G & H, a reputable firm. The salesman agrees to this and telephones G & H that the E & F Company are sending prints on his recommendation. The prints are then posted out to the G & H Company. If G & H get the job, the Procurement Associates get a commission. But if the job is lost because the price is too high, the salesman for Procurement Associates calls on G & H to offer his regrets, at the same time saying that the E & F Company want him to bring back the blueprints and specifications. The G & H Company see no real reason for refusing to give him the prints, since they came through him, and so the salesman walks out with them. The Procurement Associates are now in a position to go to any plant in the country and exhibit

these prints and specifications as an admirable warranty that they represent the E & F Company.

On March 30 Donald M. Nelson of the OPM issued a warning that the Opportunists were at work and asked business men to deal only with government-appointed purchasing agents. The warning was timely, but, considering the inroads the Opportunists have already made, it will probably take more than a warning to get rid of them.

In the Wind

THE Borough of Queens in New York City is fast becoming the headquarters and hunting ground of fascist groups. After the last election, in which he suffered a severe defeat, Joe McWilliams moved his American Destiny Party from Yorkville to Queens. Father Brophy, Coughlin's Eastern representative, now operates in Queens. And most of New York's professional fascists are said to be colonizing the borough in the hope that this vast area of lower middle-class dwelling places may become the stronghold of American fascism.

LOWELL MELLETT'S Office of Government Reports publishes each week, for the convenience of federal workers, a list of magazine articles on public affairs. In the index to the March 12 issue this entry appears: "Civil Liberties (see Subversive Activities)."

A PROMINENT FRENCHMAN who recently left France tells this story of the Parisians' attitude toward their conquerors. One of the large Paris restaurants is generally filled in the evenings by German and Italian officers as well as by French civilians. When the Germans enter there is complete silence. When the Italians appear, however, one of the Frenchmen stands up, asks for silence, then cries out: "*Voilà —voilà nos vainqueurs!*" Even the Germans, according to the story, join in the laughter.

A BEAUTY SHOP in Delaware, Ohio, bears the simple name of England. In its window is a picture of a woman getting a "permanent," and the slogan is "England Rules the Waves."

A UNITED PRESS STORY that appeared in only a few Southern papers told of a Negro who volunteered for army service but who was known and disliked by the examining board. Eager to get rid of him, the board asked the army doctor to do his utmost to find some physical defect. The doctor found nothing wrong and wrote this report: "Perfect physical specimen but ugly as hell. Army will accept at its own discretion."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be easily authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

The Georgia of the North

THE Farm Security Administration is not setting up any transient camps along the line between Connecticut and Westchester County, New York, to take care of the migrant suburbanites. They provide their own shelter but they are on the move and their migration is a demonstration of the fact that there may be as much pull in the hope that in Connecticut they will escape a state income tax as there is in the hope of getting a job anywhere picking beans or building a powder factory. Also some clerks as well as some capitalists are troubled because the real-estate tax on a suburban home in the Nutmeg State is only half what it is a little nearer the Grand Central Terminal in New York. Taxgatherers are disturbed in New York and pleased in Connecticut because taxpayers are moving.

The New York *Times* seemed to be philosophic—even poetic—about the ferment on the roads north of it. Contemplating the situation with a benignity which it extends to its entire suburban circulation on both sides of the line, the journal declared that "everybody in the present lively debate agrees that in both states the grass is green, the hills are soft and round, and the air is bracing." The description is of those green pastures we have all been seeking.

The new parkways may indeed be the perfect American plush-lined passageways for migrants to them. It seems almost impolite to suggest that the big roads may lead just as straight to sadness as does the road out of Oklahoma by Hooverville and the honky-tonk. They do. I have the testimony of a black shepherd in the green pastures to prove it.

I hope the escaping suburbanites will have better luck than some other people who also moved, in hope of escape, up the same roads. The Reverend Richard A. G. Foster told me about them, and as pastor of the Varick Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in New Haven he is one of them himself. Their story is perhaps not very important in the big picture of migration in America. It is not as dramatic as the mass movements of defense. It does not make as much news as the scurrying of the suburbanites from state income taxes and higher real-estate levies. But I think what the Reverend Mr. Foster, who preaches under the towers of a Yale gymnasium which looks like a cathedral, says about his people is interesting. He has, I think, a right to report

on his own part of life in the pleasant state where financiers and factories, taxpayers and Gothic Towers are at home. His testimony, however, has not often enough been taken.

"I have traveled over Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and in the backwoods of North Carolina and Virginia," he said, "and have seen the deplorable Negro homes there. But when I came to New Haven I was amazed to see terrible homes for Negroes here too. I inquired what Negroes pay for such 'homes' and felt that one of the cleverest pieces of robbery that has ever been perpetrated upon a people was the rent asked for these old fire-traps."

The shepherd in the land where "the grass is green and the hills are soft and round" went on: "Who cares how Negroes live! That seems to be the attitude of most people. As to a living wage for Negroes, apparently no one wants them to have enough money to better their conditions. Everyone knows that Negroes are paid less than any other racial group. But when the cost of living rises, they must pay just as much as anyone else. It is sad, but many regard Connecticut as the Georgia of the North as far as Negroes are concerned."

It is a long way from Georgia to Connecticut and not all the roads are planted with grass and trees. But the Negroes have been coming for a long time. The Reverend Mr. Foster's church was established in 1820. Eli Whitney was living in New Haven then. He had already been to Georgia and tightened the ties of slavery with his machine. Mr. Foster's church must have been one of the first havens for the escaped. They could shout hallelujah for freedom at the top of their lungs till the hallelujahs came back resounding from all Connecticut's little hills. That was when the road on which Negroes came to the North and to freedom ran underground. Now it has four lanes, and shrubs and spruce trees and grass are prettily planted beside it. A Negro can run on it as fast as a taxpayer. And if he has any wind left at the end of his journey he can sing hallelujah still in the A. M. E. Zion Church.

Within the sound of any such singing it seems to me that Connecticut itself might begin to contrast a tax policy designed to catch millionaires with its inability or unwillingness to provide decent living conditions for Negroes. Such a conflict in state attitudes of promise to some and performance to others may not be the American dream but too often has seemed the American plan.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE MODERN POETRY OF AMERICA HISPANA*

BY ALFONSO REYES

II

IN THE second hour of Modernism appear the Nicaraguan Rubén Darío (1867-1916) and the Mexican Amado Nervo (1870-1919). The great name of Darío means a whole era of Spanish poetry, equal at least to that of Garcilaso. Centuries must pass before human clay raises another such tower of poetic strength. In Darío's work, three principal phases are usually marked: the origins, sprung from Spain's soil, from the epigram of Campoamor and the romantic Becquer—through the volume "*Azul*"; *Rubenismo*, which some place apart from Modernism, it being his most imitated manner, an erudite music of violins and sonatinas and mythic bas-reliefs—through the volume "*Prosas Profanas*"; and finally the huge discordant music of "*Cantos de Vida y Esperanza*," thus far imitated by none, and one of the clearest summits of poetry. The first manner is "family jewelry"; the second is the gay luxury of the *salon*; the third is prophetic storm. Language, technique, imagination, are permanently made over. The inevitable reaction against Darío's reign will be a reaction against the sheer physical beauty of his verse, against the imperialism of his vast resources, against the plethora of motives for creation which he finds in the external world. The reaction will be fatigue, mutedness, almost silence: imprisonment in one's own soul. Darío, more than a lyre, was the whole orchestra. The reaction will take the form of intricate specialization within his immense panorama. Darío's prose would not have an indifferent page had not his secretaries in his last years put their hands on it. His book of critical silhouettes, "*Los Raros*," has this distinction: it reveals not the literary influences that formed the master, but the influences that his successors were able to take hold of.

Nervo is an erudite poet in evolution toward a too consciously sought innocence. His growth reveals spiritual purification, often at aesthetic sacrifice. His tortured eroticism, redeeming and simplifying itself, lets its graces go. If in his youth "Sappho, Crisis, Aspasia, Magdalena, Afrodita" were the heroines of his "perverse desire," maturity made him rave mildly over no more than "the blonde and the dark one," "*la rubia y la morena*." Ten years with his "unmovable beloved" (then she died) did not placate him. Thereafter, sick and sad, he will dote

on the kiss of a child and make believe that the sympathy shown for him is love. The ecclesiastic mysticism of his childhood, burdened with Catholic art, darkened by the black wings of á Kempis, becomes an abstract transparency in which are fused Franciscan sweetness, the sacrifice of Christ, and the aloofness of Buddha. He sports with both spiritualism and science, above all with the sciences of still unsolved mysteries. And at last his Saturnian complexities turn saintly, and his art grows vulgar; for "it is with good sentiments that one makes bad books." But his refined sensibilities win a fair use of the Mexican diminutive, so characteristic of our speech; his early techniques—those deliciously dissolving alexandrines, those coquettish and gluttonous ritournelles—disappear one by one; so that at the last this literary poet (if ever there was one!) exclaims: "Of literature, I know nothing."

Nervo came to his end "through the strait gate," utterly empty and perfect. His popularity with the American publics coincides with the aversion of the critics.

The Argentine, Leopoldo Lugones (1874-1938), places one foot on Modernism to begin a march that lasts his entire life. With "*Los crepúsculos del jardín*" he grasps the scepter and thenceforth never yields it. As he broadens, he leaves the schools behind him, unclassed by the athleticism of his robust personality. Every substance is palpable in his work, from languid silk to bronze; each new volume is a new zone of the spirit. He invents always, he never repeats; moving from the aristocratic to the popular and from the love of liberty to the bitter belief in the need for a dictator. Impatient as a man of the Renaissance, he embraces everything: humanism, politics, history, and exact sciences, botany, philology, anthropology, myths. His facility rides him. A provincial toward Buenos Aires, a creole toward Spain, torn between a ballad terseness and a rustic asperity, with something of Góngora and of a natural-born symbolist, now recondite, now diaphanous, with an indefatigable gift for words, he is the typical American embracing civilizations and anxieties. His "*Lunario Sentimental*" is a seed-store of the new Argentine poetry beyond him; in his gallant prose there are pages which I venture to call immortal. He devolved from anarchism to militarism; the youth of Argentina sorrowfully had to break with him. But as time passes, there will remain of him only the height of his destiny: his artistic per-

* The first part of this essay, which is the second of a series on A New World Literature, appeared in *The Nation* of last week. The third essay, by Eduardo Mallea, will appear soon.

fection. It is not certain, nor need be here considered, in what sense there were associations between him and the Uruguayan Julio Herrera y Reissig (1873-1909). They refer at best to one phase of Lugones, and a parallel is not a map. The Bolivian Ricardo Jaimes Freyre (1872-1934) is also, up to a certain point, associated with Lugones; he was a poet of strong originality, investigator of new rhythms in whose work visions of the pampa grow palpable.

The Peruvian José Santos Chocano (1875-1934) is virtuosity incarnate. The chivalric pride of Díaz Mirón inspired him, but his eyes opened on the opulent history and nature of his land and led him to his own way. Its mountains and plains, its rivers and lakes, the legends of the Conquistadores, horses, eagles, are not so much descriptive features of his poems as blazons of a heraldry, weapons in an armory. The architecture is parnassian. And the landscape plays a divining part in a game of hieroglyphs. Seduced by visual enchantments, Chocano can graciously descend to describe the pirouette of a circus or the black-and-white of a tearoom. Only in the "*Limeña*" of his contemporary, Luis Fernán Cisneros, has his funambular grace been excelled. But when Chocano came to Mexico, his wisdom in reading signs helped him to penetrate with a magistral stroke the sadness of the Indian.

The Colombian Guillermo Valencia (1873-), humanist and philosopher, directs his spiritual gaze over India, the Near East, the Bible, and classic lands; ascends through Spain to the European literatures; reaches Germany and Russia. He is an intense and grave poet with thought and form both purified. He has revived the long poem and evaded none of its problems. Narrator and contemplator more than lyricist, his culture is unobtrusive and inward. Contrast with his meditative features the shrewd grimace of another Colombian, the humorist Luis Carlos López, younger but already dead; his satires denote a reaction of Creolism against Modernism. Sentimental, urban, simple, the Argentine Evaristo Carriego (1883-1912) initiates in the extreme south another trek back to creolism.

Mexico's indisputable master today is Enrique González Martínez (1871-). From the beginning, his command of his own tradition, his discipline tempered in the translation of the French poets, above all his probity of spirit enabled him to preserve in new forms and navigate to his own port the permanent assets of Romanticism together with the aesthetic freedom of the Modernists. Form for him is never the direct objective. Virile thought, introspection without tortuousness, healthy and ready imagination, severe lyricism, a minimum of ostentation, and a pattern limned by the necessity of his subject, are his pledges against time. In him, as in the Platonic figure, beauty and good fuse in a higher harmony.

In a word, the pleiade of poets I have briefly evoked

made a conquest: liberty. It brought to America all the tendencies, all the techniques, and naturalized here the spirit of the world. After these poets, no accent and no capacity will be missing. Federico de Onís in his splendid anthology of Hispano-American poets names in the reaction to lyric simplicity the Argentine Rafael Alberto Arrieta (1889-); in the classical reaction the Argentine Enrique Banchs (1888-) and the Mexican Alfonso Reyes (1889-); in the romantic reaction the Argentine Arturo Capdevila (1889-) and the Uruguayan Carlos Sabat Erasty (1887-). The Argentine Fernández Moreno (1886-) is the poet of the everyday event; he approaches the new Creole school of the Uruguayan Fernán Silva Valdés (1887-) and the Mexican Ramón López Velarde (1889-). The art of this poet, influenced by Lugones and Francis Jammes, both complex and subtly "small-town," is the object of deep study by the younger critics; one poem brought him fame: "*La Suave Patria*." The latest ships come laden with social unrest, a political poetry of redemption strangely mixed with new aesthetic forms and pure experiments in prosody. American poetry breaks once for all with the Graeco-Roman metaphor in the outstanding poet of youth, the Chilean Pablo Neruda.

We will close this review with a glance at the modern women poets of our America: the bitter and spirited Uruguayan Delmira Agustini (1890-1914); the Uruguayan Juana de Ibarbourou (1895-) whose work is strong of sap and fruitful; latest of the three Juanas of America Hispana, she evolves to an ever more dense religious expression which her great predecessor, Sor Juana de Inés of Mexico, would have understood. The Argentine Alfonsina Storni (1892-1939) is a cerebral, hyper-aesthetic metropolitan devoured by her armored city. The Chilean Gabriela Mistral (1889-) is a genius in both verse and prose; mountainous and potent, her "inward mansions" are whipped by Andean tempests akin to the spiritual storms that shook the coarse strong flesh of Santa Teresa. Mistral is the author of the best poem inspired by the Mexican revolution: "*El Recado á Lolita Arriaga*."

... I yield to another the enviable privilege of discussing the younger poets, among whom are some of my strongest friendships and firmest admirations.

U. S. S. Jezebel

WITH an almost palpable, yet instantaneous, clang, the sun left the sea and dominated the disinterested heaven. There seemed to be no interval between that event and the assertion of itself upon the poopdeck of what at first appeared to be a solid marmoreal column and was then revealed as a line of clean, laundered, shining, liberty-bound gobs. Out of fifty individual souls emboned and bemusled in disciplined flesh, the relentless routine of the fleet had created one of those ordered masses which men call crews, to itself

seeming a microcosmal society more intense and architectonic than the jaundiced union of the family, and to others as formidable in its moments of unanimity as the organized mass of atoms and the electric wave which combine to form an exploding cannon. The sun, now nearing the zenith, toward which it had deliberately insinuated its way through one of these interminable but zodiacal sentences, struck the crew of the Jezebel; and the crew, with a contemptuous immobility no less deadly than one of Seaman Snitkin's left jabs, struck right back. The sun was seen to falter: Even to sink a little. Viewing this phenomenon, Captain McCullers regarded his men with tacit congratulation. Shoreside, aquiver in the halted sunbeams, Goa awaited the visit of the eager liberty-party with a more than bridal alarm.

2

Focusing the crew's swelling urgency on himself, Captain McCullers shouted:

"Ahoy!"

At once the crew reached into its collective pants. Flashing, there was deployed before that chryselephantine slab a feral arsenal. The Captain's golden eyes inspected, in arrogant stillness, the improvised but nonetheless menacing matériel. A home-made submachine-gun . . . a rapier whittled down from a turbine-shaft . . . a Focke-Wulf Kurier bomber swinging from the hands of three huge Potato-peeler's Minders . . . poisoned belaying-pins . . . a beer-can of vitriol, poised delicately on the pinkie of the Midshipman, Little Billee . . . and two enormous and gleaming cojones belonging to the Mate, Franco. McCullers admitted into his gaze no hint of approval, but turned slowly away toward the Shuffleboard Turret, throwing over his shoulder the single command.

"Avast!"

With the inflexible devotion of years of self-sacrifice he leveled his shuffleboard upon the now almost permanently paralyzed sun. It was noon. The liberty-party was already swimming towards Goa. Here and there appeared an ominous but graceful swirl in the water; once there was a muffled curse. Minutes later, when the gobs climbed leisurely out upon the adipose and bananoid shore, one straggler could be discerned loitering in the harbor and slowly tearing an unwarly shark to pieces. As they entered the main street of the doomed town, he joined them swinging in one hand a sharp metallic fin. Then the first shriek rose from the inhabitants.

3

Aware of the mounting torrent of shouts, curses, shots, orgasms, and death-rattles which marked the progress of his crew, the Captain's spirit faltered. He turned to face that comrade which somehow embodied all the suffering and nobility of the Jezebel.

The ship's cat, Lupescu, unwinkingly regarded him from the top of a brass bunion on the forecastle. With a Medea-like intensity, she was endeavoring to hypnotize McCullers into remembering that it was time for luncheon. He felt a warm surge of something deeper than friendship possess his soul. It was, he realized, hunger. He ejaculated:

"Chow!"

Liverwards, Lupescu delicately followed him to the galley.

4

His inanition satiated, the Captain glanced ashore. The town was burning nicely, and the screams of the populace were dying away. The crew, he noted, was swimming back to the Jezebel. Here and there a terrified octopus rose high in the air, grotesquely like a turnip-ghost in ballet-skirts as it strove to escape the grip of a passing Steward. The Captain turned to Lupescu, once more inviolate upon her bunion, and for a timeless moment looked unspoken intimacy into her eyes.

They were bent, he observed, upon the liberty-party: And had in them a: Hint of sur: Prise! Turning, he contemplated those precious segments of his personality. A half-defined figure seemed to play about their ranks, melting and reforming as if in the effort to achieve its avatar. It was like the ghost of a dead seaman, or the wraith of one unborn. Yellowly, it met McCullers's gaze, and shrank into a near invisibility again. The Captain indignantly howled:

"Who the hell are you?"

The figure drew itself together into a profound and determined effort. Slowly, like a photographic plate which defines its image as much by its own force as by the corrosion of its collaborious acid, the man took shape—the hat slouched scornfully over one eye, the tight-lipped grin, the bloodshot pupils beneath no eyebrows, and the degenerate nobility implicit in every muscle. In one hand he bore a corncob thing, doubtless a pipe. He said:

"Mr. Faulkner sent me. He said you'd make a sailor out of me. My name's Popeye!"

And, as in proof, he displayed the heraldic symbol borne in his other hand, the mystic emblem which paralleled and complemented his corncob. It was a bunch of rich, flourishing, baroque spinach.

GILBERT HIGHET

Science and Society

THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF SCIENCE. By J. G. Crowther. The Macmillan Company. \$3.50.

PERHAPS no major activity in the United States gets less public attention than science. Reams may be written in the press on some political speech of doubtful value. Yet a few lines suffice to announce a new infra-red detector for airplanes. The inventor's name is lost in anonymity, in contrast to the double-case type used for a flyer's personal opinion. Editorial ignorance of what is news therefore makes it impossible to judge the influence of science on the national well-being.

In the book under review the author, who has followed science for many years in many countries, places this form of endeavor in relation to the social and economic setting in which it exists. He does not fall into the fallacy of thinking that science is a phenomenon of the past two hundred years, but covers its various manifestations from the origin of man. In the first parts of the book he has been obliged to lean heavily on the anthropologist's conjectures and evidence of primitive man's behavior. But the conciseness of the writing presupposes a whittling away of the irrelevant. The bold picture left is more than satisfying.

Nowhere else have I had the pleasure of reading so complete a description of the Moslem contributions to modern

science. The other periods of science are also dealt with competently. All this, however, would not necessarily make a remarkable book, which this one is. The decisive factor lies in the author's ability to show the interrelation of the science of a period with its economic background.

"Ambitious and able slaves were preoccupied with the acquisition of freedom and the conveyance of manual tasks to inferior slaves. The preoccupation with status was inimical to the objective study of manual processes and the phenomena of nature. This influence was one of the causes of the decline of science in Roman society." These words might well be written of certain branches of science today. The mind of the worker in the biological sciences is much more preoccupied with status than is that of the worker in the physical sciences, and this is one of the reasons why these branches are not moving at comparable rates. Concern over status also has another intrinsic drawback. Once status is attained, it has to be defended and in many cases leads away from science to the personal. Another feature of acquired status which is today creating difficulties similar to those in Roman society is that the contact with the experimental material itself is frequently left to inferior slaves (read *technicians*). Some of our best minds are now trying to solve this problem.

The tournaments of mathematics held under the King of Sicily in 1225 led to many advances in mathematical theory. Today such occasions are called meetings of the Mathematical Society, but it is not difficult to detect the tournament spirit.

One of the most startling descriptions in the book, and a real contribution, is the explanation of the loss of definite positive achievements through the centuries. It seems inconceivable to us that such things as the radio or immunization to disease could be lost; yet other things of just as much significance have been lost. Owing to the fact that the Greeks were separated from their slaves, they did not get a complete conception of the use of the lever. The slaves, on their side, without any theoretical knowledge, applied the forces to the lever where they did the most good; but the lack of contact between slave and master, practice and theory, effectively prevented these applications from being recorded in the writings of the Greeks. The destruction of the Greek labor system, coupled with the respect of the conquerors for the Greek writings, led to inefficient use of the lever; and the escapement principle, on which so much modern engineering depends, had to be rediscovered hundreds of years later. As each civilization has gone down, many of its achievements have disappeared with it, perhaps for centuries, perhaps forever.

Perhaps no more timely topic can be found than the section dealing with the rise of the Moslem empire. It was predicated on the invention of the saddle and the stirrup. With these two mechanical advances, the Moslem soldier was able to move faster than his enemy and fight from above him. Mobility then played as important a part as it does today. Mahomet and his followers seized upon the new invention before its use became widespread.

It is impossible to mention even a small fraction of the scientific achievements that Mr. Crowther has put in a new light. It is enough to say that he has written a remarkable description of the interaction of science and society through the ages.

HUGH H. DARBY

The South

THE MIND OF THE SOUTH. By W. J. Cash. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.75.

"THE Congo is not more different from Massachusetts or Kansas or California," than Alabama, said Mr. Carl Carmer, himself a native of New York State and a Southerner by adoption. That is a hyperbole, according to Mr. Cash who is a native of South Carolina and long a citizen of the most "progressive" of Southern states, North Carolina. It should not be forgotten, moreover, that Alabama is almost as different from North Carolina or Virginia.

"Nevertheless," writes Mr. Cash in what he calls a Preview to Understanding, "if it can be said that there are many Souths, the fact remains that there is also one South." Furthermore, although fundamentally it derives from the common American heritage—"To imagine it existing outside this continent would be quite impossible"—"the peculiar history of the South has so greatly modified it from the general American norm that, when viewed as a whole, it decisively justifies the notion that the country is—not quite a nation within a nation, but the next thing to it."

To understand the mind of the South as such Mr. Cash feels it is necessary to understand this peculiar history, and a large proportion of his book is taken up with a sort of meditative sociological retrospect. From this it is fairly apparent that the "one South" (as Mr. Cash implies but does not clearly state, although he calls one of his chapters *Of the Frontier the Yankee Made*) is the creation of the North. Neither before nor during the War of Secession was the South truly united, and this was a not negligible factor in the defeat of the Confederacy. It took the sufferings of Reconstruction and after to unite the South to such an extent that it is still "solid," still refers to that war as "the" war, has only lately begun to criticize itself, and still cannot stand criticism by an outsider. The report of President Roosevelt's special committee a year or two ago, though in some ways it might be interpreted as a far greater criticism of the economically dominant sections of the country, was widely resented even by Southern intellectuals.

That is because, as Mr. Cash shows, there is one South also in the sense that both the Old South and the New South are legends, springing from the same necessity, that of affirming the difference and self-sufficiency of the South; so that the paradox of believing at the same time that the South is entirely different from the rest of the country and yet just as up-to-date, progressive, and "American" gives very few Southerners pause. The first Southern intellectuals to see through the legend of the New South, the Agrarians, fell back upon the legend of the Old in a modified form. In doing this, however, they were not taking a unique line, but following the same pattern as some of our Neo-Thomists or some of the English intellectuals who have recoiled from the ruins left by the collapse of capitalist expansion to take refuge among the early Tudors or the late Whigs. Some of the intellectuals, Mr. Cash points out, showed, on the other hand, "a marked tendency to react to a new extreme, and as they sloughed off the old imperative to use their writings as a vehicle for glorifying and defending Dixie, to take more or

less actively to hating and denouncing the South." As examples he cites Thomas Wolfe, Erskine Caldwell, and, a little more dubiously, William Faulkner. But here again the Southern writers are exemplifying a national, perhaps an international tendency of the period between two wars, as Van Wyck Brooks has explained in a recent article in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, drawn from his new book "On American Literature." "I think our generation," says Mr. Brooks, "will be remembered as the one in which everyone hated, often without visible reason, the town in which he was born." Indeed, some of the most conspicuous characteristics of the Southern mind, such as its individualism and its rhetorical cast, might be viewed as intensifications of tendencies predominant in the American mind as a whole, and common in some degree to all peoples nurtured in a parliamentary and democratic tradition. (For the South is democratic as well as Democratic.)

In short, though to Northerners this is a truism and to many Southerners treason, what makes the mind of the South different is that it thinks it is. Even the influence of the Negro problem is one of degree and not of kind. From this Mr. Cash excepts Virginia, which, on account of its unique history, its priority on the scene, and other factors, he believes really achieved what the rest of the South only aspired to. To everyone except dialectical materialists, however, this constitutes as valid a difference as any, in fact a difference of utmost reality and importance. To explain why the South thinks it is different is the object of Mr. Cash's study. Of the actual mind of the South he says comparatively little. This is a sociological rather than a psychological or intellectual examination, and it is largely historical. There is very little in it which has not been recounted many times before; but the emphasis and purpose are new. It will doubtless be an aid to an understanding on the part of Americans of other regions who have been alternately charmed and maddened, and always puzzled, by the apparent paradoxes and inconsistencies of the Southern viewpoint. It might have been more interesting for those who know the South if it had been written from a greater distance. Mr. Cash sometimes seems to be confused by the trees. As a Southerner himself he deprecates plain-speaking and takes his time to convey a conclusion. In the matter of style he often carries individualism to the point of quaintness, and rhetoric to the point of Carlylese. But these are minor blemishes of a thoughtful and knowledgeable book.

JAMES ORRICK

The Lins in China

DAWN OVER CHUNGKING. By Adet, Anor, and Meimei Lin. The John Day Company. \$2.

THE daughters Lin belong to the young China of dreams and desires, and of faith that these can be realized through struggle: a China ready to fight for old values and for new ones it hopes to create. Sensitive and conscientious in their patriotism, they naturally wanted to return and assume part of the burden in the epic battle for independence. While China "suffered and fought," writes Adet Lin, "we were leisurely enjoying ourselves and traveling around foreign lands." But last year Pater Lin Yutang visited Chungking to see how the war was and he took his family with

him. His daughters got the longed-for opportunity to see and hear and smell the phenomenon and at times to feel its touch.

Out of their experience the younger Lins have now produced this exciting account of life and death in and around the Chinese capital. Passages written by Anor and Meimei, ages fourteen and ten, deal with the hectic adventures of their daily lives and give you an idea of the young mind's reaction to being bombed. They report with charm and an inherited talent for observing the significant. Their elfish wit will bring many a chuckle to adult readers. Consider Anor's air-raid stories:

There was one baker who did not get to the dugout and suddenly a bomb dropped beside him. Before it had time to explode, he pressed the dough he was mixing on it, and suffocated it so that it did not explode.

There was a family consisting of a father, a wife, a concubine and a precious son of four months. Suddenly bombs began to fall. The concubine, being bright and quick, laid the child, the most precious one, on the floor; the husband, being second important, was told to lie on top of it, the concubine, thinking herself more important than the wife, piled on the husband, and the wife was told to cover the concubine with her own body. The result was that the wife got a little hurt; a piece of her flesh was blown off, she was on top, but the concubine, the husband, and the baby were all safe, and the baby was not suffocated or crushed!

But it is Adet, the eldest daughter and now seventeen, who writes the largest and most informative part of the book. In some of her pages you forget, almost, that you are reading a children's report. Here and there are remarks that penetrate into the universal problems of our day. Frequently descrip-

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tions are vivid and somehow very accurate. For example, this reaction to a ruined street in Peipei, just after a bombing:

In that upper space where birds could fly through now there had been a second floor and people slept on it. But now how could people sleep in that space? It seemed our sight suddenly had quickened; usually one would see after a period of a hundred years little pieces of wall crumble down and the beams rot gradually, so that the change was hardly noticeable. And now it was like a man who had been imprisoned for thirty years and come out to step into a different world and to see his sons already growing beards.

For that is bombing: it is an outrage against gradualness; like a catastrophe, it is a violation of evolution. It shortens adolescence, turns youth to middle age in a single night, and disorganizes or obliterates time.

Adet ends up on a note of political faith which reflects the heroic creed she believes now firmly unites all China:

Ever since the revolution, nearly thirty years ago now, there was a dream of China as an independent country. . . . And yet in these thirty years the dream was never accomplished. . . . Many had died for it while the people kept on being trampled under the heels of the landlords and the nation kept on being humiliated. And now the moment had come at last. A China united and fighting against the enemy, and meanwhile a new nation of order was building itself up . . . a nation like a scientist caught by an idea. When a nation of people is caught by a dream, you can imagine how formidable it is!

And the dream, she concludes, must come true. Bombs may kill and destroy men and the things they build, but they cannot kill the idea and the purpose to which both the men and the things are dedicated.

EDGAR SNOW

Land of the Free

LANDSCAPE OF FREEDOM. By Mauritz A. Hallgren. Howell, Soskin and Company. \$3.50.

IT TAKES Mr. Hallgren more than four hundred large pages to tell the story of personal liberty in the United States, from the beginnings of Colonial history to our own day and hour. In the course of it he also manages to cover the public attitude at various periods in our history toward politics, religion, and sex; manners and morals, with many interesting facts on eating and drinking; the state of culture, including music, letters, and the arts; and our slow but sure progress toward the daily bath. And he does it with gusto.

For it is clear that, even allowing Mr. Hallgren a little pardonable exaggeration now and then when he gets really warmed up to his subject, we Americans are the most violent, volatile, wild-cattinest, obstreperous folks that ever swung all the way out on one side of a pendulum just for the fun of swinging all the way back on the other. We may laugh at the spectacle of Americans in search of freedom or we may weep. Mr. Hallgren, like a good historian, does very little of either. He merely tells his story.

Let us remember, for example, that those who fled the Old World in search of freedom of worship established on these shores as rigid a system of doctrine as the world had yet seen and as firm a control of manners and behavior. Let us remember that no sooner was liberty fought for and won than the Alien and Sedition laws were passed to check it. Salem

witchcraft flourished and was done penance for at the end of the seventeenth century; but in the eighteen-forties, two little girls of Hydesville, New York, learned that they could produce spirit tappings by pressing their toes to the end of their bed, and as a result a wave of spiritualism swept the country.

In our comparatively short but stormy history labor has won the right to strike, picket, and negotiate; the grip of the church on the minds and morals of the people has been loosened; humane letters has recovered a little from the foaming fanaticism of comstockery; women have the suffrage, may own property, and in most places can walk out on the street in pants without being arrested. But let us not congratulate ourselves on our libertarian triumphs. Mr. Hallgren tells the shocking story of anti-German persecution in 1917, when, before books were burned in the Third Reich, German books, magazines, and pamphlets were burned in various communities in the United States. He reviews the red raids that followed the war, when the Postmaster General and the Attorney General of the United States forgot that they were holding office in a democracy. And latest and most shameful of all, he reminds us of the excesses of national prohibition, when a law was defied by millions of otherwise law-abiding citizens, and completely unlawful attempts were made by the authorities to enforce it.

An American may very well finish Mr. Hallgren's book in a chastened mood. Perhaps after more than three hundred years of living in the land of the free, all we have done in the direction of achieving the good life is to abolish the spittoon.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN

Recollections of Freud

FROM THIRTY YEARS WITH FREUD. By Theodor Reik. Translated by R. Winston. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

THIS is a collection of papers which have previously been published elsewhere, in full or in part. The layman might find them not too enlightening, while the professional psychoanalyst is supposed to be acquainted with the data offered. One might regret that Reik did not follow through his intention of giving us an intimate portrait of Freud's scientific personality. Evidently the time is not ripe for a true appraisal of Freud as a person and a leader; his death is of too recent date and the times are so turbulent that his pupils, who knew him best, are scattered all over the world as expatriates, refugees whose historical perspective is naturally marred by the vicissitudes of their new situation and environment. Under such circumstances it is quite natural that too much of the personal element has entered into what should have been an objective appraisal of a scientific discipline and of its founder.

The translator of the book did Reik a disservice. Reik is not as obscure as some awkward turns of phrase would suggest. One cannot call Dostoevski a "poet" nor very well denote obscure phenomena as "dark"; nor do such expressions as "psychic perception" mean what Reik intends to say.

As a document the book has interest, since it does reflect the psychological difficulties which the uprooted European scientists of today have to meet.

GREGORY ZILBOORG, M. D.

IN BRIEF

JOB'S HOUSE. By Caroline Slade. The Vanguard Press. \$2.50.

As in her previous novel, "The Triumph of Willie Pond," Mrs. Slade presents some graphic, almost gruesome annals of the poor, and of their treatment at the hands of the public relief agencies, "The Welfares." Old Jobie Mann, unemployed but sturdy and independent at sixty-eight, puts up with as much of their prying as he and his wife can stand; then he decides to renounce an old-age pension and retain his self-respect. "Job's House," however, unlike the tragic story of the Pond family, never shakes off the artificial stiffness of a demonstration case, constructed to illustrate the functioning of some state agencies and the reasons why "clients" are not always in a receptive mood.

MATCHING YOUTH AND JOBS.

By Howard M. Bell. American Council on Education. \$2.

Mr. Bell either does not realize, or he glosses over, the deeper implications of his problem, with the result that the reader is lost in a mere chaos of "facts" and "cases." As an auxiliary manual for people who are actively dealing with unemployment this book might have its uses. But the average person, wishing to gain a clearer understanding of the situation, will find it bewildering.

AMERICA'S LOST PLAYS. "The Last Duel in Spain and Other Plays." By John Howard Payne. Edited by Codman Hislop and W. R. Richardson. "The Great Diamond Robbery and Other Recent Melodramas." Edited by Garrett H. Leverton. "Five Plays" by Charles Hoyt. Edited by Douglas L. Hunt. Princeton University Press. \$5 each.

Three more in the projected twenty-volume series of hitherto unpublished American plays. Admittedly, most of the works included have little literary merit but many have at least curious interest of one sort or another. The volume of melodramas includes two—"From Rags to Riches" (1903) and "No Mother to Guide Her" (1905)—whose titles have become bywords. From the Hoyt volume it is astonishing to learn that plays as famous as these have never previously been printed. "A Trip to China Town" (1891) was performed 657 consecutive times and held a record until the production of "Lightnin'." From it came two songs which many

still remember—"Reuben, Reuben, I've Been Thinking" and "The Bowery." "After the Ball," though written by Charles K. Harris, also appeared in this farce.

WHAT'S PAST IS PROLOGUE. Reflections on My Industrial Experience.

By Mary Barnett Gilson. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

Miss Gilson is a pioneer in scientific industrial employment management. She early realized where her work lay, and the story of her life falls into two parts, which make one—the preparation for her career in industry and the career itself up to the present stock-taking. The real purpose of this book is to make a contribution to social history and, as such, its primary appeal is to sociologists. Nevertheless, it has also general interest as the autobiography of a wise and sympathetic woman.

DRAMA

Minority Report

"NATIVE SON," the successful novel by Richard Wright, has been made into a play by Paul Green and produced—very fancily—by Orson Welles at the St. James Theater. The reception by the press was not only favorable but in most instances wildly enthusiastic and it is therefore only fitting for me to warn my readers that mine is a minority report. My colleagues made free use of such words as "smashing," "brutal," and "violent." I recognize the suitability of the adjectives but their persistent occurrence is really the only thing which enables me to believe that the performance I saw is the one which most of the other reporters were talking about. And I will accept them only if "noisy" and "frantic" be added to the list, with "dull" figuring somewhere as an indication of the final effect.

When I read "Native Son," the novel, some months ago I found it undeniably impressive despite the bald, graceless, and plodding style. Its resemblance in theme, structure, and general manner to Dreiser's "An American Tragedy" is almost too striking, but like Dreiser the author manages to make his lumbering matter-of-factness carry conviction. Unfortunately, however, such books do not lend themselves easily to dramatization and if the text of the present play were to be examined I am sure that it would be found to be very little more than a skeleton outline from which much had

been omitted and to which nothing capable of increasing the effectiveness of the presentation had been added. Certainly one result is to separate rather than further to integrate the two elements of the novel—crude melodrama and social preachment—so that most of the second element is held in reserve for the last two scenes which come after the action is concluded and provide a positively stupefying anticlimax in two parts. As for the courtroom scene, it is not long enough to become impressive through the weight of detail and not pointed enough to gain in dramatic effectiveness what it loses in bulk. All in all I do not see how it can possibly be denied that the text of the play, considered merely as a text, is a pretty poor substitute for that of the novel.

Obviously this is where the producer is supposed to step in and provide, by means of "the new stagecraft," purely theatrical effects calculated to make up for the sketchiness of the play itself. And Mr. Welles evidently decided to shoot the works, for everything is determinedly "different" whether the strangeness has anything except strangeness to recommend it or not. For one thing, a sort of inverted proscenium consisting of a brick wall reduces the width of the stage and elevates the acting platform several feet above the usual stage level so that much of the action takes place in a confined space, and can only be watched if one tilts the head at a very uncomfortable angle. For another, a large proportion of the scenes take place in a semi-obscurity which calls to mind the masterly device inadvertently achieved by the movie director in "Once in a Lifetime." And for still another, the members of the audience are given, upon entering, a slip of paper which informs them that they cannot have a program until after the performance is over—the idea apparently being that to study the cast of characters might break the subtle spell of a production which is certainly the noisiest since "Hellzapoppin'." And when the novel devices do have a recognizable purpose, that purpose seems always some sort of mere harassment of the nerves as, for example, in the big scene where the hero shooting it out with the officers of the law blazes away point-blank at the audience while police whistles shrill away at the back of the auditorium.

In so far as such scenes may be described as effective I do not think the effects are worth achieving. An audience may be reached legitimately through its intellect or through its emo-

tions. It may also be stirred through a simple assault upon the nerves and I am beginning to wonder whether the so-called new stagecraft ever succeeds in promoting anything except the simple jitters. Of course any normal person will emerge with frayed nerves from an evening during which he has been yelled at by assorted performers, shot at from the stage, and kept on edge during what might have been the merciful peace of the brief pauses between scenes, by hideous noises which rumble and roar from under the stage. But—and I use the phrase in all seriousness—is it art? Might not one achieve the same effect by spending an evening in what used to be called, with grim irony, "The Fun House" at Coney Island?

A few weeks ago the *New Yorker* published a picture of an elaborate torture chamber in which a victim tied to a chair was being subjected to an inferno of radios, electric signs, insurance agents, and automobile salesmen all working on him at once. "We are," said the calm scientist in charge, "merely trying to determine the limit of human endurance." I do not forget that I have admired some of Mr. Welles's productions in the past, but I am beginning to wonder if his ultimate goal isn't the same as that of the *New Yorker's* grim experimenter.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

THE title "From Austin High Comes Jazz" for Columbia's album (C-40, \$2.50) of performances by Bud Freeman and His Famous Chicagoans represents a claim for the performances in the unauthoritative accompanying story by John Hammond. The story is that the group of young musicians identified with Austin High School in Chicago—whom Hammond gives as Freeman, Dave Tough, Eddie Condon, Frank Teschemaker, and Benny Goodman—developed a "Chicago style" of ensemble performance which they used "in a way which has never since been duplicated"; and that these new records allow us to hear again "that unparalleled spirit which was lost when these musicians succumbed to economic temptation and necessity and joined big bands"—and this although Freeman, Condon, and Tough play on these records with musicians who were not members of the Austin group: presumably the Austiners have imparted their style and spirit to the others, as Hammond tells us they

did to Jack Teagarden in the late 'twenties. But the fact is that even in Chicago the style and spirit were not the exclusive possessions of the Austiners—that other musicians played that way and as well; and one might add that Condon and Goodman were in fact not members of the Austin group but were among the other musicians, along with Muggsy Spanier, Gene Krupa, Jess Stacy, Joe Sullivan, who occasionally played with the Austiners; but since Hammond puts Goodman among the original Austin group one might ask why Goodman is not on these new records: Beiderbecke and Teschemaker, explains Hammond, are dead; but Goodman is alive. Moreover, the style was carried to other cities and absorbed by other musicians (Teagarden was only one). And aside from whether it could be said to have been lost as long as any of these musicians continued to play that way, as they did privately and in recording studios even when they played in big bands publicly (and not all of them took such jobs), the fact is that the new Freeman records were preceded a year ago by the even more brilliant Muggsy Spanier performances on Bluebird—to say nothing of other records in the past ten years. They are, then, to be taken merely as additional examples of the style, some of them—"At the Jazz Band Ball" (35853), "Jack Hits the Road" and "That Da-Da Strain" (35854), "Forty-Seventh and State" (35855), "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble" (35856)—with exciting ensembles and fine solos.

As it happens, Columbia itself has reissued a 1935 Chicago style performance of "The Land of Dreams" by Paul Mares and his Friars Society Orchestra (35880)—not one of the best ever, but with the characteristic driving ensembles and good solos by Stacy at the piano, Pecora on trombone, and Mares on cornet. It is clouded somewhat by poor recording, as is "Nagasaki" on the reverse side. Other Columbia reissues of hot jazz classics include one that is a classic—the superb Louis Armstrong "Mahogany Hall Stomp" (35879), with the less good "Beau Koo Jack" on the reverse side, and an album (C-41, \$2.50) of Earl Hines's piano-playing. "Basic Negro simplicity" is one of the Hammond stock of ideas—regardless-of-fact—in this instance the fact of occasional Negro complexity and ornateness, and in particular Hines's exhausting intricacy in the six 1928 solo improvisations in this album. I find that I can take it only in the slow ones, "I Ain't Got Nobody" (35875) and "Caution

Blues" (35876). On the fourth record (35878) are two band performances—"Rosetta," with a good Hines chorus, and "Deep Forest," which I find uninteresting.

As it happens also, Commodore has issued two records made by Eddie Condon and a group that includes several other Chicagoans, with excellent performances of "Pretty Doll" and "Oh, Sister Ain't That Hot" (535), and "Georgia Grind" and "Dancing Fool" (536). And Commodore 534 offers piano solos by Joe Bushkin—"In a Little Spanish Town" and Bushkin's own "Blue Chips," both beautifully sensitive but harmonically too lush for my taste. I prefer to hear Bushkin, as I do Hines, play in bands, where the tendency to luxuriance is restrained somewhat.

As for other new records, I am not one of those who can hear the fairies that were in the studio when Benny Goodman recorded; all I can hear is what is on the records, whether this is stiff, cold playing of Mozart, or jazz as poor as Goodman has recorded for many years, or on the other hand the almost unique "My Honey's Lovin' Arms" that Victor has reissued on Bluebird 11056, and now, after the most recent rubbish, "As Long As I Live" (Columbia 35901), which pretends to nothing more than the usual series of variations on a tune, and which Goodman, Cootie Williams, Basie, and others of the Sextet play simply, subtly, and exquisitely. (My copy has a bad rattle due to faulty recording or processing.) Another example of this style, but not quite as good, is the Sextet's "On the Alamo" (Columbia 35938). And Ellington, also using a small group, provides a fine example in the Rext Stewart "Linger Awhile" (Bluebird 11057). Other things I have enjoyed are Ellington's early "Jubilee Stomp" and the parts of his recent "Country Gal" without Cootie Williams's growling (Columbia 35776); "Dicky Wells Blues" and "Bill Coleman Blues" (Victor 27318); Mildred Bailey's "There'll Be Some Changes Made," with Mary Lou Williams at the piano, and "Rockin' Chair," both issued originally on Vocalion (Columbia 35943); the new Teddy Wilson Orchestra's "I Never Knew" (Columbia 35905); the Hot Lips Page Trio's "Do It If You Wanna" (Bluebird 8634); the Crosby Bobcats' playing in parts of "Take Me Back Again" and "I'll Come Back to You" (Decca 3576); and Ethel Waters's singing of "Georgia on My Mind" (Bluebird 11028).

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Survey of Two Worlds

Dear Sirs: If I had the choice between the world of Adolf Hitler and the world of Freda Kirchwey, I should certainly not choose hers.

GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK

New York, March 27

Father Gillis Protests

Dear Sirs: In your issue of March 22, Mr. Herbert Agar calls me an "appeaser." Since that word has come to have a nasty connotation of cowardice, I feel that Mr. Agar should have favored his readers with at least a definition, if not a justification, of the term as applied to me.

Further, he accuses me, amongst others, of being "partly motivated by the ancient undying grievances of the Irish." But "who knoweth the mind of a man save the spirit of man that is in him?" I have examined my conscience in regard to my motive for opposing the entrance of America, my own country, into the war. I have found in myself no race prejudice or animosity. Has Mr. Agar been able to dig deeper into my soul than I myself?

Why should he not stick to facts and leave the matter of hidden motives to the Omniscient? And in his school of journalism is it considered honorable to fling an epithet in place of a fact or a proof?

JAMES M. GILLIS

New York, March 25

Against Luce Thinking

Dear Sirs: Miss Kirchwey has already dealt with Mr. Luce's roomy essay on Americanism (which reminded me irresistibly of W. J. Cameron's Ford talks on the same subject) but there is more she might have said. To me the most irritating thing about the *Life* spread was the assumption in every line that this was America speaking through the mouth of its prophet—"I am Sir Oracle, and, when I ope my lips, let no dog bark."

Unlike Mr. Luce, I cannot speak for America, but by way of cordial example to the rest of the hundred-and-thirty million, here are my own war aims:

We all know what we are against. We do not all know, or rather are not all agreed, what we are for. I want Hitler beaten, yes. But I would not turn

my hand over to beat him simply to preserve Chamberlainism in England or Luce-Cameronism in this country. "The American Ideal," "The American Century," "The American Way of Living"—I do not forget that for these and similar slogans we were asked to vote for Coolidge, Hoover, Landon, and Willkie by the same people who are now pushing them at us in order to whip up a war spirit. Well, I don't need my spirit whipped up; I'll fight, all right. But I am going to war against Hitler because he threatens to interrupt my war against Luce and Cameron—just when I was doing so well, too.

The glory of our kind of government is that it permits us to wage a continual fight against its abuses. I am not sure whether the thing we are fighting for is an "American" way of living or not, or whether the thing we are fighting for is an "American" century. But there is a tradition, an idiom which is native to this country and to me, and which I will fight to save. It was not created by these sloganmongers; they could never have made it, they do not share or express it, and they cannot replace it should it be lost. But neither have they been able to destroy it, and the Nazis might, so I am gunning for Hitler now, and I'll see Messrs. Luce and Cameron later.

DIGBY B. WHITMAN

Winthrop, Mass., March 26

U. S. Plan for Negroes?

Dear Sirs: As a Negro I was very much interested in your article, "The Nazi Plan for Negroes," by Hans Habe in the March 1 issue.

What struck me, however, was that the Nazi plan for Negroes approximates so closely what seems to be the American plan for Negroes. The principles listed by Mr. Habe are exactly those with which most Negroes are painfully familiar in this country. True, there are a few cases of comparative freedom for Negroes here, but there are so very few that they scarcely affect the truth of my statement.

The Nazi Negro policy seems to be the same as that of France, the British Empire, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, and the United States, except that Hitler wants, or plans, to use Negroes only in labor battalions (as most United States blacks were used in 1917-18), whereas the other white powers permit them to

risk their lives in defense of those who despise them.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

New York, February 27

[What strikes us, on the other hand, is how a responsible Negro leader like Mr. Schuyler can permit himself to draw such dangerously misleading parallels. If the "American plan for Negroes" were anything like the Nazi plan, as described by Mr. Habe, Mr. Schuyler would be in no position to complain about it in American magazines, nor would any editor dare to publish his complaint. It seems too bad that the unquestioned ill treatment of Negroes in this country should drive men like Mr. Schuyler to equate it with a far greater evil instead of emphasizing the need to fight the race mania at home and abroad. —EDITORS THE NATION.]

Dear Sirs: As a Negro I am intensely interested in Hans Habe's "The Nazi Plan for Negroes." Mr. Habe's hint about a Nazi massacre of French Negro troops is boldly affirmed in a series of articles which are now appearing in the Negro Pittsburgh *Courier*. The *Courier's* European correspondent, R. Walter Merguson, a Negro long resident in France, asserts that more than a half million of France's black troops were murdered by the Nazis. "At no time in the history of the world have so many men, made in the Master's own image, been murdered in so short a time," says Mr. Merguson.

Where Mr. Habe hints that much of the blame is to be placed at the door of the Germans, Mr. Merguson frankly implicates the French for their insistence that Africans must fight *au sauvage*; that is, in hand-to-hand encounters with knives and pistols. French insistence on Negro savagery rebounded in an equally ferocious Nazi savagery.

JAMES W. IVY

Phoebus, Virginia, March 24

Palestine's Army

Dear Sirs: It has been England's policy in Palestine to take into its armies the same number of Arabs and of Jews. The recruiting, so far as my information goes, has lagged. Yet, conservatively, there are at least 40,000 well-trained Jewish troops ready and eager to serve with England were they to be given the

opportunity. Another 50,000 would answer the call in a moment. These figures do not include medical officers, women who want to serve in various capacities, etc. But England hesitates to call on them.

Certainly, the situation in Greece would seem to indicate a need for them. These several divisions could easily be dispatched to Northern Africa, which would, in turn, release experienced fighters for the more strenuous job which will confront the forces of democracy in Greece and Turkey.

Why are they not being used? Only England knows the answer.

NORMAN H. DIAMOND

New Castle, Pa., March 29

Author's Lament

Dear Sirs: It appears that there is something much worse than a rejection slip and the cutting of vital passages from a manuscript. It is the plight of the author whose name has been put under passages he never wrote. Some time ago I was asked to write an article on Communism for the Universal Jewish Encyclopedia now in the process of publication. Upon receiving the proofs I found that changes and additions had been made in the text without my knowledge—changes affecting the tone of the article. Thus, to my passage about the "Jews among the extreme Left Socialists in Western Europe [who] invariably identified themselves with the nation in whose midst they lived and whose language they spoke" the editors added "They were also atheistic and irreligious, hence their hostility or indifference to Jewish religions or national survival." I immediately protested against interpolations or changes of this kind, involving a phraseology and an attitude which were alien to me. The promise of the editors to print my corrections was not kept, and as a result I decline any responsibility for this passage.

MAX NOMAD

New York, March 27

Is It Revolution?

Dear Sirs: It was Emperor Nero's desire that all his enemies should have but a single neck. Perhaps similar wishful thinking led democratic journalism to accept the term totalitarianism, which dictators use to euphemize ruthless despotism. These dictatorships, although akin in their methods, differ as much as do the definitions of the term in the so-called totalitarian countries. In Germany

totalitarianism is explained as "a form of government claiming to coordinate all spheres of national (*voelkisch*) life"; Mussolini defined it as "the co-ordination of individuals in their relation to the state." But no one doubted the revolutionary character of either the bolshevist or the fascist movement. I was therefore surprised to read in a book review by Hans Kohn (issue of March 15) that "fascism is not a revolutionary movement, but the first sustained and consistent effort to make all revolutions impossible." Now this is exactly what Hitler *et consortes* want us to believe. Both they and their appeasers insist that the rapacious despotism turned the revolution into new legal order, a form of government which is an equivalent alternative of democracy. According to Carlyle: "Revolution, like jelly sufficiently boiled, needs only to be poured into shapes of constitution and consolidated therein—could it, indeed, contrive to cool." Fascism is evidently still seething and boiling. Not even its effort "to make all revolutions impossible" is a discriminative mark of consolidation. So far all revolutions have done their utmost to foil any potential revolution or counter-revolution. As a rule, some Napoleon eventually creates a synthesis of the old order and the new disorder. However, it seems doubtful whether the present attempt to be a Robespierre and a Napoleon in one will have a lasting success.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

New York, March 25

The Decision Is Impossible

Dear Sirs: After two careful readings of the article by Brooks Atkinson (issue of March 8) I get the impression that he has just begun the study of history. One who tries to pass judgment on the moral values of men, or of nations, certainly ought to take into consideration more than the events of the past ten years. Yet this decade is all with which Mr. Atkinson concerns himself; then he hands down a decision—a simple one indeed. Evidently he does not consider expediency or prudence or self-interest a sufficiently exalted standard by which to judge conduct. Nothing less than the absolutely good, the good in itself, will do for him. He is free to accept that standard if he wishes, but he might be embarrassed by the conclusions to which he would be led if he applied it impartially. To cap it all, he enlists Jesus Christ on his side. Wasn't he the man from Galilee who said something about loving your enemies?

If Mr. Atkinson read the review of "Ambassador Dodd's Diary" in the same issue of *The Nation*, he might have an inkling of how inadequate is his judgment of the respective merits of the warring powers. H. C. DEKKER

Portland, Ore., March 28

CONTRIBUTORS

STOYAN PRIBICHEVICH, who came to this country in 1935, is the son of the famous Yugoslavian patriot and statesman. He is the author of "World Without End," a book on the Balkans, and has written extensively under the pen name of P. B. Stoyan. At present he is an associate editor of *Fortune*.

DONALD W. MITCHELL, a close student of naval and military policy in the United States, has written articles on the subject for numerous periodicals.

CHARLES DUFF, *The Nation's* new British correspondent, is editor of "Voice of Spain," a pro-Loyalist periodical published in London. He has served as Press Officer of the British Foreign Office for eighteen years.

CHRISTOPHER LA FARGE, poet, novelist, and short-story writer, became interested in the problems discussed in his article while doing a voluntary study of the factory situation in Rhode Island.

GILBERT HIGHET is professor of Greek and Latin at Columbia University.

HUGH H. DARBY is an associate in the department of biological chemistry at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University.

JAMES ORRICK, a Southerner by birth and education, has devoted himself to the study of the South and its problems.

EDGAR SNOW, well-known Far Eastern correspondent, wrote "Red Star Over China" and "The Battle for Asia."

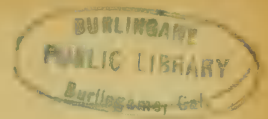
DOROTHY VAN DOREN, formerly associate editor of *The Nation*, is the author of "Those First Affections."

GREGORY ZILBOORG, one of the leading American psychoanalysts, is the author of "The Medical Man and the Witch During the Renaissance."

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Editor and Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor
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Washington Editor

I. F. STONE

Literary Editor

MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors

KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART

Dramatic Critic

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager and Director of Circulation

HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager

MARY HOWARD ELLISON

The Shape of Things

IN THE SPRING OF 1936 THE PROUD LEGIONS of the resurgent Roman Empire marched into Addis Ababa. Benito Mussolini's son wrote poetically of the beauties of bombing Ethiopians to bits; British statesmen mumbled something about sanctions, and piously washed their hands; the League of Nations wagged a finger and averted its gaze; the Lion of Judah, dignified and moving in exile, warned the statesmen of England and France that their turn would come; and a Fascist official in Rome explained languidly to a correspondent of *The Nation*: "Empires come and empires go, and Britain's day is done." Now, just five years later, the empire of the New Rome lies in shreds, the League of Nations is one with the dodo, the bumbling statesmen of London and Paris are gone with their wind, their cities attacked with more fury than Benito's son could ever visit on the towns of Ethiopia, and Addis Ababa makes ready for the homecoming of the prophetic Lion of Judah. To complete the irony, the representatives of the empire whose "day is done" are thanked by the Italian Viceroy of Ethiopia for their "protection of the women and children of Addis Ababa." By their conduct, adds the Duke of Aosta, the British demonstrate "that strong bonds of humanity and race still exist between our nations." These are not the words of a belligerent; they sound like the words of the Italian people, who never had the heart to kill and be killed to make an empire for a megalomaniac.

★

AT THE BACK OF ITALY'S DEFEATS THERE is an extraordinary "dry-rot" infecting every domestic institution, according to the reports of Savile R. Davis and John T. Whitaker, two American correspondents who have recently left Rome. This does not mean, however, that Italy is on the point of overthrowing Mussolini and suing for peace. That Hitler cannot allow, and he is rapidly replacing the deadwood of Italian fascism with graftings from his sturdier Nazi tree. This process was facilitated by the nervous paralysis which afflicted not only the country but Il Duce as the Italian armed forces sustained one blow after another. German infiltrations into the police and propaganda departments are

particularly noticeable, Mr. Whitaker tells us in the New York *Post*, and one result is a drive to work up popular resentment against the United States with the argument that Italy would be enjoying the fruits of victory but for American interference. Mr. Davis, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor*, emphasizes the breakdown in military morale and organization. He confirms reports that the invasion of Greece was ordered against the advice of Marshal Badoglio and the general staff, who knew how ill-prepared the army was. But the fact that they were proved right did not save them: on the contrary, defeat was used by Farinacci and the pro-Nazi Fascists as a lever to force out the veteran commander-in-chief. Mr. Davis has an amazing story to tell about the utter failure of the supply organization in Albania. Regiments were sent into the bitterly cold mountains in summer clothing. Many were without arms or had weapons lacking essential parts and, while food piled up at the ports, the front lines had nothing to eat for days. Even more striking is his report on the boasted Italian air force which, he says, is fighting with out-of-date machines manned by half-trained pilots.

★

AN ADDITIONAL BURDEN ON SHIPPING WILL be imposed by the outbreak of war in the Balkans. If effective resistance is to be offered against the latest German drive, tremendous quantities of war materials will have to flow continuously to the Greek ports. The presence of German dive bombers in Sicily makes transportation through the Mediterranean precarious, while the long route around the Cape of Good Hope is time-consuming and thereby wasteful of shipping resources. British shipping losses for the last month have been at the rate of approximately 5,000,000 tons a year, or more than double the present capacity of British and American ship-building facilities. The \$500,000,000 allocation from the lease-lend fund announced by President Roosevelt last week will make up part, but only part, of the deficiency. More immediate assistance is required. Use of the Danish vessels recently seized by the Coast Guard should be of minor aid. But the chief, and as yet unsolved, problem is that of cutting down the number of sinkings. This apparently can be achieved only by the use of a substantial number of the light naval vessels now attached to the United States Navy. We have a choice either of undertaking the hazardous task of convoying our own merchant ships or of releasing a number of destroyers and light cruisers to Britain. It is obvious that this decision cannot be long delayed.

★

ORGANIZED LABOR, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, and the assorted government mediators and conciliators are all, in our opinion, being unfair, not to say unkind, to the press. The headline-makers, who often appear not

to have read the stories beneath, no sooner get worked up over a strike or the threat of a strike that will undoubtedly "cripple" the defense program than a conciliator settles the dispute, or a union agrees not to interrupt production during negotiations, or the President says that the trouble will be settled within a day or two—and, what is even more inconsiderate, proves to be a good prophet. The horrendous coal strike materialized only faintly, in a week-end stoppage, followed by a union victory—which indicates that the union demands were not exactly subversive; the threat of a steel strike faded almost before the headlines were dry. The spectacle of the press on the end of a hysterical limb would be amusing if headlines were not so influential and if they were not so obviously motivated by a determination to brand labor as a fifth column, bent only on disrupting defense and persecuting innocent employers like Henry Ford. Labor is not perfect, and it is unquestionably taking advantage of its collective bargaining position; but it would be refreshing if for once the press admitted that employers have also been known to make hay while the defense sun shines. It is not labor's fault if it has to fight publicly for its gains, while employers haggle over contracts in quiet conferences that don't make "news."

★

ONCE AGAIN THE "GOOD NEIGHBOR" POLICY has been jeopardized by irresponsible Congressional action. Under pressure from sectional livestock interests great efforts are being made on Capitol Hill to forbid purchases for the armed forces of imported canned meat and wool. Two weeks ago there was a tied vote in the Senate on a motion to strike from the Navy Supply bill a House provision prohibiting the purchase of a small quantity of Argentine canned beef. The situation was saved only when Senator Russell of Georgia explained that his vote in favor of the deletion had been wrongly recorded. The House then voted into the Supplemental Defense Appropriation bill a provision proscribing the purchase of foreign food or clothing for the army unless such supplies were not produced in the United States or not produced in sufficient quantities. The Senate first approved this proposal but later agreed on a compromise offered by Senator Adams permitting the head of the department concerned to buy such articles from foreign sources if home supplies are insufficient, of unsatisfactory quality, or offered at unreasonable prices. It is a matter of record that canned beef is produced in this country in quantities quite insufficient to meet normal demands and that the Argentine product can be purchased far more cheaply, even allowing for the stiff tariff. Nor are we anywhere near self-supporting in the matter of raw wool. Indeed, the dangers of a serious shortage of this raw material have induced the Administration to build up a stock-pile from imported supplies. Thus, if Con-

gress succeeds in barring the government from the use of foreign meat and wool, the result must be that the taxpayers will be charged higher prices. Even more serious is the rebuff to Argentina, most influential and least trustful of our Latin-American neighbors.

★

IMMEDIATE ATTENTION FOR MIGRATORY workers who are swarming to defense centers in search of jobs was urged last week by the special House committee appointed to study that problem. The report, unfortunately, received little attention in the press and so far has been completely disregarded by a Congress which seems to be concerned chiefly with throttling organized labor. Observers in Washington report that the welfare aspects of the defense program are in a state of utter confusion. The well-intentioned efforts of Charles P. Taft, Assistant Coordinator of Health and Welfare, have been thwarted by red tape and overlapping in the division of authority. As a result the situation in the defense centers is rapidly moving from bad to worse. Mr. Taft estimates that the total of the defense migrants may reach 5,000,000. Only a minority of these will obtain jobs, and all constitute a potential problem when the emergency ends. As a fundamental solution, the committee recommends the setting up of a fourth category of public assistance under the Social Security Act to care for non-settled persons. The establishment of such a scheme, unfortunately, would take at least a year. Meanwhile, Congress must deal with the growing problems of 1941.

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THE CONVICTION OF THE AMERICAN Medical Association and the Medical Society of the District of Columbia for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act may stand as a milestone in the struggle for a more satisfactory system of financing medical care. For years the organized power of the A. M. A. has blocked experimentation with methods for bringing adequate medical service within the reach of the low- and middle-income groups. The rank and file of physicians have been effectively kept from participation in new schemes by threats of blacklisting. Until recently it had been assumed that a progressive physician had no means of redress against these tactics. But the present conviction, coupled with the Supreme Court's recent decision holding that the medical profession conducts a "trade" within the meaning of the anti-trust law, provides a legal weapon for combatting A. M. A. pressure. It should also go far in wrecking its pretense of infallibility in matters regarding medical economics. The upholding of the conviction by the Supreme Court will probably be followed by a wave of new schemes for a more democratic and economical organization of medical service through the country.

THE CURRENT TIDE AGAINST EDUCATION, which has been running strong in all sections of the country, has wrought havoc in New York in recent weeks. Not content with a 2 per cent blanket cut in educational funds at the last session of the legislature, the Republican minority reduced the state appropriation for the schools by another \$250,000 in the session just ended. Having taken this action on the plea of urgent economy, the legislature voted \$247,000 for the notorious Rapp-Coudert investigating committee, with a view to effecting further "economies" in the schools. The legislature also adopted a Coudert bill directed against mentally unfit teachers, although rejecting Governor Lehman's plea for a \$50,000,000 bond issue for erection of new state mental hygiene institutions. In New York City, Mayor La Guardia, probable candidate for reelection on the Republican ticket, eliminated 1,200 teaching and administrative positions from next year's education budget at an estimated savings of \$2,500,000. The economies involve discontinuing the Townsend Harris High School, which has the highest standards of any high school in the city, and the abolition of the post of director of the Bureau of Children with Retarded Mental Development. Night schools, particularly of the secondary grade, also came in for drastic cuts. The restoration of day classes in English and citizenship, sought by the Board of Education, was refused. Some reduction in school budgets may be justified on the basis of the declining numbers of children in the elementary schools, but the attack on the progressive and specialized branches of education, particularly adult and citizenship training, is a disquieting sign of the times.

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THE LAUNCHING OF A UNITED CHINA RELIEF drive coordinating the fund-raising activities of a half-dozen or more independent committees offers hope that China will at last get a measure of the aid it deserves from this country. Despite the existence of a number of hard-working committees, American assistance to date has been negligible as compared either with the need or with the aid given Britain or Greece. The new combined drive, headed by James G. Blaine, has as its goal the raising of \$5,000,000 by July 31. Wendell Willkie, speaking at the dinner which inaugurated the campaign, declared that the Chinese have "withstood bombings the like of which not even the brave men of Britain have had to endure." He could have added that they have done so, as Mr. Stone pointed out last week, not only without aid from the Western world but in face of continued large-scale American assistance to Japan. The present campaign offers an opportunity for those of us who are ashamed of our equivocal policy in the Far East to do our bit to offset the effects of that policy. It will help to repair the human lives shattered by bombs carried to their

destination by American gasoline. Five million dollars is very inadequate penance for the aid we have extended to Japan, but it is better than none.

Battle of the Balkans

BERLIN has already found it necessary to issue ■ warning that the situation in the Balkans is not favorable for a *Blitzkrieg* victory. The terrain hinders mechanized warfare. Both Greece and Yugoslavia are fully united and determined to resist to the bitter end; and the fact that circumstances have made surprise impossible means that Britain and its allies have had time to take counter-measures. But, even if Germany overcomes these handicaps and succeeds in its objective of driving the British into the sea, it will still have suffered a setback by being forced to fight to obtain complete ascendancy in southeastern Europe. For while Hitler is fighting the Battle of the Balkans he cannot exert his full strength in the Battle of Britain. Yet that remains the crucial front where he must conquer if he is to achieve final victory.

When the Nazis claim that their intentions in regard to the Balkan states have always been to encourage the maintenance of peace, they have spoken the truth, accepting their rather peculiar definition of such words as peace and neutrality. They wanted to maintain this region with its exportable surpluses of mineral and agricultural products as a supply depot safely removed from the hazards of war. They knew, too, that they could not move very far toward the southeast without stepping on Russian toes and thus endangering another important economic connection. How considerable this second risk is remains to be seen. But Moscow has felt obliged to exhibit its displeasure at German encroachments by rebuking Bulgaria, and by signing pacts of friendship with Turkey and Yugoslavia, the one threatened by Nazi aggression and the other actually experiencing it at the moment the Soviet gesture was made. These steps may be purely platonic, and Moscow, while condemning German actions on a moral plane, may condone them materially by continuing to supply the *Luftwaffe* with oil. After all, it has a pretty good precedent in this country's ambiguous attitude toward Japan.

There can be little doubt that all the Balkan states, whatever their sympathies or antipathies, were ready enough to accommodate themselves to Hitler's plans and remain neutral. They all agreed to expand deliveries to Germany and they all gave facilities to German agents and propaganda. Thus the Nazis might have gained their ends without military occupation of the Balkans apart from Rumania, had not Mussolini made his colossal blunder in attacking Greece. This move, dictated, no doubt, by jealousy of German successes and a desire to obtain a cheap victory, ranks among the worst miscalcu-

lations in history. For not only did Italy find that in invading Greece it had plunged its hand into a hornet's nest, but it provided Britain with an opportunity to establish naval ascendancy in the Mediterranean and to assume the offensive in North Africa.

As a result of the blows his partner had sustained, Hitler was obliged to revamp his plans and go to the rescue. Bulgaria capitulated easily enough and Germany then appeared perfectly placed to obtain from Yugoslavia what von Ribbentrop calls "close cooperation"—the unity of purpose that exists between a boa-constrictor and the rabbit it has hypnotized. But Yugoslavia, like Greece, turned out to be one of those unregenerate animals which, when attacked, defend themselves, and it refused to accept the role assigned to it.

So now Hitler finds himself compelled to fight on a battleground which is not of his own choosing. He has, to be sure, certain advantages. In order to supply and reinforce its army in Greece, Britain must rely on long and dangerous sea routes while the Germans enjoy interior lines of communication. On the other hand, the Nazi forces must depend on the inadequate and already overburdened railroad systems of Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia or else on the even more primitive highways of these countries. So far as numbers are concerned, the two sides are fairly evenly matched but Germany has certainly an edge as regards equipment. In the matter of mechanized weapons this handicap may not prove so serious for the allied armies: German superiority in the air is far more dangerous. In Albania the Italians never have been able to establish command of the skies, and many of their troubles stem from that fact. But the Nazis seem to have moved a very considerable part of their air power to the Balkans (the comparatively light raids on Britain in the last two weeks are significant), and they are evidently attempting to knock out their opponents' air forces at the start. If they are as successful in this effort as they were in Poland, they will have gone a long way toward winning the campaign.

One of the chief strategical disadvantages of the German army in this campaign is the precarious position of its Italian ally in Albania. Already one Yugoslav army has launched an attack on the Italian rear, and if the German onslaught at the head of the Struma valley and in eastern Yugoslavia can be checked for a short time, Mussolini's legions may be pushed into the Adriatic.

It is not possible, however, to discuss the strategy of the Balkan campaign without some reference to the situation in North Africa, where German reinforcement of the Italian army, now under the command of General Gariboldi, has recaptured Bengazi. This move may be intended chiefly to divert British attention from the Balkans, but it is clear that General Wavell cannot afford to strip this front of troops. However, hot weather and the water supply problem are likely to check Axis opera-

tions and meanwhile British victories in East Africa will probably free for service in Libya the Indian divisions who have borne the brunt of the fighting in Eritrea.

It will certainly be days, and it may be weeks, before it will be possible to discern how the fortunes of war are swaying on the vast new fronts which opened with the Nazi attack on Greece and Yugoslavia on Palm Sunday. If Hitler wins rapidly in this theater, he will be able to turn back to the Battle of Britain with a real chance of success. But if he is forced to fight along this line the whole summer, he will enter the third winter of war with his chances of victory shrunk to vanishing point.

Business International

THE settlement of the Allis-Chalmers strike is good news. It clears away what the President himself has termed the only serious stoppage in the defense program. It is too much to hope that a press intent on whipping up anti-labor hysteria will now desist from its efforts, but the truth will nevertheless begin to trickle through to the public. The Allis-Chalmers strike would never have occurred if the company involved had dealt fairly with a union which admittedly represents a majority of its employees. The strike would have been over a month ago if the company had joined the union in accepting the OPM formula for settlement, or if the OPM had at that time brought as much pressure on the company as it did on the union. The agreement on which work is now resumed is virtually the same as that offered a month ago by the OPM and accepted then by the union. Arbitration of grievances is provided, and some measure of contractual security against disruption is given the union. But the ending of the strike is a victory not for the OPM but for the new National Defense Mediation Board, which has again demonstrated the superiority of conciliation to coercion in labor disputes. The attempt of Knudsen and Knox to "order" the strikers back to work was a failure, as it should have been. They had no power to issue any such order and they certainly had no right to ask the union to give up its strike without at the same time asking the employer to make some comparable concessions. The Mediation Board on the contrary has obtained concessions for and from both sides. The Allis-Chalmers settlement adds another to its growing list of victories, and it demonstrates again that it is no mere strikebreaking agency but a medium through which both sides may draw some benefit from a peaceful settlement of disputes.

Knudsen's attempt to break the Allis-Chalmers strike and the speech he made on the eve of its settlement add to the evidence of his partiality in dealing with labor. "The Conciliation Service of the Labor Department, the OPM, and the union," he told the Veterans of Foreign Wars, "tried for two months to find a way of settling the

argument, only to find at last that the original strike vote was fraudulent and that the strike was called without the consent of the members." The truth is that the strike would have been settled on March 1 if the company had accepted the OPM agreement. Knudsen's failure to say anything of the company's notorious recalcitrance gives cause for questioning his good faith. But there is also no ground for saying that "the strike was called without the consent of the members," whatever the truth is in the stories of ballot-box irregularity. Knudsen made no effort to learn the union's side of the story on these charges. The union's story is presented for the first time in our Washington letter this week. Knudsen acted on the basis of what Max Babb, head of Allis-Chalmers, told him. This is not our conception of fair play.

But far more serious than the question of fair play for the workers at Allis-Chalmers is the question of fair play for labor as a whole. The real dangers to defense production lie not in strikes but in shortages of raw materials. The need for more aluminum and magnesium, for example, has become a serious impediment to plane production. On the other hand, we have had but one aviation strike, in which eight working days were lost. These were later made up when the workers at Vultee finished its first contract forty days ahead of time. Charges of communism were freely—and loosely—made in the Vultee strike. But little attention is paid to the far more tangible foreign influences and connections which have hobbled this country in the production of basic defense materials. Every crackpot utterance on labor in Congress achieves headlines, but how many newspaper readers knew of Congressman Rabaut's summary in the House on April 2 of the aluminum and magnesium tie-ups abroad? Rabaut pointed out that the international aluminum cartel in which our Mellon company plays a dominant part loosened its restrictions on Hitler, but kept output limited in this and other countries until in 1940 the Reich was able to produce 50 per cent more aluminum than the United States, despite our superior natural resources. Magnesium was left to a company jointly owned by the Aluminum Company of America and the German chemical trust. "Our own Dow Chemical Company," Congressman Rabaut said, "was the sole licensee in this country and agreed to sell only a small amount to England, while its other exports were to go to the German chemical trust at a lower price than any domestic user could purchase it for in the United States." The result was so to restrict production here that while our American output of magnesium in 1940 was 6,000 tons, Germany's was 25,000 tons. Both aluminum and magnesium are essential to aircraft. Why don't the newspapers, which are searching so hard for subversive international influences in labor, pay a little attention to the more obvious and the more serious obstacles created by the greed and the unpatriotic internationalism of big business?

River Rouge Revolt

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Detroit, April 7

AT fifteen minutes after midnight, Norman Smith, a hulking, unkempt, gentle-faced organizer who looks like Heywood Broun, stood on top of a C. I. O. sound-truck outside the main gate of the River Rouge plant. The hundreds of workers who had been milling around in the street, shouting and murmuring in the night, became pretty quiet. Then Smith roared: "The strike is on. Picket lines will be formed immediately."

The announcement sounded neat and unrheterical, but the date—April 2—will be recorded in labor history. There was a lot of the incidental music of history in the setting. Over Smith's head, as he recited the strike call, was the overpass where C. I. O. organizers were so pitilessly slugged by Ford service men in the futile campaign of 1937. Smith himself took a terrific beating from Ford goons in Memphis, where another Ford plant was defying the C. I. O. But now, in the capital of the Ford empire, men had struck for the first time in the thirty-eight-year life of the Rouge plant.

It all happened with such incredible suddenness, and events moved so fast afterward, that the epic touch was almost overlooked. The words and sounds and signs were familiar strike routine. Yet this walkout, C. I. O. chiefs admitted, was close to a trade-union miracle. The basic and indisputable fact was that it was provoked by the company; that the C. I. O. strategists had not planned to strike for several weeks and had hoped that a walkout might be entirely avoided. Several months ago Michael F. Widman, Jr., leader of the C. I. O. drive at Ford, told me: "We won't let Harry Bennett pick the date for a strike if we have to have one." But Harry Bennett did.

The jaunty, shrewd chief of Ford's terror squad could easily have prevented the dismissal of eleven key C. I. O. workers from exploding into a strike. All that the C. I. O. asked was to discuss the firings. Bennett plainly believed that this was the time to fight it out, perhaps because the national temper was so inauspicious for labor, perhaps because he thought the C. I. O. had gained so much ground at River Rouge that it had to be smashed now or not at all. He did not know that he was already too late. Neither did the C. I. O. leaders.

Throughout Tuesday evening the C. I. O. cabinet sat behind closed doors weighing a decision they had hoped to make under less feverish circumstances. As they met, stoppages—genuinely spontaneous—spread through the plant. When Ford officials refused to meet with the cabinet, retreat became impossible; it might have fatally demoralized the whole union. So at 12:15 the word sped into the cold Michigan night that Henry Ford's workers were going on strike.

After that the chips were down in this costly, des-

perate, long-frustrated campaign to organize the last home of anti-unionism in the auto industry, to make Henry Ford do what he had vowed he never would: recognize an outside union. What happened subsequently exceeded even the wishful thinking usually found in labor upsurges. It was a kind of mass rebellion against a tyranny that people had thought was immortal. Apparently the great bulk of the 85,000 workers employed at Rouge had decided, too, that this might be the last time they could fight it out with hope of success.

Once upon a time Henry Ford had insisted he would never close his plant in the face of a strike crisis; "We would stand to the last man." But twenty-four hours after the walkout Ford officialdom closed the plant, announcing it would not reopen while the war was being waged over mediation tables. The announcement was a confession that the C. I. O. had organized Ford. Thousands of workers signed union cards in the ensuing hours. The A. F. of L., in a frail and foolish effort to steal the C. I. O. show, called a mass meeting and preached back-to-work slogans; but less than 1,000 workers attended the meeting in the hall in which the C. I. O. had rallied 15,000 the night before.

This is written five days after the strike began, and its future is unpredictable. It is obvious here that the paunchy Ford hierarchy is choosing between capitulation in one form or another and a ruthless attempt to break the strike with thugs, brickbats, and guns. If the second course is chosen, there will be murder; because these lines won't yield to fear. Watching Ford workers parade through Dearborn, singing "Solidarity Forever," you are convinced this walkout cannot be broken so long as some measure of law survives. And C. I. O. leaders are confident that the government won't wield clubs for Ford.

There are those who believe that strikes are sinister in time of defense, that they aid the Axis, that they ought to be postponed until Hitler is licked. You get the feeling here that almost the reverse is true: that the strike at Ford is an affirmation of democratic vitality, that so long as 85,000 men were imprisoned behind Ford's feudal gates our democratic talk could be caricatured in the defeatist press. Now Ford's workers, harassed by industry's worst spy system, lacking seniority rights, paid less than men in other great auto plants, no longer walk and talk alone; they have joyous mass-picket lines where distribution of leaflets was once forbidden.

By the time this report appears, the strike may have been settled by a sudden compromise, or pending the Labor Board election, Henry Ford may have unleashed last-ditch violence against his employees. Whatever he does, there is a widespread conviction here that he has lost, and only the procedure of defeat is unsettled. Because while Ford publicists are lamely saying that "imported agitators" are behind the strike, they admitted the lie when they closed the plant.

Roosevelt's Answer to Hysteria

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 6

THIS has been quite a week-end. On Thursday night horrendous rumors were in circulation. The President was going to "speak out at last" on labor. He was preparing to blast John L. Lewis, presumably for telling off Hatton W. Sumners, the well-known electrocutionist. He was about to let loose a terrific attack on the Communists. The anti-labor bloc in Congress felt that *Der Tag* was just around the corner. As one conservative paper said, the strategy was to "build a fire under the President . . . Make him accept legislation curbing strikes which can't pass without his okay." There was an unusually large turnout for the President's press conference Friday morning, and an air of joyful anticipation. The time was fixed for 10:30 but we were kept waiting almost fifteen minutes. When the doors opened, the press burst in like Menelaus on Helen in Rupert Brooke's sonnet—to find the President all serene. His thoughts seemed far from labor troubles. He spoke of new lease-lend allocations, going with some detail into the figures. He discussed merchant shipping and the repair problem. A reporter finally perked up with a question about those strikes. Strikes? There was only one serious stoppage on defense, Mr. Roosevelt said, and that was at Allis-Chalmers. He was giving the Mediation Board a few more days to settle it. That didn't mean eight or ten weeks. The coal strike? He thought it would be settled by Monday. Communists? Yes, there were some in unions as elsewhere, but that didn't apply to labor as a whole. Ford? It is a little difficult to describe Mr. Roosevelt's answer and attitude. It might have been mistaken for a mild interest. It wasn't ungentlemanly enough to be described as a snub. The President was magnificent.

Mr. Roosevelt's calm refusal to be swept away by the strike hysteria was enough to make the week memorable, but there was another pleasant surprise Saturday morning at the Labor Board hearing on the petition for an election at the Ford plant in Dearborn. Ford's counsel, A. I. Capizzi, who sounds more like a Coughlin understudy than a lawyer, was winding up for a speech on the Red menace in the U. A. W.-C. I. O. and the Detroit office of the Labor Board when Dr. William M. Leiserson applied a pin to the bladder. He suggested that the issue being raised was as irrelevant as if the board were to try the charge that Ford was a Nazi agent because he had received a decoration from Hitler. Capizzi recovered sufficiently to suggest that before the war all the crowned

heads of Europe had exchanged decorations with one another. Later, when Capizzi returned to the forbidden topic, Dr. Leiserson asked if he thought it would be fair to inquire whether Capizzi was a Communist or a Fascist. "I am an American citizen," Capizzi said, in his most orotund tones. "So are they," was Dr. Leiserson's dry rejoinder. But Capizzi, irrepressible, was soon back at the same subject by another route. Deferentially, he explained that in criticizing the personnel of the Detroit office he, of course, could intend no reflection on the "present majority" of the board, since it was but newly appointed and therefore had nothing to do with picking the communistic personnel in control at Detroit. "I myself appointed Frank Bowen director in Detroit in 1934," interjected Chairman Millis. After Capizzi was finished, there wasn't much that quiet Maurice Sugar had left to do for the U. A. W.-C. I. O.

This afternoon I went up to the OPM, where the mediation panel was in session on the Allis-Chalmers strike, which may be settled by morning. I had heard that the leaders of the Allis-Chalmers union were in town and I hoped to get their version of the ballot-box irregularities which occurred in the strike vote taken under Wisconsin law. I had been told that the local union leaders there were pretty green, but this turned out to be an understatement. The two I first encountered literally fled down the hall when the lone OPM press agent on Sunday duty said I was a newspaperman. Finally one of them went into the conference room and brought out Harold Christoffel, head of the union. Christoffel, a thin, gangling young man, who doesn't seem too experienced, told his story. He said there were two strike votes. The first, on February 19, was held under the union constitution, which requires a two-thirds vote of those present at a strike meeting to authorize a strike. This vote, he explained, was by ballot, not by acclamation. There were about 3,000 workers present and he said the vote was more than 90 per cent for a strike. Under the new Wisconsin law fathered by the reactionary Heil administration, a majority of those in the plant or department is required to make a strike legal. Since there are more than 7,000 men in the plant, the vote at the union strike meeting was not enough. An election under the state law was held on February 21, with some 6,700 votes cast, of which only 758 were against a strike. Imp and Bohachef, the two non-union "disrupters" mentioned last week in *The Nation's* editorial, Knudsen's

Coup d'Etat, charged that the union had resorted to an unfair labor practice under the state law by changing the form of the question on the ballot between the two elections. A similar charge was filed by the company. In refutation, the union submitted as evidence all the votes cast in both elections.

Christoffel said that the state law requires neither state inspectors at the election nor the preservation of the ballots cast, but that the union had saved the ballots "just in case any question was raised." The union, he said, consulted counsel before the election and arranged to have its returns notarized. It was so anxious to make the election unassailable that it invited non-union as well as union men to vote in the election. The union thought it a joke when the company brought two handwriting experts into the case to examine the ballot-box markings, Christoffel explained, but became worried when the company asked for a week's recess in the Wisconsin Labor Board hearings to allow for further study of the returns. "We thought we'd better get an expert of our

own," he said, "so we went to Northwestern University, which has a Crime School and hired a woman who is an expert on ballot frauds. She didn't look twenty minutes before she told us something was wrong, and after a few hours she reported that between 1,800 and 2,200 ballots seemed to contain irregularities." Christoffel denied that any officers of the union had anything to do with these irregularities. He said that people were streaming through the union office all day during the election and that the ballots were small enough for one man to take thirty or forty into the voting booth with him. He blamed the failure to arrive at a settlement on the company's lawyer and deplored the fact that the general works manager, with whom the union was able to get along, had been removed from control. He said the union was not insisting on a closed shop or a union shop but wanted security against the kind of anti-union activities carried on by the company in the past. Christoffel added that he was not a Communist. "I'm not taking orders from anybody," he said, "but the C. I. O."

Strategy in the Caribbean

BY W. ADOLPHE ROBERTS

THE Caribbean policy of the United States has assumed a form which we may reasonably expect to be permanent. It has been developing for 120 years, or since the acquisition of Florida rounded out control of the Gulf Coast. President Monroe had the ingenious theory that the Straits of Florida, between Key West and Cuba, constituted the true mouth of the Mississippi River, and that, as the inevitable corollary of this, all the approaches must be dominated. Other theories had their day, perhaps the most extraordinary being Secretary Seward's that Cuba was formed of sand washed to sea by the Mississippi and therefore belonged to this country.

The safeguarding of trade with the lands bordering the Sea was the next phase of the policy. Then came "Manifest Destiny"—expansion for the sake of expansion—which petered out with William Walker, the filibuster, in Nicaragua. Meanwhile, the real and lasting issue had emerged. Inter-oceanic canals at the Panama and Nicaragua depressions had become practicable, and already there were overland transit routes at both points. The Caribbean as the maritime lobby of the Pacific grew vastly important to the United States.

After the Spanish-American War and the digging of the Panama Canal, the naval station at Guantánamo, Cuba, and the ownership of Puerto Rico seemed sufficient in a world that did not expect a major war or foresee the

rise of air power. The Virgin Islands were bought in 1917 lest Germany should want them. But the victory of the Allies and the supposedly invulnerable military position of friendly Britain and France lulled Washington's anxiety over the Caribbean. The 1920's and most of the 1930's were a dazed period in which confused cries came from the somnambulists in Geneva, and statesmen believed that unarmed neutrality, admonitions, and appeasement would maintain the status quo.

The approach of the present conflict stimulated the Roosevelt Administration into improving existing defenses and formulating new plans for the protection of the Canal. Bases in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands were, with the approval of Congress, ordered developed to a high degree of efficiency. In the spring of 1939 the combined Atlantic and Pacific fleets held maneuvers which clearly indicated that should war occur the United States would not count on the effectiveness of parallel defensive action by the European nations holding colonies in the region. It would pursue its own Caribbean strategy. The Sea was clearly *Mare Nostrum*.

Recent events are too familiar to call for rehearsal in detail. But certain points need emphasis. The first conference of the American foreign ministers at Panama made a great deal of noise but was important only because it proved that the twenty-one republics were disposed to work together. Meeting a few weeks after the

outbreak of hostilities in Europe, the diplomats sought to fix a safety zone extending roughly 300 miles from the shores of the Western Hemisphere, excluding Canada. Belligerents who committed an act of war within this zone were threatened with—exactly what? The guns of Hitler's Graf von Spee and the British squadron off the Rio de la Plata went unanswered. Secret agencies had been at work, nevertheless, and in the first week of March, 1940, President Roosevelt remarked that the existing fortifications in the Canal Zone should be, and could be, supplemented by nearby bases. He hinted that while no acquisitions of territory were contemplated, an understanding had been reached with Colombia and Costa Rica for the military use of their airports in an emergency.

Here, then, was the vital turning point. The United States had concluded that it needed to operate from sites under foreign flags, but it proposed to obtain the facilities by negotiation, working on the assumption that it was the only nation with power vast enough to guard the interests of all the peoples of the Caribbean. It did not take an augur to realize that airports in the immediate vicinity of the Canal would be only a small part of Caribbean defense. Bases had to be sought—in British and French colonies. It was equally certain that all the centrally located republics would yield whatever was asked of them, primarily because the Good Neighbor program of the previous few years had cleared the way. Under any other recent Administration in Washington the little states could have been brought into line only by coercion. But Franklin Roosevelt had done away with the kind of tutelage exemplified by the Platt Amendment in Cuba and the marines in Haiti, closing his eyes at the same time to pocket dictatorships that spelled stability. Business relations, too, were good.

The rapidity with which events moved in 1940 played into the hands of the architects of the new hegemony. The United States, consulted in advance, raised no objections to the British and French marines landing on the Dutch islands of Curaçao and Aruba when Holland was invaded. Sabotage of oil refineries and stores supposedly had to be forestalled. Scarcely six weeks later, France had signed an armistice with Germany, and British warships unofficially blockaded Martinique, where two French cruisers and two destroyers were stationed, and where the aircraft carrier Béarn had just arrived with a hundred planes bought in the United States. Again, though for the moment, aggressive moves by one European power against another were allowed to go unchecked by the true rulers of the Caribbean.

The second conference of the American foreign ministers, at Havana, was a far more weighty and realistic gathering than the one at Panama. From its deliberations emerged the Act of Havana, which provided for a joint guardianship of all European colonies in America that had lost their sovereignty as a result of the war. One or more of the republics might initiate an occupation, a course which it was plainly the intent of the United States to follow freely if Britain collapsed—an event which seemed imminent as the conference ended.

But Britain did not collapse, and there took place instead the bases-for-destroyers deal. The six points of vantage acquired gave the United States a far-flung grip on the region. Close to the Venezuelan coast, Trinidad commands the southerly gateway to the Caribbean and would be the outer bastion in the event of an attempted invasion from Africa by way of Brazil. St. Lucia, more than 200 miles north of the arc of the Lesser Antilles, lies close to the passage from the Atlantic most favored by the ancient navigators, athwart which is Martinique. Antigua is on the edge of the Anegada Passage and looks across to the Virgins. The Bahaman base yet to be selected is an outpost for the Florida stations. Jamaica is of dual importance, being the sentinel of the lower end of the Windward Passage and the island closest to the Isthmus of Panama, 550 miles distant. Here the major defenses of the inner ring are being built. They comprise an airfield, as well as forts to protect the anchorage at Galleon Harbor, which is to be wholly American; and a reconstruction of the base at Port Royal, ancient capital of the buccaneers.

The day Britain consented to the leases it ceased to have a Caribbean program in the military sense. Any future effort on its part would be a duplication of the American effort and thus a futile expense. France and the Netherlands had not been active in the Sea for more than a century, and were now beaten nations with a



Courtesy of Bobbs-Merrill Company ("The Caribbean" by W. Adolphe Roberts)
The Caribbean Sea

doubtful, perhaps hopeless, future. None of the Latin republics possessed martial establishments that could figure in rivalry.

Two questions remain to be answered: (1) Has the United States obtained all the footholds it needs to perfect its control of the Caribbean? (2) Is its status as tenant in the British colonies workable, or will it want to annex territory?

I feel strongly that the reply to the first question is no. To complete the strategic pattern it will be necessary to have bases on Martinique, on Dutch Curaçao off the Venezuelan coast, and on the British islands of Barbados. The Yucatan channel leading into the Gulf of Mexico should be watched from a post near Cape San Antonio, the western tip of Cuba. The fairly long gap between Guantánamo and San Juan, Puerto Rico, should be plugged by an air squadron base in either Haiti or the Dominican Republic. It should be understood that I am not advocating all this, but am cold-bloodedly analyzing the drift of a policy. A government cannot plunge into militarism and be satisfied with half measures.

Martinique and Curaçao are indispensable. The French island is the very key to the Lesser Antilles. It has a much better harbor than Gros Islet Bay, St. Lucia, accepted from England because of its proximity to the Martinique channel. Curaçao lies midway off the Spanish Main, between Trinidad and Panama; it also forms the third point of an interior triangle, the other points being Jamaica and the Canal. That would be reason enough for fortifying Curaçao. It is, in addition, the ideal watchtower for the immense oil fields around Maracaibo Lagoon, and its dependency, Aruba, is covered with refineries. The Shell combine and other Dutch interests never cared to take a chance with Venezuelan revolutions, but exported crude oil to Aruba for processing and storing.

The interest of the United States in Martinique was shown as early as November, 1940, when a neutrality patrol from the Atlantic fleet took over from the blockading British squadron. The surveillance is still being maintained, though the French warships have been partially dismantled and the airplanes are said to be rusting in an open field beneath tarpaulins. One may assume that if for any reason troops are landed they will be American marines.

Neither the French nor the Dutch government could lease bases to the United States without incurring reprisals from the Germans in occupied territory. But we are likely to see the Stars and Stripes go up in Martinique and Curaçao before the war ends. It will be justified, somehow, as an emergency act. If this country goes to war with Germany, the matter would be simple indeed.

The argument for a base on Barbados lies in the isolation of that island, a hundred miles or so east of the rest of the Lesser Antilles. It is an advance post which might be seized by an enemy if a tightly drawn battle

were raging. It is not essential to a defensive plan, but it would seem the part of wisdom to modernize the feeble armaments which the British now have there. The airfields suggested for western Cuba and Hispaniola are also secondary. If required, the governments concerned would probably yield them willingly.

Whether the United States should, or will, seek outright possession of the colonies where it has bases is a tangled question which cannot be answered with a flat yes or no. Imperialists favor a clean sweep while the getting is good, in partial liquidation of war debts old and new, and to enhance the national prestige. There are many arguments against this extreme position. President Roosevelt has personally disclaimed it. The Havana Conference came out for self-determination for the colonies. The dominant political groups in the United States, particularly the Southern reactionaries, are determined that no large addition to the Negro population shall be made. Although the colonies would not be granted statehood, they would have spokesmen in Congress and their new status would enable Negroes to come to work in this country without having to hurdle the barriers that now stand in their way. Nor is American business eager to lower tariff bars on a new stream of tropical products in competition with those of Puerto Rico and Hawaii. Finally, it is realized that it would harm rather than help the national prestige to gain territory at the cost of offending fellow members of the Pan-American Union and arousing the enmity of the autonomist factions in the more developed British colonies.

But military exigencies will carry weight, and I believe that a compromise is indicated. Islands so small that the naval and air bases occupy a considerable proportion of their area are likely to be acquired *in toto*. St. Lucia and Antigua, for instance, are only a little over one hundred square miles each. The problems of local government will become complicated in such places as the American personnel increases and new sites have to be taken over. It has been officially announced that the Gros Islet foothold in St. Lucia is but a beginning, and other sections of the island are being surveyed for airfields. The Bahaman coral key to be utilized is pretty certain to be one of those inhabited only by fishermen and sponge-divers; a double administration would be cumbersome.

The bases in Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, on the other hand, can be operated as pocket domains with no more difficulty than has marked the operation of the one at Guantánamo, Cuba, for forty years. Spheres of special interest can be definitely established in a large community, which has other problems to think about. In view of this, and for the reasons cited above, I do not think that the annexation of any important British or French colony is contemplated.

What is the attitude of the other American republics toward the mastery of the Caribbean by the United

States? Present conditions are unique. The fear of a totalitarian victory in Europe and Asia hangs over the Western Hemisphere, and the spirit of Pan-American cooperation is correspondingly strong. But how will it be when the war is over? Though the position now being solidified will not be abandoned, its usefulness might be hampered by disgruntled neighbors.

The extent of economic aid given by the United States during the war will decide the matter in part. European markets have been lost by all the Caribbean countries, and some of the results have been disastrous. Poverty-stricken Haiti is largely dependent on its coffee crop, the bulk of which went to France, but which no longer has purchasers there. Venezuela, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic also depend heavily on coffee, much of which was taken by France, Germany and Italy. Sales of cocoa, copra, sugar, and rum have been seriously affected. So has Venezuelan oil. Only bananas and chicle have held up, since the United States has been the chief market for these products.

Loans from the Treasury and from the Export-Import Bank have helped. For instance, \$11,300,000 has been advanced to the Cuban Sugar Stabilization Institute, \$2,000,000 to the government of Nicaragua, and pro-

portionate sums to other republics. There has been an increased absorption of tropical products, notably of Haitian coffee, though not as yet in amounts sufficiently large to restore shattered economies. A more determined effort will have to be made in this direction. It is equally important to provide Central America with manufactured goods which only the United States can furnish in time of war.

The soundness of democracy below Key West and the Rio Grande is something else again. The defeat of Germany would, of course, render the idea of totalitarianism extremely unpopular throughout the Western Hemisphere. Contrariwise, Vice-President Wallace made the following statement in a recent speech in Chicago: "If England loses, the Nazi scheme of things will, unless proper safeguards are taken, come into control within less than a year in certain Latin-American republics." I do not know precisely what countries Mr. Wallace had in mind, but I feel sure that his assertion is too sweeping to apply to the Caribbean region. If our policy there continues along its present lines and economic aid is forthcoming, approval of the role of the United States should withstand the worst jolts the war can bring.

Will Turkey Fight?

BY PETER STEVENS

Istanbul, March 14

MUSTAFA KEMAL PASHA, the Ghazi (Conqueror) has been dead for two and a half years. His portraits, like shrines, still hang in every house, every schoolroom, every office, every restaurant, night club, and hotel. It is not unusual for adult men to weep when they mention his name or glance reverently at the steel-blue eyes looking down from hundreds of thousands of gilded frames throughout Turkey. The Ghazi dreamed of a democratic republic for his people, but lack of education and appreciation of such a Western idea made the hope illusory. He even went to the length of asking a friend to form a "loyal" opposition, but the plan had to be abandoned because the lives of the synthetic opposition were constantly in danger from Turks who could not understand the idea and thought of the new party as dangerous revolutionists. Thus the People's Party, the party of Ataturk, as he called himself, is the only political organization in Turkey and its nomination is equal to election to the national legislature, which does meet from time to time in Ankara to ratify what the executive department has already decided to do.

Today Turkey is ruled by Ataturk's political and mili-

tary satellites. At their head is Ismet Inonu, who took his last name from a military victory he won against the Greeks. He is a competent and quiet little military careerman, a professional soldier who gave up his sword to follow Ataturk into the field of politics. Saydam, the Prime Minister, and Saracoglu, the Foreign Minister, were likewise close followers of the Ghazi. This is at best a government of disciples, and the spirit of the dead Ataturk as well as his portrait hovers over their nervous meetings, for no one dare do anything of importance in Turkey without debating what the Ghazi would have done under such-and-such circumstances. His every word is poured over. "HE would do it if HE were alive," is the highest recommendation for an action.

Fundamentally this is the most "un-Ghazilike" approach to a problem. Ataturk was extremely impetuous; he made bold and unexpected decisions of greatest importance on a moment's whim; surprise and violence were his best tools; and he detested caution and deliberation. It is hard to believe that he would have had the patience to carry on the long and deliberate diplomatic game of gradual retreat in which Turkey has engaged in this war; he would have attacked the first minute that

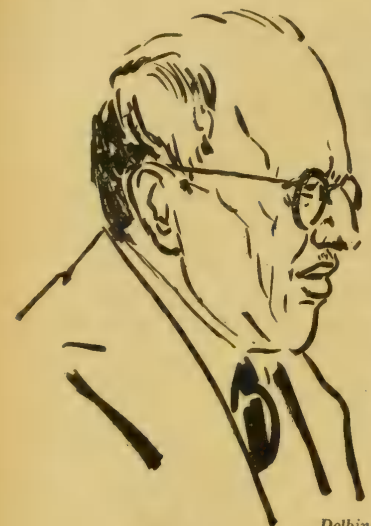


■ German stepped on Bulgarian soil. It was he who threatened a war against victorious England and France when he had but an unarmed rabble with which to fight. The flare, the élan, the dash of his policy, which carried Turkey that far, are now missing and in their place is the prudence of a group of aging men who debate each point.

Each week or two new statements of policy come from Ankara. They are cleverly and very orientally phrased and purport to say what Turkey will or will not do to meet the German flood spreading over Europe. Always

the door is left open for a later interpretation which will allow Turkey to do nothing. They always boil down to "We will fight if our territory is invaded, possibly if we think we are threatened, certainly not now."

Six months ago it was impossible to find a Turk who did not believe that a German penetration of the Southern Balkans would be the signal for Turkey to



Sukru Saracoglu

attack. But that was last fall, which, in this uncertain atmosphere, now seems years ago. Almost all Turks believed that "one single German uniform in Bulgaria means we will advance to the line of the mountains south of Sofia." It was considered extremely unpatriotic to question this and one American who did was asked to leave the country. Now the Germans have come, not only to Bulgaria, but in great numbers to positions where the Turkish frontier sentries can easily see them with the naked eye. And when they came, no one in Turkey was surprised that war did not result.

Little by little, the government-dictated press (the only press in Turkey) prepared the people. There was no one day on which you could say, "Have you seen the newspapers today? The government has changed its policy; we shall not fight over Bulgaria." It was a beautifully executed retreat—but retreat it most certainly was. The Germans came and stayed, and the people of Istanbul, with the potential enemy less than 200 kilometers away, went most unexcitedly about their tasks, so gently and so completely had their minds been changed for them.

The new idea of the English alliance is that England is bound to come to Turkey's aid when it is attacked but that Turkey is not bound to come to the aid of England or its Greek ally under any circumstances. Possibly, as rumored here, this is the advice of the British who are

not yet ready to give the Turks that aid, especially in equipment, which can prevent the loss and dispersal of the Turkish army. It is argued that Eden and Churchill do not want to waste 1,000,000 stout-hearted fighting men on a hopeless task when later, well equipped, they may be the backbone of the army that will invade Germany.

The Turks, however, lived for many generations as the professional fighting class of the vast Ottoman Empire and they are proud and touchy about their ability to fight anyone, anywhere, anytime. Besides, the Ghazi often told his people that they must always attack first. They do not readily take to these Western ways of weighing all the possibilities. Their Ghazi flattered them often with the name "Invincibles." Thus the military class, in a one-party country, where criticism is unpatriotic, is beginning to question the decisions of the ruling politicians in Ankara. These officers remember Ataturk too well to allow the men in Ankara to interpret his words for them. Did he not say Turkey was doomed if it sat by and saw a great power move into the Balkans? These questionings are still discreet, but there are distinct rumblings of disappointment and even bitterness.

How will the Turks stand up under this war, which, deep down, they all feel is inevitable? They will have a great advantage over any enemy, however strong it is on paper, for they are deeply, religiously convinced that they are invincible on their own soil. The average man in this country believes that no Turk can be stampeded or demoralized by modern war machinery: he holds the dive-bomber in contempt except as a weapon against women and children; he feels that an infantry willing to sacrifice its lives as individuals is more than a match for tanks; he is convinced that he can make less ammunition go further, use a bayonet better, march farther with no food and little water, sustain the will to win longer than any other fighting man in the world. This is an important dogma of the religion of the Great Ghazi. There is the story current here that a general, Nuri Pasha, recently marched his men eighty-two hours with no food and only one canteen of water each; no stops were allowed night or day.

It is notable that no one well informed has any fears of fifth-column activity in Turkey. The well-worn Nazi formula used so successfully with slight variations in Norway, Holland, France, Belgium, Rumania, and Bulgaria simply cannot be used at all in Turkey. There are literally no Turks who would fall for it; the religion of the Ghazi is too strong and united for there to be a schism. As for Germans here, the Turkish police know them all and literally shadow each and every non-English or non-American foreigner. In number the German agents are extremely few, and if the Greek boast that they had every Italian six hours after war began is justified, then Turkey would better that record by at least six

hours. Fortunately, no foreigner can speak Turkish without a noticeable accent.

The Turks do not fear the destruction of Istanbul; they know it will occur, and aside from a certain nationalistic pride in the great mosques built by their early leaders, they are oddly indifferent. The historical and artistic values of old Constantinople are those of the West, of Greece, and its European successor civilization. As for Pera and Galata, the Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Europeans live there, and the Turk thinks that it will, in the long run, be a blessing if its wooden hovels and crooked streets are destroyed so that a modern city may rise in its stead. The Turk is a great lover of the Modern, the New.

To us it would be tragic to lose Sancta Sofia, the great Church of Justinian with its tradition and beauty, in many ways the cradle of our civilization. But apart from this single great building, there is little to lose save sentiment. Even if England cannot afford to supply enough mechanized equipment and air strength in time to save the situation, and, if as a result, Turkey is defeated in Europe, that will not be the end. European Turkey is a small part of Turkey, and woe to him who pours his men and machines into the waterless stretches and trackless mountains of Anatolia. Here the Turk is supreme and the invader will have to fight every man, woman, and child of the civilian population, as well as a trained army of over 1,000,000 men. When the Greeks, with the backing of England, tried it in the early 1920's, they

were cut to ribbons by a mob of peasants hurriedly assembled by Mustafa Kemal in a Turkey disunited and torn by civil war, a Turkey that had been crushingly defeated by the Allies only a year or two before. Frantically aroused by the presence of an invader on the sacred soil of Anatolia, the women of the peasantry cut the throats of Greek soldiers with long knives while they slept; children stoned them to death. The Greek army was soon a crazily retreating remnant. Many died of thirst on the trek back to the sea. Few returned to Greece.

It is dangerous to tackle any nation when it is in the throes of a great national renaissance, when any war of defense becomes a Holy War. At no time has the Turk been a pushover for any army. Now he is doubly dangerous, defending the Most Sacred Trust of the Ghazi, the Turkey he willed to each Turk to protect. It may well be that with its strength spread rather thinly from Arctic Norway to subtropical Sicily, from France in the west to Poland and Rumania in the east, Germany will find in Turkey the straw that will break the camel's back. Every Turk knows that when the first shot is fired the dead Ghazi will arise from his tomb in the Ethnological Museum in Ankara and lead his people in a new Holy War. They have seen what a small nation like Greece can do when inspired, and a Turkish counterpart of that campaign would surprise no foreign resident of the Balkans. The New Turkey of Ataturk is ready for the acid test, confidently, quietly, and a little impatiently.

Minorities On the Move

BY ANTHONY FIELD

IN THE past eight years Hitler has shifted millions of people—civilians—back and forth across the face of Europe. Quite apart from the movement of troops, war prisoners, and refugees blasted from their homes by bombs, he has set in motion human migrations on a scale vast enough to recall the time when hordes from the south and east first settled the European continent. Germans who had been living and working in other countries have been repatriated by the thousands, while Germans distasteful to the Hitler regime have been expatriated, when they have not been executed. Great numbers of Jews have fled Germany and countries overrun by the Nazis. And, finally, the Germans are constantly shifting workers from their homes in the occupied countries to the places in which they can best serve the Axis war machine.

Although the Nazis make little effort to hide the fact that they are uprooting millions of people and disrupting whole social systems, it is impossible to get a precise esti-

mate of all the numbers concerned. By checking the data of the best American news agencies against that of the International Labor Office, the various governments in exile, and the German government, it is possible to get a reasonably clear picture of what is going on. For instance, it is known that after the Soviet-Nazi *rapprochement* in the autumn of 1939, some 50,000 people were shifted from the Baltic states—Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia—to Germany. The same winter, after the partition of Poland, some 130,000 Germans from Russia or Russian-occupied Poland moved to Germany. At about the same time some 50,000 Germans from Southern Tyrol were shifted back to Germany according to the terms of a treaty between Italy and Germany. In the latter half of 1940, when the Russians moved into Bessarabia, about 100,000 Germans went back to their fatherland. And in January of this year another 51,000 Germans from the Baltic countries were repatriated and some 100,000 Poles were shifted from German into Russian territory.

It was reported that the Russians, on their part, re-transferred to Siberia a half-million Poles who had entered Soviet territory after the German occupation, and that from 30,000 to 40,000 White Russians and Ukrainians were moved into Poland. About 70,000 Frenchmen whom Hitler felt were dangerous to his control of Lorraine, were moved to unoccupied France, according to reports from that province. It is known, however, that most of them actually went to Algeria.

The number of Jews moved around inside Greater Germany is unknown, but those forced to leave Germany and the occupied countries total about 600,000. After the fall of Poland the Nazis announced that all the Jews of Greater Germany were to be sent to the "Lublin Jewish Reservation." But no more than 40,000 Jews from the Reich have gone there until quite recently, when a new deportation wave set in. Most of the Polish Jews who lived outside the big cities are simply being sent into the overcrowded ghettos of Warsaw and Cracow.

The German "master race" itself is by no means safe from Hitler's migromania. In January, 1940, the Germans announced that 400,000 families—mostly farmers and tradesmen from Baden and Württemberg—would be transferred to Poland. That would mean, if the proportion of peasants, with their large families, ran high, as it undoubtedly did, that nearly 2,000,000 people were to be uprooted from their homes. In addition to these, 350,000 of the Germans who had been recalled from other countries were settled in Western Poland, an area which the Nazis hope will become predominantly German within a few years.

Some of the reasons for these tremendous population shifts are obvious, others obscure. The treatment of the Jew is part of the Nazi religion. The expulsion of patriotic Frenchmen from Lorraine was an essential part of the Germanization of the area. Other groups have been moved in an effort to break up economic or political resistance to the conquerors. In Poland, for example, people have been shifted around within relatively small areas for no purpose other than that of disrupting community life and solidarity and aggravating sectional prejudices. But perhaps the two most interesting aspects of the population changes instigated by the Reich are those involving forced labor and the mystical repatriation of Germans who had been living, some of them for generations, in other countries.

To some extent the transfer of Polish labor to Germany was only the continuation and acceleration of an old trend. Ever since Germany became an industrial nation there has been a steady flow of Polish workers into German factories and into the coal mines of the Rhineland. Even when Germany was primarily agrarian Polish farm laborers worked in the Reich. A treaty between the two countries fixed the exact number of workers that could be moved in a year, their wages, and the period for

which they would stay in Germany. That process has been incredibly speeded up until, today, whole labor contingents in factories and farm areas are made up of Poles bossed by German overseers while the former German workers do battle against the British, the Greeks, and the Yugoslavs.

The Czech, Dutch, Belgian, and French workers now feeding the German war machine ease Germany's burden politically as well as industrially. To a large extent they have been taken from the most radical sections of their homelands. "*La ceinture rouge de Paris*"—that is, the "Red girdle of Paris"—is today said to be largely depleted of its most radical workers, as are the Czech socialist communities of Prague, Pilsen, and Kladno. When the Nazis entered Czechoslovakia, France, Belgium, they rounded up the radicals and bluntly informed them that if they did not work for Germany they would receive no compensation when they were unemployed, and that they would be unemployed very soon, since their bosses were to be forced to fire them. They were promised wages equal to those received by the Germans themselves if they complied. Under the circumstances there was little that most of the workers could do but accept. Today they provide Germany with a better labor supply than it would ordinarily have.

The most intricate and in many ways inexplicable problem raised by Hitler's migromania is presented by the "repatriation" of the Germans abroad or, as it is frequently put, their "liberation from foreign yokes." Take the example of the Baltic Germans, those descendants of old Crusaders and Hanseatic traders, for centuries the masters of the country and owners of nearly all the land in large estates; and the Germans of Southern Tyrol, famous wine and fruit growers of Bozen and Meran, settled and deeply rooted in one of the most attractive regions of the earth for something like one thousand years. Both groups were representative of the best in the German tradition.

Technically the Tyrolean and the Baltic moves were made through bilateral treaties concluded between Germany and Italy, Russia, Estonia, and Latvia. The minorities themselves had no say in the matter. Politically, the Italian case differs from the Baltic. Mussolini was anxious to get rid of the Germans in *Alto Adige* (the Italian expression for Southern Tyrol). The angle south of the Brenner Pass allotted to Italy by the peace of St. Germain is the key to Italy's strategic northern defense line, and for this and historical reasons the Fascists did their utmost to denationalize the Germans there. Thus the repatriation was in truth a kind of liberation from the importunities of a foreign oppressor.

Even if this particular shift was actually a bargain between the two autocrats, Hitler would have never paid such a price to win a partner had not the entire idea fitted

his secret plans. The history of the agreement is not completely known. Apparently by its original terms all Germans would have had to move north unconditionally. The final arrangement, which was influenced by the stubborn resistance of the mountain peasants, provided an option: as far as we know only a part of the 200,000 preferred to be "liberated." Reportedly they settled in the Northern Tyrol and in Vorarlberg, the westernmost province of Austria, and in Western Poland.

Unlike the Italians, the Baltic peoples made no effort to suppress the Germans culturally. The Baltic peoples were farmers, and the Germans were their lawyers, physicians, merchants, teachers, even in part their civil service staff. Esthonia had passed a most generous law in 1926 on cultural autonomy, permitting the Germans to run (and to raise taxes for) their own schools. If any minority ever enjoyed full-fledged liberty, it was the Baltic Germans. They were not longing for liberation. But it happened that the Baltic Germans had remarkable assets. Berlin badly needed foreign currency. From the text of the two treaties it is clear that "liberated" colonials were allowed, besides some furniture and tools, only a little pocket money for exportation (50 lats and 50 Esthonian crowns respectively), whereas the bulk of their fortune (cash, real estate, plant, bonds, notes) had to be handed over to a German Trustee Association (*Treuhandstelle*) which liquidated it and transferred the receipts to Germany. Considering the Reich's enormous needs, however, this haul can hardly account exclusively for such a mass movement. Doubtless the primary motive was Hitler's desire to create a solid block of Germans in the center of Europe in order to forestall possible attempts by foreign nations to assimilate the scattered German minorities, perhaps to deprive these states of the chance eventually to use these Germans as hostages, and finally to increase the military power of the Reich.

If Hitler wins, this migratory process will go on and may even be aggravated. Slav, French, and Jewish minorities will disappear within the Reich. If the Allies win, the foreign workers in Germany will try to return to their old lands. The Lorraine Frenchmen will flock back. Many of the Poles will stay in Germany. A certain number of the Jews will try to go back there; although those of the younger generation who have become part of the countries of their wartime residence will not be eager to return. The Zionist movement will grow.

The Baltic Germans will make every effort to regain their privileged positions if Russia should free the Baltic countries again. Yet even if Russia does free them, would Esthonia, Latvia, or a Baltic or an Oslo Bloc within a future European federation really care to have the Germans back? The ousted mountaineers of Southern Tyrol can by no force on earth be compelled to stay where they are now. And, finally, a new type of refugee, the Nazi refugee, disguised or not, will enter the scene.

In the Wind

REAL ESTATE: On March 23, when income-tax grumbling was at its height, the *New York Times* published, page one, column one, a story telling how residents of the Westchester suburbs were moving to Connecticut, where there are no income taxes. (See Jonathan Daniels in *The Nation* for April 1.) "Throughout Westchester," said the *Times*, "suburbanites are expressing acute awareness of greener pastures over the line." The story so incensed Westchester real estate men and merchants that they demanded reparations. On March 30, page one, column one, the *Times* ran a story headed: "Westchester Finds Spurt in Building of Private Homes." The story began, "The wooded hills of Westchester are echoing to the thud of the carpenter's hammer and the clink of trowel against stone. . . ."

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS who boarded the Italian ships seized last week reported that in the mess rooms and recreation halls the walls were adorned with pictures of Mussolini and Victor Emmanuel. In the crew's bunkrooms they found photographs only of Margie Hart, the strip-tease girl.

GEORGE SOKOLSKY was recently asked his opinion on freedom of the press. To illustrate his belief that most publishers are not influenced by advertisers, Sokolsky told of his own experiences with Bernarr MacFadden's *Liberty*. In the course of some articles Sokolsky found it necessary to mention certain commercial products, and despite the fact that the products never advertised in *Liberty*, he said, the editors allowed him to mention them.

THE NEW YORK Legislature has been requested by several of the state's important figures to investigate Judge Herbert O'Brien of Queens, whose testimony on the Lease-Lend Act before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee was openly inflammatory. A counter-petition has been drawn up by many of the Christian Front-Coughlinite supporters toward whom O'Brien has long been friendly. Among the signers, according to the *New York Gaelic-American*, is Representative Vito Marcantonio.

EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES in Spain recently announced through the press that sixteen important chairs were vacant in the state universities. Not one person applied for any of the jobs.

FRANK CROWNINSHIELD, veteran editor of *Vogue*, had this to say of Nazi spies in Mexico in a recent issue of the magazine: "The best-equipped German spies in Mexico are usually men of a highly intellectual order. The archaeologists probably rank first, both in their number and ability; after them the ornithologists, botanists, mineralogists, conchologists, and ichthyologists, in approximately that order."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be easily authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

"The Greatest of These . . ."

THE multiplicity of British and other war charities has the home folks confused in the home towns, where there is a real and increasing desire to give. Britain's people in their tragedy seem neighbors now. Main Street ladies are ready to strip kitchens of mail-order aluminum pots and pans to provide the parts for British bombers. But in the enthusiastic confusion there is a real possibility that both the home folks and the essential foreign war charities may suffer together.

Sometimes it is hard to tell whether the multiplicity of the good-intentioned or the ubiquitousness of the racketeers does the more harm. I suspect that the racketeers are less dangerous than the men of good will. Also, I know from the small towns that the highly organized good will coming from the great cities under big names often fails to reach hearts. The reason for this is the almost rank growth of local individualism in good deeds which has flourished among people who see no reason why they should not go right ahead where they are, collecting for Britain on their own initiative and according to their own plans.

By now a certain able young business man I know in a small American city must have become a somewhat puzzled national figure. He had plenty of work of his own to do—and little time of his own to spare. But he decided it was his duty to assume the local leadership of one of the largest and best of the organizations seeking gifts for the relief of the people of Britain. He had hardly taken on the job, however, before he discovered that he was not alone. The town seemed full of collectors, each certain of his—or generally her—cause. With great good sense he called a meeting of every type and kind of the friends of the British.

Not all the collectors came. A good many did. There was a preacher who decided he would rather collect funds from school children for British children than work with a national organization of the same kind working in the same way. There was a lady restricting herself to work among the D.A.R. There was a Baptist lady ready to lead her Baptist sisters into any good relief work, and in a hurry to be off. A man who had been collecting pledges of a dollar a head from firemen and policemen, with which to purchase a bomber, was not present. Others were, and enthusiastically, but all with a growing consciousness of confusion. The young business

man wanted a central local committee for charity drives for the suffering in England and elsewhere, similar to the community chest for local drives. He may get it. The confusion is incentive to sense.

But beyond the scope of any such local body is the mail, which comes pleading persuasively from far away. Much of its pleading is for excellent causes. In my own mail one morning were the cry that "there must be no black-out of the Bible" and some deeply appealing Save-the-Children facts. Both appeals were from highly reputable organizations which are trying to do excellent work and need money to do it with. There are many more such. My only feeling is that the diverse drives of the diverse good causes may do all of them harm.

Of course, there are the racketeers. The world will never bleed so badly that they will not be with us. In the last great war a board named by Secretary of War Baker reported that out of 3,000 money-raising appeals, involving upwards of a billion dollars, only 300 were worthy. The State Department by its license requirements has already made some effort to reduce the percentage of racketeering in this war. It has been reduced, undoubtedly. A national agency has been set up to help divide the good from the wicked; it has found organizations about which it urges serious inquiry before any contributions are made—and some of them have heart-touching names.

I am not sure there is any certain way to protect the people in the home towns from either foolish organizations or essentially wicked ones. But of one thing I am sure: a great deal of energy—much of it straight from the heart—is reaching from great centers to little towns, to distant states, for gifts. And in those little towns it begins to look as if not only money, but horse-sense, is needed. The small towns, I think, would like to send back to the organizations in the big cities an appeal of their own—that they get the people of good will together, reduce the number of their organizations, budget their businesses, and cut down the costs of duplicating postage and telephone bills.

If the good organizations will get together, we people in the country will have less trouble in spotting the racketeers. Today the confusion of good works is a rank-growing jungle in which racketeers with only a cash interest in our hearts get beyond them to our pocketbooks. Honest directors of war charity must thin this forest, if they hope to get rid of the weeds.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

CULTURE AND LIBERTY

BY HERBERT READ

THE connection between culture and liberty is not just rhetorical, as the phrase might suggest, but vital and organic. That is the general conclusion I shall try to establish, but before reaching it I want to show, first, what meaning I attach to the word culture; secondly, how culture is related to the kind of society we live in, or intend to live in—and that will involve a definition of liberty; and, thirdly, why culture is incompatible with the kind of society which has been set up by the totalitarian states.

Culture is a slow product of the organic process we call history, and it is very difficult to catch it on the move. For example, contemporary efforts to estimate the greatness of poets and painters are almost invariably wrong. And if occasionally an age does honor the right man, it generally does so for the wrong reason. Now, in our dumb instinctive way I think we as a nation have always realized this, and for that reason we have not tried to define the quality of our culture. There is very little in the body of English writing which shows any consciousness of our native genius as it is expressed in our literature and drama, painting and music. By comparison, the literatures of Germany and of France abound in such self-examinations, self-criticisms, and self-satisfaction.

I am not going to make the mistake of confusing culture with what, in a narrower sense, we call the arts. When you have examined all the architecture and drama, the oratory and philosophy, the poetry, painting, and music of a nation, even then you have not exhausted the meaning of the word. To be worthy of the word, a nation has to possess something more—something in its manners, something in its speech and behavior—something which we might call gentleness, grace, or reverence. And this intangible quality may be precisely the essential quality—the one thing to which, if it is given to a nation, all other things are added. It is precisely this quality which is lacking, and always has been lacking, in the culture of our present enemy.

For German poetry, for German philosophy, for some periods of German architecture, I have the greatest admiration; I feel for German culture a sympathy which is deep and genuine. But at the same time this feeling of sympathy has always been accompanied by a feeling of despair. It is as though every road taken by German poets and philosophers led to the edge of an abyss—an abyss from which they could not withdraw, but must fall into

headlong—the abyss which is the second part of "Faust," or the transcendentalism of Kant, or the dialectic of Hegel—abysses of intellect no longer controlled by any awareness of the sensuous realities of life. Now these faults are not unknown to the Germans themselves, and some of their greatest writers, Goethe and Nietzsche, for example, have indulged in orgies of national self-castigation. But let me quote a less well-known self-criticism—the words of a very great poet, perhaps the greatest of all German poets, and one whom the Nazis have sometimes perverted to their nationalistic purposes: Friedrich Hölderlin. This is what he said about his fellow countrymen in a letter to his friend Bellarmin:

It is a hard word, and yet I say it because it is the truth: I can think of no people more divided and torn than the Germans. You see artisans, but not human beings; thinkers, but not human beings; priests, but not human beings; masters and servants, old and young people, but not human beings. . . . But your Germans like to stick to the most material and necessary tasks, and that is why there is amongst them so much bungling, and so little really free and joyful activity. But even that could be overlooked, if only such men were not so insensitive to all beautiful life, if only the curse of god-forsaken, unnatural life did not rest everywhere on such a people. . . . Everything on earth is so imperfect, the Germans are ever complaining. If only someone would tell this god-forsaken people that things are so imperfect amongst them only because they do not leave purity uncorrupted and sacred things untouched by their coarse hands; that nothing flourishes amongst them because they do not heed the roots of growth, divine nature; that amongst them life is empty and burdensome and too full of cold, mute conflict, because they scorn the spirit, which infuses vigor and nobility into human activity and serenity into suffering, and brings into cities and dwellings love and brotherhood.

That is a long quotation, but it makes an important point: the point that culture is not an affair of crude calculation, or power and purpose, but of the spirit, of *Genius*, as Hölderlin writes in German. And this is the essence which, somehow or other, we have to preserve within the structure of our society.

Now, what has been proved many times in the past, and what is being proved today in Germany, is that this spirit can only exist in an atmosphere of liberty. And by liberty we mean, not economic security which is the

only conception of liberty entertained by Hitler, but something much more in the nature of intellectual adventure. This becomes clear if we examine what might be called the incidence of culture, for then the vital difference between the true and the false conception of culture is seen to be a difference of position. I mean that you can regard culture either as something originating in separate individuals, or as something deriving from the collective entity of the nation. This is a very important distinction, and Hitler himself is quite aware of it. When three years ago he opened the magnificent new *Haus der Deutschen Kunst* in Munich, he made a speech of an hour and a half entirely devoted to these questions of art and culture. During the course of this speech Hitler made quite clear the very close connection which exists between the political and the artistic concept of National Socialism. According to the Nazi theory, as a nation grows to self-awareness and to power, there comes into being an art which is of that nation, peculiar to that nation, a direct expression of its being and ethos.

Hitler has enforced a national standard of art and has created a whole organization to see that this standard is adopted and observed by all artists, architects, writers, and composers within the Reich. And with the help of the Gestapo, that standard has been the only standard in evidence for the last seven years.

The result is disastrous. We have seen photographs of the new architecture, and of some of the new works of painting and sculpture. We have read some of the new poetry and drama. In so far as it is not crude propaganda, all this work, in every department of art, is of a dullness and deadness not exceeded by our own Royal Academy. It is not merely the expression of empty life, of cold mute conflict: when not barbarous, it is vulgar and sentimental, and never once lifts itself into those regions of radiance and joy and fantasy to which all true works of art belong.

Such is the kind of culture which we may expect in a country that subordinates the artist and writer to political censorship and police control. For the Nazi theory that art is a sort of reward for national self-sufficiency, and that it will blossom when the state of self-sufficiency is securely established, ignores the truth of the matter, which is far more subtle. All forms of art, and indeed all expressions of human genius, are the products of exceptionally endowed individuals, and though those products may to a considerable extent depend on the kind of society to which these individuals belong, their actual creation is the result of a very delicate psychological balance of forces within the individual mind. Nothing can explain the erratic phenomena of art except laws of chance and probability which are beyond calculation. But if we are so ignorant of the positive laws of artistic expression, we do know, on the negative side, that no force is so easily inhibited. It is not merely that the act

of expression—the particular inspiration which gives birth to a work of art—is subject to frustration by the least interruption and dispersal of the mood of concentration; but the whole artistic life of the artist can be brought to a sudden end by casual and apparently irrelevant causes—by marriage, by age, by change of climate, or even by change of diet. But devastating as these interruptions are, they are as nothing compared with any form of external control affecting the mode and quality of expression. You may put a poet in prison and he will still write; but if you tell him what to write and how to write, either he will not be able to write another word, or he will produce those monuments of dullness typified by the coronation odes of our poets laureate.

That, surely, is obvious to all but the kind of thug or philistine who rules in Germany, but let us give the thug his due. Hitler does at any rate acknowledge the importance of art, which is more than any British government has ever done. Fatal as his interference with art has been, do not let us entertain the complacent idea that our policy of laissez-faire is the alternative. As in economics, so in art: laissez-faire within a capitalist economy merely abandons art to the chances of unrestricted competition, and the devil take the hindmost. It means that art becomes one more commodity on the free market, and that to succeed it must practice all the wiles of salesmanship—mass appeal, sex appeal, adulteration, and the sacrifice of quality to cheapness. That, in short, is what is wrong with our culture.

The commercialization of art has been accomplished in the past 150 years. Before that time art existed for the most part on patronage, and though I don't like the sound of the word, it is to some form of patronage that art must return if it is ever to recover its vitality. But this brings us up against a very real dilemma. It is impossible—and will become still more impossible in the socialist state of the future—to depend on *personal* patronage. The alternative is obvious, you will say—*state* patronage. But how are we to visualize state patronage; how is such state patronage going to differ essentially from the state control of art exercised by Hitler's regime? I do not see how the cold master of the state can replace the sympathetic patron, how a heterogeneous committee can ever be a substitute for the man of taste and sensibility. Not that all patrons in the past were enlightened: some of them were as prejudiced and tyrannical as a Hitler. The only substitute for patronage I can suggest is some form of guild organization in which the artists, in each branch of the arts, give mutual support to each other and divide whatever income they can procure by exchanging their products for the products of other organized producers. But this implies a form of guild socialism of which I am apparently the sole surviving advocate in this country.

And here let me explain that when I speak of guild

socialism, or on other occasions of anarchism or syndicalism, I always have in mind this very problem of culture and liberty, which is for me the snag in the way of any system of state socialism. It is not merely that I cannot see how the sensuous and spiritual truths of culture can be safely delivered into the hands of ministries and committees; it is not merely that I distrust the calculating minds of economists and politicians; but everywhere I look, whether into past history or at present practice, I see the hand of the state as a dead hand, a hand which paralyzes every manifestation of the human spirit, not only all forms of art, but even philosophy and religion. What is National Socialism but a state philosophy or a state religion? If we are going to oppose National Socialism in the fundamentals of its faith, then we must first and foremost deny this worship of the nation and the state. When Hitler says that the only reality is the nation we must say No: the only reality is the human being. When Hitler says that art is a direct expression of the being and ethos of the nation, we must say No: art is a direct expression of the emotion and vision of the individual—of one man speaking to the people and for the people, of one man speaking to and for the whole of humanity. But we cannot logically say such things if in the same breath we deny the individual by advocating a form of socialism which, in the pursuit of economic or political ideals, establishes a bureaucracy to which all the ways of life are subordinated.

This past quarter of a century through which we have lived has one bitter lesson for all of us. In one country after another we have seen the revolutionary fervor which is the basis of our socialism perverted with apparent ease into an instrument of oppression. Let us take care that we, too, do not pervert the true doctrines of liberty and equality, and find too late that we have created a machine whose power we can no longer control—a machine which will carry us, helpless passengers, into the realm of totalitarian despotism. For I suggest that whatever we call it, any form of totalitarian collectivism is fatal to culture, simply because it cannot leave culture alone.

What, then, is the alternative? There is one other possibility. It is to abolish the artist—I mean, abolish the artist as an economic unit, as a separate profession. Art would then be produced, as it generally is today, by people who earn their living in some other way. The only duty of the community would be to see that everyone who wanted it had sufficient liberty to practice an art—and I mean liberty in the concrete sense of free time. It does not seem to me that this is an impossible ideal to aim at, but it is a general social ideal and not one which can be realized on behalf of art alone. It should be obvious that by the time we had reached such a degree of social development, certain types of artist would have been absorbed in the general organization of

the life of the community. The architect, the sculptor, and even the painter would be no longer artists, but artisans, and as such organic units in the building guild; the composer and the dramatist would be artisans in the theater guild. In fact, about the only social misfit would be the poet, and except for poets laureate and political propagandists like Virgil and Pope, they have always been left out in the cold.

When I say that we should abolish the artist, what I really mean is that we should all become artists. It is this horrible distinction between art and ordinary things, between artists and ordinary men, which is the mark or symptom of the disease of our civilization. When we have put that civilization to rights, we shall be less conscious of our culture but we shall have more of it.

As I present it, this idea may have the appearance of a paradox, but it is not original. It was the conclusion reached by that great artist and great socialist, William Morris: a man who thought deeply on this very problem of culture and liberty. Morris perhaps tended to simplify the problem, in both his reading of the past and his vision of the future. But one thing he saw clearly: that in the society of the future the division between the artist and the artisan which is so characteristic of our present civilization had to disappear. All through Morris's work runs the essential thought, that if you establish the right form of society, culture will be added to it as naturally as is the color to the rose. And as for the right form of society, let me describe it in Morris's own words:

It is a society which does not know the meaning of the words rich and poor, or the rights of property, or law or legality, or nationality: a society which has no consciousness of being governed; in which equality of condition is a matter of course, and in which no man is rewarded for having served the community by having the power given him to injure it.

It is possible that I should say more about bringing culture to the people, but it seems to me that it is useless to bring culture to people who have not been prepared for it. In other words, we have to bring the people to culture. And to do this we have to begin at the bottom and build up. Any extensive change in the cultural level of the nation can only be brought about by a long process of education which will in itself be an essential part of our social revolution. And by a long process of education I do not mean university extension lectures on the painters of the Renaissance. I don't mean cultural education of any kind: again I say, make your social revolution and let culture take care of itself. What I do mean is nothing less than a drastic reform of the whole technique of education. We don't, at present, educate children to use their senses: we teach them as quickly as possible to master abstract symbols and the processes of conceptual thought, and by the age of eleven or twelve the child has become a thinking-machine of sorts—a ma-

chine which will, in the course of time, take its place in the counting-house and be able to absorb a daily portion of newspaper dope. But this machine has lost the faculties it had whilst still an unspoiled child. It has lost its instinctive sense of rhythm and harmony, its vivid imagination and spontaneous delight. This is perhaps the essential problem, for what is the meaning of culture to people who are mentally blind and deaf; and what is the use of liberty to people whose sensuous faculties are stiff with confinement, wasted for want of exercise?

Though the workers of the world may lose their chains, what will their new liberty benefit them if they find they cannot any longer move their limbs like free men? The only freedom that matters is the freedom to dance—the freedom to escape from the routine and necessary steps of our economic activities, and to take the air like gods. I am talking like a poet, but the poet in each one of you knows what I mean. You know, like Hölderlin, that there is a spirit which infuses vigor and nobility into human activity and serenity into suffering, which brings into cities and dwellings love and brotherhood. That spirit is the spirit of true culture, and its descent among us is the breath of true liberty.

New Year Letter

THE DOUBLE MAN. By W. H. Auden. Random House. \$2.

IN 1931 Pope's ghost said to me, "Ten years from now the leading young poet of the time will publish, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, a didactic epistle of about nine hundred tetrameter couplets." I answered absently, "You are a fool"; and who on this earth would have thought him anything else? But he was right: the decline and fall of modernist poetry—if so big a swallow, and a good deal of warm weather, make a summer—were nearer than anyone could have believed. The poetry which came to seem during the 'twenties the norm of all poetic performance—experimental, lyric, obscure, violent, irregular, determinedly antagonistic to didacticism, general statement, science, the public—has lost for the young its once obsessive attraction; has evolved, in Auden's latest poem, into something that is almost its opposite. New Year Letter (which, with many notes and a few lyrics, forms "The Double Man") is a happy compound of the Essay on Man and the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, done in a version of Swift's most colloquial couplets. Pope might be bewildered at the ideas, and make fun of, or patronizingly commend, the couplets; but he would relish the Wit, Learning, and Sentiment—the last becoming, as it so often does, plural and Improving; and the Comprehending Generality, Love of Science, and Social Benevolence might warm him into the murmur, "Well enough for such an age." How fast the world changes! and poetry with it! What he would have said of the more characteristic glories of "Gerontion," the "Cantos," or "The Bridge," I leave to the reader's ingenuity.

New Year Letter contains Auden's ideas about everything (Life and the Good Life, Art and Society, Politics, Morals, Love, the Devil, Economic Man), organized inside a suc-

cessfully concrete framework of what he has read and seen and met with. Auden's ideas once had an arbitrary *effective* quality, a personality value, almost like ideas in Lawrence or Ezra Pound. They seem today less colorful but far more correct—and they are derived from, or are conscious of, elements over most of the range of contemporary thought. Sometimes the reader exclaims delightedly, "What a queer thing for a poet to know!" (This replaces the resentful remark of the 'twenties: "What a queer thing for anybody to know!") The poets of the last generation were extremely erudite, but their erudition was of the rather specialized type that passed as currency of the realm in a somewhat literary realm. About Darwin, Marx, Freud and Co., about all characteristically "scientific" or "modern" thinkers most of them concluded regretfully: "If they had not existed, it would not have been necessary to ignore them." (Or deplore them.) In their comparison of the past and the present, the present came off, not even a poor, but a disgraceful second; "and this was not surprising," as Carroll says, since the values by which they judged—the whole climate of their judgment—were desperately and exclusively those of the past. They constituted a forlorn hope we must admire but understand. Auden's culture and doctrines are more accessible and plausible than theirs to the ordinary cultivated person, whose thought is not now essentially religious, literary, reactionary, or anti-scientific. And the manner of Auden's knowledge surprises as much as the matter; there is none of the atmosphere of stupefying scope and profundity of information that has accompanied Pound's and Eliot's application of the methods of the industrial revolution to literature: so far as Auden's tone is concerned, London and Rome are still untouched by American hands, the great *Volkerwanderung* of the barbarian scholars has never occurred.

New Year Letter seems to me, within certain limits, a great success. It is thoroughly readable: Auden handles with easy virtuosity humorous and serious material—sometimes his method of joining them verges on simple Byronic alternation, but they tend to be swept together by the tone and verse-movement, rapid, informal, and completely adaptable. The poetry, strained through so many abstractions, is occasionally a little pale; but it *is* poetry. Auden has accomplished the entirely unexpected feat of making a successful long poem out of a reasonable, objective, and comprehensive discussion. It is kept concrete or arresting by many devices: wit, rhetoric, all sorts of images (drawn from the sciences, often); surprising quotations, allusions, technical terms, points of view, shifts of tone; he treats ideas in terms of their famous advocates, expresses situations in little analogous conceits; and he specializes in unexpected coordinates, the exquisitely ridiculous term—he is remarkably sensitive to the levels and interactions of words. The poem is not quite first-rate. It lacks the necessary finality of presentation; it is at a remove; the urgency and reality have been diluted. Evil is talked about but not brought home; there is a faint sugary smell of *tout comprendre est tout pardonner*; everything is going to be all right in the end. When one remembers his earlier poetry at its best, one feels unreasonably homesick for the fleshpots of Egypt. But these are almost too many qualifications: it is a valuable, surprising poem.

In the notes there are quotations, aphorisms, exposition,

verse, a few poems: if not God's plenty, at least, plenty. Some notes are valuable in themselves, some amplify or locate the poem's ideas; but these water a positive desert of Good Sense: machine-made parables, forced definitions, humorless half-truths, with which we wearily dissent or impatiently agree. (The notes specialize in neither the High nor the Low, but the Mean Sublime.) To the question, "What is the only thing that always remains work, that can never give us aesthetic satisfaction?" Auden replies, *the ethical*; the victims of his insistent raids on the Moral can ruefully agree. The lyrics called *The Quest* (conscientiously flat, abstract, and characteristic parables) seem to me rather uninterestingly unsuccessful.

I've made my review general because I wanted to emphasize, like the advertisements: "This poem's *different*"; some people who don't ordinarily read modern poetry might enjoy *New Year Letter*. Since I've no space for what I should like—a careful discussion of its ideas and technique—let me finish simply by saying that it is worth buying.

RANDALL JARRELL

The Problem Stated

MODERN DEMOCRACY. By Carl L. Becker. Yale University Press. \$2.

IN HIS "The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers" Professor Becker revealed with what skill and profundity he could portray the essential spirit of an age and how nicely his gentle cynicism could discount its foibles and illusions. In this slight, and yet weighty, book he proves himself as able a social philosopher as he is an historian of philosophies. The whole problem which confronts the democratic world has not been stated more lucidly, neatly, and wisely than in this brief analysis.

The first of the three chapters is, in a sense, a recapitulation of the earlier book. It traces the democratic ideals and hopes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and describes the faith which now seems "somewhat naive" to us because we know that it "placed a far greater reliance upon the immediate influence of good will and rational discussion in shaping the conduct of men than is possible for us to do." The second chapter describes the "earthly counterpart" of this "ideal form laid up in heaven." It might be said in passing that the sorry realities of a dying capitalistic society have a somewhat different relation to eighteenth century hopes than the inevitably imperfect realization of a plan has to the ideal pattern. They are, rather, a tragic refutation of imperfect plans and foolish hopes. But this slight defect in the logic of the book does not impair the value of the analysis of present reality in the second chapter. We see how the "liberal-democratic ideology which middle-class liberals professed in theory and denied in practice" destroyed the power of the landed aristocracy only to become an ideological instrument for the new plutocratic oligarchy of modern civilization. Industrial society has maximized and centralized economic power; and the economic oligarchy has used the old ideas of freedom to preserve its irresponsibility and to prevent political control of its power. "If the democratic way of life is to survive," he declares, "we must distinguish

the kinds of individual freedom which are essential to it from those that are unessential and disastrous." In the former category he places those "which the individual enjoys in his intellectual and political activities," and in the latter are "the relatively unrestrained liberties of his economic activities."

The problem of democracy is how to curb "the flagrant inequality of possessions and opportunity" without destroying essential liberties. The Russian experience proves that the loss of political and intellectual liberties is a high price to pay for economic equality. Yet it is still possible for Western civilization to stumble into a solution as bad as the Russian or the German one if we do not solve our economic problem. Dr. Becker is certain that an economic oligarchy must be brought under social control if democracy is to be saved. He thinks it is possible to do this without revolution or dictatorship, though he is of course not certain that it will be done. He thinks it important that though no ruling class has ever surrendered power voluntarily it is a *non sequitur* to conclude that it would surrender only under the compulsion of "naked force." He recognizes to what degree the international conflict complicates the problem of achieving domestic justice but he does not for that reason suggest that democracy ought not to defend itself against external perils. None of his conclusions are altogether new nor is the analysis which leads to his conclusions novel. The value of the book lies in the clarity and economy of thought and word with which the problem of democracy is analyzed so that one feels oneself carried toward his conclusions by an irrefutable logic.

The publishers of this book ought to be reminded that books are priced not according to their intrinsic worth but according to their size. This book, containing no more than 25,000 words, ought to cost only half of the \$2 demanded for it.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

European Poetry Displayed

A REVOLUTION IN EUROPEAN POETRY: 1660-1900.

By Emery Neff. Columbia University Press. \$3.

DR. NEFF'S book is described on its jacket as "the only short history of European poetry since the Renaissance." It is incredible that this should be true; but as one considers, it seems all too possible that it is. Dr. Neff traces the enormous influence of French literary taste, during and after Louis XIV's reign, upon the countries of Europe; and the ferments produced in this taste, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by German literature and thought, a revived interest in Greece and Rome and the Orient, and political dislocations. At the end modern poetry emerges, after the appearance in France of Baudelaire, Rimbaud, and Verlaine.

Such an account is long overdue, and one is grateful for a new emphasis, not usual in histories of literature written in English, upon the European scene as a whole, rather than upon what went on in England alone. And although it is addressed specifically to "students and teachers of comparative literature," the general reader can share in this panoramic outlook, and watch the interplay of forces which lead to increasingly complex expression in modern poetry. In America interest in these European sources was dropped when the

1930's arrived with their material difficulties. "Axel's Castle" was not followed up, as it should have been, by further detached discussion and by translations of works cited. The result has been that American poetry in the past decade, when not completely provincial, was muddled as to its derivations.

The subject, as the author states, is, of course, immense. His method, on the whole, is admirable. He condenses in a masterly way, and writes coolly and clearly. He has refused to use the tags "neo-classical," "romantic," and whatnot; and, these often academic partitions once removed, the narrative moves with breadth and sweep. J. G. Robertson has said:

There is manifest danger in the ineradicable instinct of our minds to classify and schematize. We love our antitheses; classicism-romanticism; idealism-realism; collectivism-individualism. But with fuller knowledge comes clearness that such antitheses are inherently unreal; the evolution of thought shows no such sharp contrasts, no such hard and fast lines. Nature makes no leaps; and the progress of human ideas, far from being a geometric progression, is an infinitely complicated growth, where one thought passes into its antithesis imperceptibly, like a dissolving view.

The need for these antitheses seems most real in a comparison of the arts of language. Because language is the carrier of ideas, it is easy to believe that it should be very little else than such a carrier. Comparative histories of architecture, painting, music, and even of "taste," escape bias more easily than comparative studies of the arts of language. Then it must be remembered that there are barriers in language. Linguistics are not needed in order to appreciate Palestrina, Mozart, Couperin, Purcell; or Piranesi, Dürer, Watteau, Constable. With poetry the ear and eye are not enough.

It cannot be said that Dr. Neff does much toward clarifying the inner qualities of the poetry with which he deals. He tends to tie up the spiritual with the turn of events and historic processes: changes of government, wars and their aftermaths, industrial changes, and alternate political enthusiasm and disillusionment. It has been said: "The critic . . . to reach the essence of poetry, must realize that he walks into a domain where the essential does not coincide with the most general, but with the most 'interior.'" But when we grant Neff's slight set toward the idea that poetry stems directly from the specific event (or in reaction against the specific event), his account of the historic background is thorough in the extreme. And when poets can be directly related to this background, he seldom makes an error, and very rarely an omission. He gives as admirably concise a description of the nature of French seventeenth-century taste as of Goethe's development and the development of "Faust." He is also brilliantly thorough with the post-Napoleonic period: the rise of money; the struggle for civil rights and the rights of labor, in England and France; and the reactions of certain poets to these upheavals and transformations. He does a splendid job of disentangling the beginnings of modern criticism, giving Lessing and Herder their just due; and he performs another service in bringing out and relating to their age the great and neglected talents of Hölderlin, Leopardi, and Vigny.

Historical events, however, can never completely explain poetry. Poetry is often generations in advance of the thought

of its time. It is often a throwback. Many imponderables make up the climate of literature. The often irrational turns of taste; the almost religious currents of guilt, fear, desperation, and disillusion (or of peace and release) must be taken into account in the study of any art. Comparisons must include differences as well as likenesses. The gaps in Dr. Neff's scholarly (and truly valuable) correlation of poetic works, important events, and sources of ideas are consistently *lacunae* where might appear the poet or thinker out of series: the man who carried the past in him unresolved, or the man, not of his time, who is to be a force in the future.

For example, the works of Vico (not mentioned) were known, according to Robertson, to both Goethe and Herder. In 1681, when Boileau's "*Art Poétique*" (of which Neff makes much) was being translated into English, Edward Young, the first precursor of the English Gothic Revival (of which Neff makes little) was born. Gray's enthusiasm for Ossian is put on record; but there is no mention of Gray's friend, Horace Walpole (whose Strawberry Hill has been described as "less an archaeological reconstruction than the expression of a state of soul"). Neff, with partial truth, traces Gothic interest to Germany and Bürger's "*Lenore*" (1774). But Walpole was reviving Gothic in England twenty years previous to this; and certainly native English Gothic stands behind both *The Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel*. (Neff does not speak of Gothic but of "Wonder"; but how much more than "Wonder" was this secularized return of medieval Catholicism into Protestantism, always accompanied by a mask of anti-Papistry!) Byron paid open tribute to William Beckford, another precursor, and to Beckford's "*Vathek*" and Johnson's "*Rasselas*," as sources of Eastern color. "*Vathek*" appeared twenty years before *Kubla Khan* was written.

It is, of course, ridiculous to push back influences too far; but should not that friend of Winckelmann, Piranesi—the "picturesque" artist who was, oddly enough, responsible for "Adam" in England and "Empire" in France—be given some notice, along with Winckelmann? And, if it is rather one-sided of Dr. Neff to emphasize the classicism in eighteenth century England at the expense of the century's Gothic side (the two streams went on concurrently, according to good authority, from 1750 to 1830), it is certainly impossible to explain how German influence got into France without mentioning Madame de Staël. (Neff does not allow Madame de Staël in his text; merely in his appended chronology.) Madame de Staël, according to Thibaudet, smuggled Romanticism into France "through the 'gulf' of Geneva and Coppet." Again, though Dr. Neff states outright that his method is necessarily selective, it is certainly odd that so much is made of Hugo and Leconte de Lisle (both of whom, of course, bring out a great many of the points Neff stresses: the political enthusiasms of the one; the disillusion with politics, and consequent "escape" into exotic themes, of the other) while nothing whatever is said of Béranger, Gérard de Nerval, or Banville. Béranger, the most popular post-Revolution poet in France, died in the year of "*Bovary*" and "*Les Fleurs du Mal*" (how ironically these events complete one another!). Nerval was "the only French poet able to bring the actual feeling of the German ballad over into French poetry; the one French poet of the time completely

N.B. Titles a *nation* should note

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open to the legend and music of Germany." Banville, admired by Baudelaire, far from being made gloomy by political events, "mocked the Empire while adoring it," and wrote of exotic subjects in the most cheerful way.

Dr. Neff ends his book with the usual sad thoughts on "*fin de siècle*." But in 1900 poetry in Europe was just about to pass into a new era of brilliance: Yeats, Rilke, Valéry, Apollinaire, were alive and soon to produce modern work unmatched in depth, subtlety, and complexity. The true synthesis, of which Neff certainly has a conception, must not only range widely but plunge deeply under the surface of events. One need not be either morbid or a mystic to know that this is true: such syntheses have been accomplished time and again in histories of arts other than literature. Certainly it is in the direction of "*Einföhlung*" that the liberation and future of comparative literature lies. Meanwhile, Dr. Neff has written a valuable book which should serve as a rational point of reference for students and the general reader alike.

LOUISE BOGAN

The Right to Continuity

TOWARD A PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. By José Ortega y Gasset. W. W. Norton and Company. \$2.75.

THE last time I saw Ortega—we were seated on a bench in the Bois de Boulogne in Paris a few weeks before the war—he said: "Until now I have been only a journalist, an occasional writer. It is only now that I am beginning a scientific work, the sum of my thought on history and society." I was happy therefore to find again in the present volume the old Ortega who is pleased to call himself a journalist but whom I persist in regarding with Paul Valéry as our greatest musician of ideas.

This collection of meditations and lectures has unity only in its depth, in its style of thought; but it is an exemplary style. Ortega is a virtuoso in the plastic presentation and illustration of ideas. Let us try to follow the development of one of the fundamental themes of this book: "Life is an affair of flutes. It is overflow that it needs most." Ortega projects first a new theory about the "sportive" origin of the state. According to him, it is the excess of vitality in the companionships of young men gathered together for the abduction of women and for barbarous adventure, the dionysiac play of juvenile energy avid to expend itself freely, which creates, as a by-product, the discipline and the martial order preliminary to civil legality. From the same idea of vital exuberance Ortega proceeds to develop an essay on technique. Man is the sole being in the world who has the primordial need and the power to disengage himself from nature. He can do it by suicide. He does it especially by fabricating a world which conforms to his inexhaustible fantasy and to his need for frenzy: the world of technique. The bow is a useful instrument, but it was perhaps first an instrument of music. The energy which invents a tool, domesticates fire, spends its effort in creating machines which permit more leisure—this energy greatly overflows immediate necessity and utility: it is pure excess, a projection of the imagination. So much for the ideas. But this whole complex of sociological analyses is finally summed up in a counter-

point of images of marvelous elegance: "The expression most fragrant with the scent of life . . . is to my mind the word *incitement*." This expression would have no meaning in physics, where one knows only the causes producing proportionate effects. It is the very word for unforeseeable life. The reaction of a thoroughbred to the lightest incitation of the spur "is a release of exuberant energy." The horse then becomes a splendid image of stirring life. "Thus we imagine the magnificent stallion whom Caligula called Incitatus and made a member of the Roman Senate." Here the thought of Ortega reverts to his poor Spain with its energies mutilated or put to sleep. And he tells this story: Workers were digging in a garden in Cordova. They uncovered the head and then part of the body of a bronze horse of the Roman epoch. The proprietor of the patio, deciding that the excavation was too expensive, ordered the statue to be covered with earth again. "And there he remained in his tomb, incredible though it seems, the Spanish Incitatus with his fine strong neck and his sensitive, foam-flecked mouth. . . . But one might fancy that if one held one's ear to the ground one would hear the desperate subterranean neighing of the great bronze horse." Who may yet incite him? So in this book I hear our buried Europe, our past.

Let us note that Ortega is not at all driven by the modern and puerile urge "to give concrete examples" in order to economize the effort of thought. His images rise from the depths of a prolonged meditation, of which he wishes to distill only the quintessence in a symbol durable and chiseled, like the bronze of the Spanish Incitatus. A theoretical formula weakens and limits, but a symbol orients and incites. These essays, which will please the American reader because of their freedom from abstraction and because of their plasticity, are in reality the last flowers of a European thought desperately ripe, which takes on the perfect elegance of an apparent facility, of a sparkling conversation.

But one will find also in this book the beginning of something very important: the elements of a philosophy and of a politics of *continuity*. Ortega is in process of discovering that the reality of man is not in his reason but in his history, in the trajectory of his past which alone orients his invention. Koehler has shown that memory alone distinguishes man from the ape. The chimpanzee does not lack intelligence, but for want of memory he is obliged each morning to begin his study of the world all over again. Incapable of possessing his past, he cannot evaluate his present action. On the other hand, "man's real treasure is the treasure of his mistakes. . . . It is because of this that Nietzsche defined man as the being *with the longest memory*."

Ortega expresses here the great, hard lesson, the only lesson which Europe, fatherland of Memory, can bequeath to younger civilizations. It is, in a certain sense, a "reactionary" lesson. In opposition to revolutionary utopianism Ortega repeats that the first right of man is the right to continuity. He affirms the objective existence of social structures, of the accumulated past, which one cannot ignore or sweep away without depriving creative action of all meaning. This position has the evident advantage of transcending the old right-left conflict at the moment when confusion is such that "today we are offered a prospect of tyranny from the left while the right promises revolution. . . ."

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There is a final essay on modern Argentina which in itself is worth a reading of the most "inciting" book of the season.

DENIS DE ROUGEMONT

"Archie" and "The Bull"

ALLENBY: A STUDY IN GREATNESS. By General Sir Archibald Wavell. Oxford University Press. \$3.

MANY readers are likely to turn to this book, not so much because of interest in its subject—the most successful British general of World War I—but because they seek light upon its author—unquestionably the outstanding British military leader of World War II. From this angle General Wavell's study may prove disappointing. Superficially it does little to satisfy curiosity about its author, who effaces himself completely.

Nevertheless, reading this book against the background of dispatches from Cairo during the past six months, we realize how well General Wavell has digested the lessons Allenby taught him. He would be the first to deprecate any comparison, but it seems to me that his own achievement in Libya outstrips that of Allenby in Palestine. It is true that in the Turks and their German advisers Allenby had a tougher adversary than Graziani's Italians. On the other hand, Allenby's army had a marked superiority both in men and material over that of the enemy, while in Libya Wavell faced odds of a magnitude that the world has yet to appreciate.

It is not easy to describe to the satisfaction of laymen the course of a modern campaign, but General Wavell, with the aid of some useful maps, has contrived to give an extremely lucid account of the battles in which Allenby drove the Turks out of Palestine.

When Allenby took over the command in June, 1917, the Eastern Expeditionary Force was in a discouraged mood. After its two attempts to carry Gaza had been heavily repulsed by the Turks, it was holding a line south of this strongly fortified city. Morale rapidly improved, however, when Allenby, never an office-general, moved his headquarters from Cairo to near the front and, in a series of first-hand inspections, impressed his initiative and resolution on the army.

Meanwhile, he was maturing his plans for breaking the Turkish lines. The first essential was intense and detailed organization of communications and supply. His scheme involved a large-scale cavalry operation against the enemy's left wing at Beersheba, and for this to be carried out under desert conditions, water supplies had to be calculated almost to the last half-pint. The thrust at Beersheba was devised to turn the Turkish flank and render the position of the Gaza garrison untenable. The strictest secrecy had to be observed, and elaborate stratagems were employed to persuade the enemy that the desert operations were merely a feint.

The success of this ruse was confirmed when Allenby

opened the battle with a heavy land and sea bombardment of Gaza that diverted the Turkish commander's attention from the strong concentration of troops on his right wing, so that he failed to reinforce the comparatively light defenses of Beersheba. These were quickly mastered by a British infantry corps after a great night march across the desert. Meanwhile, a cavalry division had ridden in a wide circle around the Turkish flank and, after heavy fighting, charged into the town of Beersheba in time to save its precious wells from destruction. Whereupon Allenby swung his infantry against the Turkish center in a move threatening to bottle up the Gaza garrison. As a result this stronghold was abandoned and the Turks, with the British at their heels, started a long retreat. A month later Allenby was in Jerusalem.

There are a good many points of resemblance between this battle and that of Sidi Barrani, which was also captured by a carefully concealed and sweeping flank attack. But this time tanks played the role which Allenby assigned to his cavalry. Wavell's relentless pursuit of the Italians was also patterned on the tactics of his old commander. "In pursuit," he quotes Allenby as saying, "you must always stretch possibilities to the limit. Troops having beaten the enemy will want to rest. They must be given as objectives not those that you think they will reach, but the farthest they could possibly reach."

The portrait of Allenby painted in this book is, in many respects, that of a conventional British officer. But he had one outstanding characteristic to raise him above the ruck of his fellow generals—a ranging mind that sought information outside the narrow boundaries of his profession. He was widely read and widely traveled and he would always listen to men who had the facts. Consequently he was more able than the average soldier to tackle problems ignored by the textbooks. A notable example was his quickness to adapt his tactics to those of the enemy when, during the South African war, the "unsportsmanlike" Boers refused to recognize the time-honored barrack-square rules.

But, as Wavell declares, in the military profession "character is of greater importance than brains or experience," for without courage, drive, and a complete sense of responsibility the most brilliant plans are liable to collapse. These qualities Allenby had, as he had also an unswerving loyalty to his superiors and a rare ability to trust his own subordinates. Nevertheless as a leader he was respected rather than liked. His army nickname—"The Bull"—was earned not so much by his massive physique as by his extreme irascibility. "He lacked," says his biographer, "a measure of self-control, a little humanity, the power to communicate enthusiasm, and to inspire disciples."

These qualities, absent in Allenby, are, according to those who know him, outstanding in Wavell, which helps to explain the way in which he has welded his very heterogeneous forces into the amazingly effective Army of the Nile. His own nickname, "Archie," certainly suggests affection, and stray quotations from his talks to his men, which have reached me, indicate a realization that the soldier in a democratic army must be treated like a man and not as a robot. His dictum that the ideal infantryman should have "the qualities of a successful poacher, a cat burglar, and a gunman" sounds like a quotation from Tom Wintringham,

former captain in the International Brigade. And still more alien to the spirit of brass-hattery is his New Year's message to the army: "Have you ever thought what a world we could make if we put into peace endeavors the same energy, the same self-sacrifice and cooperation as we use in the wastefulness of war?"

KEITH HUTCHISON

A Poetry of Wit and Conscience

SELECTED POEMS. By John Peale Bishop. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

MR. BISHOP is one of the few men now writing in America or elsewhere who recognize the privileges, tests, and ordeal of the aesthetic discipline. He descends from the second generation of poets who imported the lessons and enrichment of French Symbolism, but the American theme and sentiment in his work, its insistence on the emotion of the repatriated exile and the plight of the artistic apprentice coming to terms with a domestic tradition, make him more a figure in the line of Stickney than of Pound or Eliot. The affinity of his later poems with the moral and traditional problems of Ransom or Tate is not emphasized; his lyrics on Southern or New England subjects mix almost indistinguishably with those on the conflict of culture and character, past and present, tradition and conscience, in the wider context of aesthetic, European, and historical symbols. But the unity in these selected poems derives from his effort to return, after widely eclectic experiences in art and the sophistication of New York and Paris, to his native roots and loyalties, his moral plight as an individual, and to the recovery of his local habitation and a name. It is possible to trace almost systematically his translation of the images of his earlier discoveries in art (France, antiquity, Shakespeare, English classicists, Provençal poetry, pictures, books) into the imagery of his American inheritance (Virginia, Cape Cod, colonial houses and villages, local legends, Connecticut summers and winters). Yet these contrasts remain fixed within a framework of wider references and derivations—in allegories of personal doubt and conflict or in the analogies of ancient myth and folk tradition. Mr. Bishop still respects the impersonal discipline and objective moral sense of his Symbolist teachers. His work asks to be considered as poetry before it makes its appeal as a private history or an American document.

The difficulty of his task is thus a high and honorable one, since he tends to hold aloof from the topical, social, or dramatic claims that make the poetry of his contemporaries exciting. He has attempted to make objective and critical his natural impressionability of temper, to apply it to a moral judgment upon himself, and to make his language and symbols self-sufficient in that purpose. On that score he wins respect and meets his severest test as a poet. For this specific poetic ambition in his work never succeeds in rising wholly free of his limited personal situation. His symbolic poems remain deliberate and bookish; his moral allegories lean too heavily on intimate references and appeals to gain the air of a genuine imaginative freedom. A sharp diffidence of taste keeps him from exploiting his American character, just as his knowledge of the full scope and complexity of his moral

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problem has kept him from making extravagant capital of his literary and cultural privileges. As a result, he has relied on decorum to mediate between these opposed attractions to the point where decorum neutralizes, chills, and enervates their separate passions. Baudelaire and Rimbaud made their greatest poetry directly out of their private havoc and torment; Mallarmé made his out of his sense of symbolic absolutes; each of them made it by finding a reality for his words and style that would make a reality of his particular vision. The lesser Symbolists fell between these powers. Vielé-Griffin and Merrill were masters of the discretion, the taste, and the scrupulously self-conscious sensibility that must be counted on to take the place of intense symbolic vision or supremely passionate selfhood in a poet.

It is in their line that Mr. Bishop stands; his work has everything that taste, finish, and conscience can give it; it has what Mr. Tate has called "a settled view of the nature of man which is essentially religious and committed to the belief that poetry must look at man under the head of eternity." The virtues of that view are intelligence, seriousness, and a severe self-respect, but there can be no question about what keeps it from achieving a fully created and impassioned art.

The poems that show the greatest delicacy and control of medium here are those that express most pointedly the subtle poise and aristocracy of Mr. Bishop's intelligence—In the Dordogne, Trinity of Crime, The Ancestors, Another Actaeon, Speaking of Poetry, October Tragedy, Behavior of the Sun. The American poems in Part IV are prevented by moral and personal earnestness from achieving the same balance of formal mastery and wit. But when Mr. Bishop projects his emotion of conflict and pathos less guardedly he achieves something which is to me finer than what he arrives at in either of these groups—the more genuine lyric pathos, with its rhythmic and verbal realism, that comes in Encounter, Crucifixion, and The Tree. It is in these poems that we get the authority of words and emotion that indicates a true union of sophistication with conscience and that forms a likely basis for Mr. Bishop's fuller mastery of his problem.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Newman's Wagner

THE LIFE OF RICHARD WAGNER. Volume Three, 1859-1866. By Ernest Newman. Alfred A. Knopf. \$5.

AS IMPORTANT as anything that has happened this year is Ernest Newman's publication of the third volume of his "Life of Richard Wagner." It appears four years after the second volume; and this delay is inherent in the very nature of what Newman is doing. Where other biographers, he claims, have repeated what he calls *fable convenue*, he is piecing together the story of Wagner's life and period from source material; and he offers his work not only as biography but as an example of correct biographical procedure. The staggering quantity and complexity of the material would make his way of destroying legend and establishing truth difficult enough; but in addition there is the fact that the letters and other documents have been made available only gradually; and he has been delayed by the constant inflow of new material.

To the process of writing this biography Newman brings his lifetime of absorption in the subject, his incredible industry and patience, his eye for what is significant in a document, his ability to piece details together and weld them—with the aid of a lively, if somewhat unconcentrated style—into a fascinating narrative. Since he offers the work as an example of the correct biographical procedure that he opposes to the *fable convenue* of other writers and to the original work of Glaserapp, who "is so blind a partisan that his interpretation of a document, the amount of selection he may make from it, or the general use to which he may put it, can never be relied on," it is well to bear in mind that a few years ago Newman published a similar book on Liszt in which—Carl Engel was able to point out—his intense desire to correct a legendary falsehood led him to misuse documents in the same way as others had misused them on behalf of the falsehood. It may be, then, that Newman will be corrected by those who know the material he has used; but with that reservation one may allow oneself to be fascinated by a narrative which, in this volume, takes Wagner from the Paris production of "Tannhäuser" in 1860 through the disaster of the Vienna "Tristan," the generous patronage of Ludwig II and its end in further disaster, to the flight from Munich and settling with Cosima in Tribschen in 1866.

The truths that Newman establishes concerning these matters in place of long-accepted notions would take more space than I have; I prefer to point out, as Newman does, their bearing on another long-accepted notion which he is concerned with throughout this work. This is the notion—with which some composers of our own time have explained the indifference or dislike their music has encountered—that the work of a great artist is never rightly understood and valued by his contemporaries; and Wagner's career has been considered an outstanding example. But Newman has long disputed the notion; and he has shown that if Wagner was bitterly attacked he was as warmly defended; and that whatever the opposition of directors of opera houses and musicians whose comfortable routine was upset by his artistic demands, composers whose position was threatened by his ability, pedants who were outraged by his originality, some critics whose ideological positions were bound up with the established order in opera and operatic performance, other critics whose Jewish employers were offended by his anti-Semitism, government officials and others who were scandalized by his personal conduct and political heresy, and those who simply did not find his music to their taste, as some do not even today—this opposition was outweighed by the interest and enthusiasm with which other musicians and writers and the general music public in Germany welcomed his operas from the start, and which later, at a time when he was an exiled revolutionary, compelled the directors of the opera houses to beg him for permission to produce the works—permission which in some instances he refused out of fear that without his supervision the production would misrepresent the work. In 1852, Newman tells us in his second volume, "there arose that extraordinary demand for Wagner's scores that showed how swiftly the tide had begun to flow in his direction. . . . The Wagner operas created the greatest enthusiasm everywhere. Special trains were run to Schwerin, Weisbaden, and other places from neighboring towns. Schwerin alone gave fourteen

performances of 'Tannhäuser' during 1852." Even the large court theaters—including even that of Dresden—had to yield to public interest: there were five performances of "Tannhäuser" in Dresden in 1852, twenty in Leipzig the next year. And what defeated Wagner in Vienna and Munich—Newman shows in the present volume—was again intrigue motivated in the ways I have described.

That was in Germany; and in this volume we learn about Paris. Newman's research and reasoning were answered a few years ago in the *New Republic* by Paul Rosenfeld—answered in part in anecdotal terms suitable for the *Etude*; and in the case of Wagner Mr. Rosenfeld cited a cartoon published in one of the French comic papers, which he characterized as "those clear mirrors of the man in the street"—a cartoon in which a mother said to her child who was playing the piano: "My child, you are striking nothing but false notes," and the child answered: "Oh, mama, these aren't false notes. This is 'Tannhäuser.'" The real significance of this cartoon we learn from the statement on the first page of Newman's third volume, amplified on later pages: "Wagner had to contend with the enmity of the corrupt Paris press, which, it is no secret today, was handsomely taken care of by the rich Meyerbeer." The press was, then, a mirror of the Paris professional musicians, whose fear and resentment of this dangerous outsider expressed itself also in persistent and vicious undercover mischief-making. But in Paris, as in Germany, Wagner had his supporters; and whatever the effect of the press on the man in the street it did not prevent the man in the concert hall and opera house from being interested and impressed. At the performances of "Tannhäuser" the interest and enthusiasm of the general public were defeated by the unprecedented organized rowdiness of the aristocrats of the Jockey Club, determined to slap down not only an alien composer who dared to defy their wishes, but through him Princess Metternich, and through her the policy of *rapprochement* with Austria. But "Wagner selections proved the greatest attractions at the Musard and Padeloup concerts during the next few months. Carvalho was only restrained from producing 'Tannhäuser' at the Théâtre-Lyrique by the fact that he could not find a suitable tenor. Roger . . . for his benefit at the Opéra-Comique . . . chose the third act of 'Tannhäuser' . . . —an unmistakable sign of the interest Paris still took in the work."

This seems conclusive; but I am sure we have not heard the last of "Oh, mama, these aren't false notes. This is 'Tannhäuser.'" B. H. HAGGIN

Superman and "Supermen"

NIETZSCHE. By Crane Brinton. Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

IN THE age-long lawsuit, Taine *vs.* Carlyle, or Environment *vs.* Hero, the issue is still unsettled. Yet whenever a scapegoat has to be found for a national disaster, or an idol for exaltation at a triumph, public opinion is inclined to side with the defendant. Even so it seems idle to guess what rank Napoleon would have reached had he been born thirty years later or whether the Fuehrer would even now be adorning Viennese walls had he begun life thirty years earlier.

Contributors:

Herbert Agar
Bruce Bliven
Manchester Boddy
Irving Brant
Arthur Capper
William L. Chenery
Raymond Clapper
Kenneth G. Crawford
Richard J. Finnegan
George H. Gallup
J. B. S. Hardman
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J. David Stern
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CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

Nonetheless hero-worship may prove quite useful: it has in Professor Brinton's book, which possibly would not have been written at all if it were not a part of the Nazi credo that Hitler and Mussolini answered Nietzsche's call for supermen.

Whatever the occasion, Crane Brinton's book is most welcome even if it does not exactly vindicate the editor's presumption that Nietzsche was one of the paramount "makers of Europe." An amazingly scrupulous study of the vast body of writings on Nietzsche supports the opinion that the philosopher whom a cruel fate, a loving sister, and "gentle" and "tough" Nietzscheans pushed into immortality, was indeed no genius, although he successfully overcompensated his "forty different kinds of inferiority complex." His "originality was largely a matter of intemperate vocabulary. . . . He is the nineteenth-century intellectual in a frenzy." His work contains "a great variety of ideas, sometimes mutually contradictory, difficult if not impossible to reduce to a system." "Nazi professors of philosophy and, perhaps, 'lustier anti-Christians like Mr. H. L. Mencken' may take exception to Professor Brinton's exquisite humor, but he is far from being unfair to Nietzsche's *oeuvre*."

Nietzsche may not have cleared and refreshed the air of European philosophy, as Will Durant wrote, but his "work is packed with admirable observations" which "bring to light . . . some of the basic illusions men live by" and he ranks "high among writers who have helped us to know ourselves." Moreover the author disproves the assumption put forth by British propaganda in World War I that Nietzsche's doctrine of the superman, his chapter Of War and Warriors in "Zarathustra," justified his being listed as one with Treitschke and Bernhardi in a "guilty" triumvirate. But does not the attempt "to make of him a kind of John the Baptist for the Savior Hitler" prove that he was a forerunner of the Third Reich? Nietzsche admired Voltaire and Heine and wrote in the "Genealogy of Morals": "What a blessing a Jew is among Germans"; he despised the *Deutschland ueber Alles* patriots; and he was fond of calling himself a "good European." All this offers little support to the Nazi claim. Professor Brinton himself points out many contradictions to the effort to enlist Nietzsche as "one of the pillars of the Nazi society." Therefore the statement that a bowdlerized Nietzsche, sufficiently "sublimated" in interpretation, "can suit almost anyone and serve almost any case" is the only excuse for the author's decision that Nietzsche "fits into National Socialist needs" because he damned democracy and praised authority.

Nietzsche's "will to power," a philosophic rather than a scientific term, differs essentially from ruthless Nazi aggression: neither Hitler nor Goebbels is exactly the prototype of the "blond beast," and the Nazi variety of supermen can hardly be associated with Nietzsche's abstractly planned new nobility. They are, indeed, as wide asunder as are the comic-strip hero and G. B. Shaw's conception—in "Man and Superman." And Nietzsche attacked theories of "race" as products of "herd morality."

This apparently will not do. But whether "gentle" Nietzscheans like it or not, the master has become part of the Nazi gospel, just as Andler, his French biographer has made of him—a socialist. I wonder if it would not be timely to

suggest that famous authors, poets, and scholars be somehow insured against the misuse of their reputation for the support of the successful politicians and gangsters of history? If so, Professor Brinton's work could become a useful pattern. In addition, it is a most readable book, throwing a brilliant flashlight of erudition into the blackout of German philosophical terminology.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Gumtown as Social Laboratory

LIFE, LIBERTY, AND PROPERTY. By Alfred Winslow Jones. J. B. Lippincott Company. \$3.50.

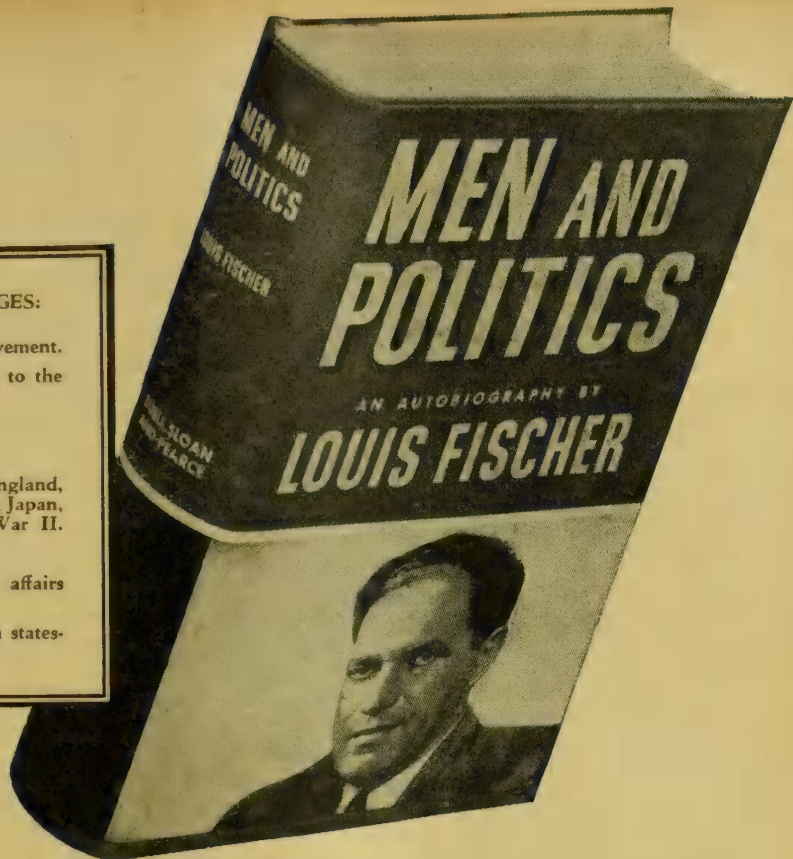
LARGE aggregates of human beings in a complex social order do not lend themselves readily to scientific analysis. Alfred Winslow Jones, who attempted such an analysis of Akron, Ohio, is exceedingly frank in admitting the difficulties met in the effort and the shortcomings of the data upon which his conclusions are based. Within these acknowledged limitations he has developed a technique and amassed a set of facts which are extremely interesting and which pave the way for much needed further study along these lines. The technique is not new. It consists of sampling public opinion, but within that familiar framework the approach has been subjected to many refinements so that the results impress the reader as being far superior to those gathered by nation-wide surveys of opinion which in recent years have been bandied about with pontifical certitude. The principal difference lies in the fact that the latter type of survey deals with current, "hot" issues, the views on which have been shaped to a large extent by widespread discussion in the press and over the air waves; whereas the Jones survey deals with eight questions only one of which was of immediate and personal concern to some of the people whose opinions were sought.

The 1,700 persons in and around Akron who were interviewed represent a thorough cross-section of the population, including business executives, small-business men, farmers, teachers, clergymen, clerks; trade union, company union, and non-union workers, and left-wing political parties. The questions were cast in the form of seven episodes representing organized infringement upon the rights of corporate property and one over-all question providing ten categories for the assignment of net corporate profits, ranging all the way from absentee owners to employees of the company. The episodes of infringement embraced bootlegging of coal in Pennsylvania; a stay-in strike by utility workers in the Saginaw Valley, Michigan; a threat by one of Akron's rubber companies to move its plant, with the consequent probable abrogation of some five thousand jobs; prevention by a group of farmers of a mortgage foreclosure at the depth of the depression; the ousting by police, with the aid of tear-gas, of sitdown strikers from the Fansteel plant in North Chicago; migration of a garment manufacturer in violation of a union-contract clause; and interference by neighbors to prevent the eviction of an unemployed worker for non-payment of rent.

Attitudes on these happenings, and on the distribution of profits, ranged all the way from complete defense to complete denial of property rights. But the extremes were represented by very small minorities, with big-business executives poised on one end and adherents to left-wing ideologies on the

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other. Organized workers were far less extreme in their defense of labor and human rights than were employers in their defense of property rights. But the population as a whole recorded a score of 76 per cent for the central

tendency. This led the author to conclude that the "central morality or ideology of our society bears on the workers so heavily as to make it unlikely that they can shake it off as long as the conditions that have created and perpetuated it persist." This central morality "is humanitarian and approves of acts in the interest of human welfare and alleviation of suffering even if they entail the infringement of corporate property. It approves of trade unions, and would like to see a well-led, unified, strong labor movement, but one that refrained from violence. The central morality is not pacifist, however, and would even approve of violence if there were wrongdoers that it thinks could be met in no other way."

In other words, while corporate property, as distinguished from other private property, is safely respected for the present, there is nothing to guarantee the permanence of this status. Akron, despite its highly industrial character, its wide approval of militant unionism, respects private property, but not, according to the findings, without reserve. The depression years resulted in significant shifts in the public attitude on social problems and their relation to property. Further shifts are possible if economic maladjustments become more aggravated.

It is a highly provocative book. Experts may argue and probably disagree on the validity of the techniques it employs, but the conclusions arrived at appear well borne out by observation and by history. The most readable parts of the book are the verbatim recordings of actual interviews. These reveal a degree of confused but independent thinking which is a most heartening testimonial to the vitality of our democracy.

ROSE M. STEIN

CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES A. WECHSLER, formerly an assistant editor of *The Nation*, is acting labor editor of *PM*.

W. ADOLPHE ROBERTS wrote "Sir Henry Morgan—Buccaneer and Governor," "The Caribbean," and other books.

PETER STEVENS is the pseudonym of an American writer now residing in Istanbul.

ANTHONY FIELD is an expert on European population problems.

HERBERT READ, author of "Reason and Romanticism," "The Meaning of Art," and many other distinguished volumes, was formerly Watson Gordon Professor of Fine Art at the University of Edinburgh. His present essay is based on a lecture delivered before the Fabian Society.

RANDALL JARRELL is an instructor in English at the University of Texas. He has contributed to the *Partisan Review*, the *New Republic*, the *Southern Review*.

LOUISE BOGAN, poetry reviewer for the *New Yorker*, is the author of "Body of This Death," "Dark Summer," and "The Sleeping Fury."

DENIS DE ROUGEMONT, French critic, poet, and playwright, is now in this country. An oratorium drawn from his play "Nicolas de Flue," with music by Arthur Honegger, is to be performed at Carnegie Hall in May.

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LITTLE BROWN

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DRAMA

No Such Animal

IN "Watch on the Rhine" (Martin Beck Theater) Miss Lillian Hellman has demonstrated once again that she is a playwright of unusual resource and skill. The present work is being widely hailed as the best of the anti-Nazi dramas and there is, at least, no doubt that it is vastly superior to most. But I am not sure that I want to go much beyond that very qualified statement and I certainly do not believe that the author has solved completely the problem of writing on the subject a play whose chief interest is more than topical.

The problem is a very difficult one—perhaps nearly unsolvable—despite the current assumption that the existence of an important subject in which nearly everybody is interested ought to make important plays practically write themselves. Actually, the fact that nearly everybody *is* interested and that nearly everybody *is* informed creates the first of the difficulties even in the case of a frankly topical treatment. It is hard for the playwright to tell us anything we do not already know or to dramatize cruelty more effectively than events have already dramatized it. Thus, for example, Mr. Rice's "Flight to the West" is interesting of course but not as interesting as almost any daily paper, and Mr. Rice demonstrates nothing not demonstrated at least as impressively in a good news dispatch. Truth may be usually stranger than fiction, but facts stranger than any a playwright can invent are not always so clearly present before our very eyes.

Miss Hellman has tried to avoid this most obvious difficulty by choosing as her subject, not the major events, but a minor incident which must have repeated itself with variations a great many times and which implies the whole background of horror. Her scene is a quiet and prosperous home outside Washington. Her principal characters are an American family, two Rumanian refugees, and a daughter of the family who has just returned after twenty years abroad with a German husband gradually revealed to be an underground worker against fascism now planning to return to Germany with money he has collected in the United States. Through the machinations of one of the Rumanians, a blackmailer working for whichever side will pay him best, the Americans have gradually brought home to

them, not only the atmosphere of Nazi intrigue, but also the fact that it can reach out into their own home, and the play ends with the mother and son of the house willingly conspiring in the escape of the German son-in-law after he has disposed of the blackmailer on their drawing-room floor.

Miss Hellman's drama is most effective in those portions least directly concerned with her main theme. She has obviously determined to avoid the flat didacticism and the thinness of characterization usually so painfully evident in thesis plays, and what is more she has succeeded. The atmosphere of the home is amusingly created and one of her characters, the solemn little son of the German, is a fine and pathetically humorous bit. So too, the domineering head of the home (beautifully played by Lucile Watson) and the anti-fascist himself (very effectively interpreted by Paul Lukas) are well conceived if somewhat more conventional characters. But the principal action itself does not escape a continuous suggestion of the artificially contrived, and at the very moments when the tension should be greatest one begins to feel that one has been through all this before, that an old-fashioned melodrama is being acted over again and that to call the villain a Rumanian spy in the pay of the Nazis or to insist that "the papers" are this time anti-fascist funds is not quite enough to make the whole seem real.

I am well aware of the fact that Miss Hellman might easily reply that such things as she has made the basis of the play do actually go on and that it is not her fault if this is a melodramatic world in which accredited dignitaries of the German government behave like villains of the ten-twenty-thirty. It is not, I grant, her fault; but it is, nevertheless, her misfortune. I am willing to admit that this is another instance in which life is imitating art but, from the standpoint of the playwright who would deal with this phase of contemporary life, it is too bad that life has chosen to imitate a form of art so elementary. In the theater one must accept the fact that we are easily reminded of theatrical convention no matter how ready we may be to admit intellectually that pro-Nazis actually behave like early Owen Davis scoundrels.

Let me suppose, to take an extreme example, that the Gestapo should suddenly take to tying its victims to buzzsaws or to placing them bound on the tracks of the midnight express. Indeed, and for all I know, it may actually be

doing just that. But the incident would still not make a very good scene for a play and if I saw it on the stage I would still believe more firmly that it had happened before in plays than I would that it was also happening in Germany. The main difficulty with Miss Hellman's play is somewhat similar. Truth, as I previously granted, is stranger than fiction. But the artist must see to it that his fiction does not seem as strange as truth sometimes does and, above all, he must take care that his fiction does not too strongly suggest other fictions. Miss Hellman fails to do quite that. Her play is least convincing when it aims to come closest to fact. And one can so easily look at a giraffe while continuing to believe that there ain't no such animal.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

FILMS

Screen Actors: Class B

Hollywood, April 2

ON Hollywood Boulevard it has recently been possible to observe a picket patrolling the entrance of the discreet office building which houses the Hays office. This time, however, it was not the Hays office which was attracting the attention of the picket, but Central Casting. Central Casting is an organization, also sponsored by the producers, which handles all the extras in Hollywood and with which anybody who hopes to obtain work as an extra, at any of the studios, must be registered. The picket represented a disgruntled band of extras, mostly old-timers, who maintained that Central Casting was unfairly favoring certain picked extras, was neglecting the old-timers, and should hand out what work there was in more even proportions. These accusations have just been investigated by the Screen Actors Guild and found unsubstantiated.

Central Casting considers the whole affair most annoying. A gentleman in the office was very angry. "Nowadays all you have to do," he said, "is go get a sign printed to make all the trouble you want to." He went on to explain that Central Casting was pretty helpless as regards apportioning work. Old-timers suffer from old age and the greatest demand is for young extras; the studios, as part of their war-time economy campaign, are cutting down on the number of extras used in crowd scenes, and work which was scarce before is today even scarcer now that the foreign markets are shut down; and moreover

directors often ask by name for the extras they require. It is this which leads to a conviction amongst many of the extras that favoritism rather than talent determines the choice of who shall work, which is as a matter of fact to a certain degree true. But, as the gentleman at Central Casting pointed out, directors naturally prefer to work with extras whom they know and can rely upon.

Since the days when D. W. Griffiths employed most of the population of Hollywood for weeks at a time to represent Babylonians or Israelites in gigantic spectacles, conditions for the extra have changed very much. A note at the top of the form that every applicant to Central Casting must fill in reads: "Since January 2, 1926, Central Casting Corporation has continuously called to the attention of those engaging in extra work this statement, 'The great variation of types of picture made, requiring all races and nationalities, children, etc. makes extra employment most casual. It may be months before a picture will be made requiring your services. There is no guarantee of work.' Nevertheless there are some 7,000 people registered as extras at Central Casting. On any one day it is very rare to find more than about 600 working; the maximum number employed last year was 1,300 and fell on occasions as low as about 70 per day."

Everyone who is registered at Central Casting must be a member of the Screen Actors Guild to which they have to pay, as Class-B members, an entrance fee of \$50, and \$18 a year dues. Of the 7,000 registrants about 2,000 might possibly make a living wage (Central Casting is doubtful) and a mere handful might make anything like good money. A really flourishing top-flight dress extra (an extra with an elaborate and expensive wardrobe) might make as much as \$3,000 a year but not more than five or six in the entire industry are doing it. Having joined the Guild it is then necessary to provide Central Casting with two photographs (full face and profile) and a mass of personal information. The classification form includes questions as to whether your eyes are crossed, whether you can throw a boomerang, if you can hunt (fox), and if your previous occupation was that of clergyman or gambler. After filling in the form you are then classified, filed, indexed, cross-indexed, and put in one of the four categories of extras which, according to their possessions or accomplishments, get various salaries a day—\$16.50, \$11, \$8.25, or \$5.50. The \$16.50-a-day class consists

exclusively of dress extras wearing formal evening attire; other classifications are rather arbitrary, but, roughly speaking, \$11 a day are paid for good-looking dress extras not in formal attire, dance extras, and extras representing the *beau monde* in general; the \$8.25 group represents a drop in the social scale but a fairly good all-round appearance, while \$5.50 is paid for ordinary crowd work. Any extra who says so much as a word of dialogue, or a dance extra who does any solo or adagio work (throwing your partner around), gets \$25 a day.

This sounds fairly good until it is pointed out that the greater part of an extra's life is spent not in the studio but on the telephone. About 2,000 extras spend their day telephoning Central Casting at least once an hour to ask if any demand has come in from the studios for their services. The telephone operators at Central Casting broadcast their names through to the filing department where calls from the studios are received on teletype machines; if the extra is required he is told to report at the studio but far more often than not he is told to call back later. Since Central Casting sometimes gets a rush call from the studios and rings the extras, most of them are so nervous about missing something that they either spend the day at home beside the telephone or employ a service to relay their calls wherever they may be. And any extra who works more than about three days a fortnight is very lucky indeed.

That this is a miserable form of making a living can be very easily seen. The Guild has already accomplished much for the extras, having, for instance, raised the minimum daily wage from \$3.50 to \$5.50, but there still remains a great deal to be done. The extras would be in a position to hurry things up a bit were they not so divided amongst themselves. For example, there is a continuous feud between the dance and dress extras: dress extras are often to be seen in films immaculately attired in evening dress (\$16.50 a day), expressing polite amusement at the hectic activities of dance extras (\$11 a day), which seems to the dance extras most unfair. Moreover, the various classifications are continually trespassing on each other's territories (dress extras dancing polkas, etc.) and so it would seem that in order to make the extras' life tolerable there will have to be drastic revisions in the methods of hiring and classification.

CHRISTENING PARTY

A few days ago the press was asked to a party to choose the title of William Dieterle's latest production based on the *Saturday Evening Post* story, "The Devil and Daniel Webster," by Stephen Vincent Benét. The party was held on a sound stage decorated to represent several acres of New England farm land. On the set were two houses, two barns, several carts, some livestock, and a great deal of mud. The only oasis of dry land was temporarily occupied for the filming of a final sequence of the picture (which to judge by the squeals of the livestock must have represented a mass slaughter). Later when the party waded to dry land the livestock was found to be tranquilly alive and the party proceeded most pleasantly with the assistance of refreshments and an orchestra. Mr. Dieterle related the story of his picture, which he said everyone liked, though few approved of the title. Meanwhile, forms were being handed out with a list of substitutes which included "Temptation," "The Devil to Pay," and "A Certain Mr. Scratch." Given these alternatives the press almost unanimously chose "The Devil and Daniel Webster."

RECENT FILMS

Ernst Lubitsch has always been the protagonist of the eccentric and the champion of the individualist, but "That Uncertain Feeling" finds him poking rather heavy fun at artists and psychoanalysts on the side of the dreariest of commonplace husbands, and deserting rococo for modern-hotel-style décor. Merle Oberon and Melvyn Douglas, in an atmosphere intended to represent chic sophistication, gambol within the bounds of wedlock and decorum, and Burgess Meredith as a pianist with "artistic" temperament causes some slight amusement and distraction. Mr. Lubitsch is so much more at home against a European background that he should be banished, cinematically, from American soil for life.

"The Lady from Cheyenne" gets away to a bad start by giving the impression that it is going to be just another spectacle of the bold bad West with virtue, law, and order triumphant once more over Edward Arnold. However, with the arrival of ravishing Loretta Young on the scene and with the aid of some excellent and amusing dialogue the prospect brightens considerably and the film turns out to be a very enjoyable little fable about woman suffrage. The picture is highly recommended for a pleasant and emotionally undisturbed evening.

ANTHONY BOWER

Letters to the Editors

This England

Dear Sirs: The January 11 and 18 issues of *The Nation* have just arrived here. I found the Lerner-Schuman-Dennis correspondence particularly interesting. Lerner keeps his head. I don't quite know what "democracy" is—but as Nevins once said, "We know freedom when we don't see it," and as long as men are willing to die for it there is still hope for the world. We are already relatively a socialist state here, and shall become more so, when we feel the real pinch of the cost of the war. There is far greater equality of *spendable* income than there was—and far fewer profiteers than in the last war—because very soon all surplus income over a modest limit will have to go on the war. I'm surprised the rich don't kick more than they do. It is partly because they fear Hitler more than they fear losing their money—partly because the *Blitz* is teaching many that life is sweet even in a 7' x 4' shelter. Of course there are still grave inequities and inequalities, but they are increasingly resented. After the war, of course, the devil will cease to be a monk.

Is there still freedom here? Well, there's still a remarkable amount of it. We've not yet jailed all our Communists—only some of them—and God knows they've asked for it. The wholesale internment of aliens raised a righteous storm that has resulted in a much more liberal policy. But a country in which Churchill, the King, and any minister can wander freely about among dockers and others without a noticeable bodyguard and get heartily cheered, cannot fairly be described as unfree.

Is Britain fighting for freedom or Empire? Well, of course it is in fact fighting for survival—and that goes for all of us. The survival of Britain means the survival of the "non-conformist conscience," of heretics, humanitarians, and generally of the salt of the earth.

I should judge that America hovering on the brink is less happy than Britain. I at any rate am much happier now that we are standing up to Hitler than when we were trying to live as escapist isolationists, dabbling in the disgrace of "non-intervention" in Spain, China, Czechoslovakia, etc. All that worries me is the revival of anti-German feeling that we

got in the last war (though on a somewhat less rabid and stupid scale, perhaps?), and the knowledge that bitter experience has not yet been bitter enough to teach the average man a little practical Christianity and common sense. It is of course the erstwhile "appeasers" who have now become the racial fire-eaters—the strange and perverted working of a guilty conscience, no doubt.

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, JR.
Staffordshire, England, Feb. 18

Democracy Must Work

Dear Sirs: As one whose ancestors fled from tyranny to find freedom in a new land, may I make a plea for us to guard as with our life the rights and freedom of all within our shores. Let us adhere to the letter of the word as it was intended—I mean of freedom—freedom of thought, belief, religion, politics. It must be clear to you as it is to me that this freedom is as threatened today here as it was in Germany when Hitler came to power. As it began there with attacks on Communists, so here we have removed to a safe place the head of the Communists, Earl Browder; we have imprisoned men and women for exercising their right to petition for the ballot; we are carrying on a strange and undemocratic investigation in our schools that results in the firing and arrest of one man because he did not believe as certain people would like him to. And now labor is coming in for its share of persecution with one fine Representative going so far as to advocate the electric chair for strikers!

Where are we headed? Into a deep blackness—unless we make our democracy work as our fathers intended it to.

PHOEBE BRAND
New York, April 1

Books Wanted

Dear Sirs: A campaign is now under way to secure books for the newly completed library of the five lodges of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee comprising the employees of the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company at Fairfield, Alabama.

The library which has been established in the joint headquarters of the five organizations is the first attempt to

furnish members of C. I. O. organizations with reading material which cannot be found in the regular libraries of Alabama. Not only are the libraries of our state few and poorly stocked with material expressive of liberal and progressive ideas, but they are inaccessible to the vast majority of workers.

The cost of providing books of this kind is far beyond our limited means and we are therefore appealing to outstanding liberals and educators for a donation of one book, or more, which will go toward filling the shelves of our library.

Any donation will help to mold the ideas of the workers of our district—today in the forefront of the battle for economic security and freedom in the South. The address is The Steel Workers Library, C. I. O. Hall, 5305 Valley Road, Fairfield, Alabama, and we would be glad if you would autograph your gift.

W. H. CRAWFORD
Birmingham, Ala., March 29

Dear Sirs: In this time of national emergency I hope you will consider that maintaining the morale of American merchant seamen is important to national defense.

Merchant seamen do not have the library privileges afforded to civilians, nor even to soldiers and sailors. If you would bring our need for books to the attention of your readers, I feel sure this would be a worthwhile contribution not only to seamen, but also to national security. HERBERT L. HOWE, Librarian
New York, April 2

Do We Need Rhythm?

Dear Sirs: We in this country (including the highest statesmen, educators, and ministers) do not seem to have a clear idea of just what democracy is. We criticize the idea of a dictatorship and say we want none of that in America. We say, "We want the American democratic way over here."

But if we should analyze carefully and boil things down, we should find that fascism does not set up a cruel, ruthless dictatorship form of life. Rather, it founds really just another form of democracy. A totalitarian dictatorship is, strange as it may sound, a democracy.

The fascist countries merely employ a dictator to see that democratic principles prevail. He calls the beat and maintains the cadence and rhythm of democracy in his country. He is there to discipline those groups or individuals who get out of step, those who would "chisel" or act unfairly toward the whole social group, those who would assume disproportionate or undeserved importance, those who would destroy the harmony of the nation.

But, in this country, we do not like the idea of being disciplined, of ever being called out of step. The idea of discipline really is the heart of the matter.

It looks very much as though Hitler will come to set up a disciplined democracy for us unless we set it up for ourselves before he gets here. There must be order and there will be order, regardless of who sets it up. Of that, we may be certain.

REV. WAYNE H. STEELE

Chicago, April 1

Communists and Unions

Dear Sirs: Your recent comments on Communists and unions were amusing and irritating. You wrote on March 1,

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for example, that "Until two weeks ago this blight (i. e., Communist influence in the Teachers Union) was treated pretty much in the spirit of Mark Twain's remark about the weather. Everybody talked about it but nobody did anything."

From November, 1932, to April, 1933, I was a member of a committee of five elected by the membership of the Teachers Union to investigate Communist factionalism in the union. Another member of the committee was Charles J. Hendley, the present president. The chairman was John Dewey, who wrote the final report.

That report, issued April 29, 1933, analyzed the situation then facing the union, and urged remedial measures. The union held a large membership meeting, at which the recommendations in the report were debated. Some of them were adopted.

When matters became progressively worse, we decided on a major operation. Nothing else, we were convinced, could save the cause of unionism and liberalism among teachers. So, in 1935, we petitioned the American Federation of Teachers to grant us the power of reorganizing our local. To our members and to the A. F. of T. we analyzed the situation in much the same manner as the writer of your article, but more thoroughly. The convention of the A. F. of T., which was held at Cleveland in August, 1935, rejected our petition. And thereupon we organized the Teachers Guild.

Now, between 1933 and 1935, did we get the support of *The Nation*, the *Post*, and other organs of liberal opinion? Quite the contrary. It was explained in those journals that we were impatient with minority opinion, that we were seeking to retain power by undemocratic methods, that we were "red-baiting, etc." *The Nation*, with its tremendous influence among liberals, could have assisted us in our struggle against the well-organized program and unscrupulous tactics of the Communists in our union. But in those days *The Nation* and the *Post* were catering to the party line.

MAX KLINE

New York, March 29

Millions for Defense

Dear Sirs: Several of *The Nation's* comments on ways and means of financing national defense have suggested to me some of the following thoughts on this important problem:

Let Congress tax incomes of a total of 25 per cent of the nation's annual

income, a sum which, according to Dr. Harold G. Moulton, is ample for all needs and will enable us to pay as we go for armaments, the tax to be so arranged that the heaviest burden falls on those best able to pay. However, since the burden will fall heavily on a great many, let the government issue "tax-refund warrants" for a certain part of the taxes paid, say, 50 per cent (to people in the lower income brackets), these warrants to bear interest at a rate to discourage speculation in them, and to be paid off within a specified number of years after the national defense emergency has come to an end.

Now, assuming that the government will have to spend huge sums for four years, it will have to raise the equivalent of the nation's income for one year. About 5 per cent of this sum will be represented by tax warrants payable in ten years or so. It will therefore be necessary to continue the high tax rate long enough to enable the government to refund the sum of these tax warrants when due, with interest. The tax rate may be reduced, of course, as the fund raised for the repayment of these warrants increases, and no further warrants would be issued.

In this manner, it seems to me, many evils will be avoided and the costs of rearmament met out of taxes. I assume that the person holding a tax refund warrant will be able to borrow money on it if necessary, so that the high rate of the tax will not be felt so keenly. It may be possible to issue stamps or other negotiable paper for the amount of the tax refund, but, since stamps will be equal to money, that may tend to bring on a certain amount of inflation while the effect of tax-refund warrants will be that of borrowing future taxes from the taxpayer and refunding them with interest.

F. J. OSTROW

New York, April 2

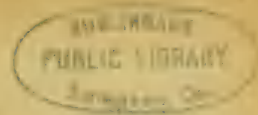
Correction

Last week Charles Duff was described in this column as a British writer who "has served as Press Officer of the British Foreign Office for eighteen years." Mr. Duff did occupy this post at one time but has not served in that capacity for several years.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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THE *Nation*



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The Shape of Things

RECOGNIZING THAT IT IS INFLATION, NOT strikes, which constitutes the major threat to the defense program, the President last week created an Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, with Leon Henderson as its head. It is not yet known precisely what powers Mr. Henderson will exercise in attempting to stabilize the price structure, but the President's wide powers to commandeer industries that do not cooperate in the defense program would seem to give him adequate authority to deal with any situation. The price situation is not yet critical, but food prices have risen 6 per cent in the past year, textile products have advanced 5 per cent, building materials are up 6.4 per cent. These advances are not so very much smaller than those which occurred in 1915 and the early part of 1916 during the first World War. But Mr. Henderson believes that with appropriate pressure and a judicious use of price "ceilings" it may be possible to avoid the rapid inflation of late 1916 and early 1917. The difficulties are greater than are usually admitted. The recent wage increases granted as a result of labor pressure will undoubtedly be seized upon as a pretext for a general increase of prices. But we think Mr. Henderson will find that in many cases the swollen coffers made possible by capacity operation can easily absorb high wage costs.

★

ONCE WHEN HE WAS TAXED WITH THE appointment of the ineffable Judge Herbert O'Brien, Mayor LaGuardia admitted: "When I make a mistake it's a beaut." His Honor has just delivered another beaut. It goes by the name of the Wicks bill, and it is a measure which makes it a felony for an employee of a transportation service, public or private, to leave his vehicle "unattended." The bill, calling for a penalty as high as twenty years' imprisonment, was sent to Albany by the LaGuardia administration and was passed by both houses at his express request. Ostensibly it was designed to prevent a serious traffic tie-up and the stranding of passengers in the event that the Transport Workers' Union calls a subway strike in June. In cold fact transit strikes do not as a rule involve the abandoning of vehicles on public

streets or subway tracks, and the extreme vagueness of the Wicks bill on this point raises legitimate suspicions that its authors intended it as a weapon for terrorizing would-be strikers. It is all very well for a handful of its proponents to contend that under the terms of the measure drivers can still leave their vehicles at the proper terminals at the end of a run and then go out on strike without violating the law. That is not what the bill says, and if Governor Lehman signs it, would-be strikers will have to stand guard over their charges in barns, garages, and terminals until somebody else appears to relieve them—or take their chances with the courts. At best the bill is loosely drawn and dangerous. At worst it is a devious scheme to deprive transit workers of the right to strike.

✱

THE MILITARY POSITION OF BRITAIN AND its Allies in the Near East may not be entirely hopeless, but the news is undisguisedly serious and there may be worse to come. As we go to press, the German radio is spreading reports that Yugoslavia has asked for an armistice. We suspect that this story, like those of British plans for evacuating Greece that come from the same source, represents an attempt to supplement the work of the *Panzer* divisions by sowing seeds of doubt, dissension, and panic in the Allied ranks. Reports from other sources suggest that, far from making ready for capitulation, the Yugoslav army is rallying in the western mountains and is striking both at the Italians in northern Albania and at German communications around Skolpje. Meanwhile the Greeks and the British have still to establish a stable defense line, but they seem to have slowed up the German advance, and in the new mechanical warfare the maintenance of momentum is of the utmost importance. The extraordinary ability of the Germans to keep going despite the difficulties of the desert constitutes a major hazard for the British forces in Egypt, thinned as they have been by the necessity of sending aid to Greece. The threat to Suez has now assumed alarming reality.

✱

THE TROUBLE WITH SENATOR WHEELER IS that he can't get his mind off Europe. Obsessed with affairs across the wide Atlantic, he is rapidly becoming the Horrible Example of how isolationism sweeps its victims along from uttermost neutrality to a sneaking inclination toward the aggressor. The Montana Senator has come so far from his mood of unsullied neutrality that he is now apportioning war guilt, telling audiences who is responsible for the destruction of the French Republic and who has brought England to its present pass. And you may rest assured, Dr. Goebbels, that it is not you and your Führer whom Senator Wheeler finds guilty. Neither is it the spies and agents you sent into France and England, nor the native traitors, nor the fools who

tried to appease you by giving you other countries to satisfy your appetite. No, the guilty parties, says Senator Burton K. Wheeler, were the Englishmen and Frenchmen who sought to defend their countries by checking the onrush of the berserk regime of Nazi Germany. These are the warmongers, he says, and "the same type of warmongers will destroy the United States" unless our appeasers prevail. Senator Wheeler's analysis has become one with that of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, and Herr Goebbels may compliment himself on breaking the isolationist shell of a mind that has stood thick and firm against the appeals of every democratic spirit in Europe.

✱

THE NEW BRITISH BUDGET WITH ITS SHARP increases in direct taxation is frankly directed as much toward cutting down purchasing power as it is toward raising revenue. The gargantuan appetite of the modern war machine takes a huge bite out of a nation's productive capacity and thus reduces the volume of goods available for civilian consumption. But at the same time the increase in government spending wipes out unemployment and greatly swells total money incomes. Enlarged purchasing power in conjunction with a decreased total of goods in the market must lead to higher prices, for inflation is the natural economic remedy for the failure of supply to meet demand, when supply is a fixed quantity. But inflation is also a grossly unfair way of deciding how a limited amount of goods is to be distributed among different categories of income-receivers, since it means that those with rigid incomes bear the whole burden. The most important fiscal job of a war government, therefore, is to trim spendable income until it matches the volume of consumable goods. This can be done by direct taxation of incomes, by indirect taxation of non-essential articles, and by encouraging people to forgo the expenditure of part of their incomes so that they can lend to the state. All these methods have been employed in Britain, but revenue plus private savings have not equaled public expenditure. Consequently the government has been forced to resort to credit inflation through borrowing from the banks.

✱

UP TO THE END OF LAST YEAR THE COST OF living in Britain had risen by 26½ per cent despite rationing and price restrictions, and the rising tendency continues. The new budget represents a real effort to check this trend by further diminishing spendable incomes. Income tax is raised from a 42½ to a 50 per cent base, while the level at which surtaxes are imposed is lowered from \$8,000 to \$4,000. At the other end of the scale two million more persons are brought into the income-tax-paying class by reduction of the exemption limit on unmarried persons from \$400 to \$320 and on

married couples from \$680 to \$560. Further, the exemption on one-sixth of earned income is to be reduced to one-tenth. However, the extra tax which anyone pays as a result of smaller earned income and personal allowances will be credited to him after the war in the Post Office Savings Bank. This proposal represents a triumph for Maynard Keynes, who more than a year ago was urging that taxation should be supplemented by compulsory savings so as to balance the relationship between money incomes and purchasable goods. The drastic increases in income tax suggested by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer are expected to swell revenue to nearly one-half of total expenditure, as compared with less than one-third for the fiscal year which ended March 3. Real savings, it is hoped, will finance most of the remainder. However, actual expenditure has been steadily forging ahead of estimates ever since the war started, and this budget may prove inadequate. It may be necessary for Britain to adopt a proposal now being discussed in London for a strict limitation of everyone's weekly or monthly expenditure.

✱

THE AXIS OIL SUPPLY HAS CLAIMED NEW attention as a result of the Balkan campaign. For the campaign not only requires huge supplies of liquid fuel but has been taking place perilously close to the chief sources of supply. A large part of Rumania's oil is shipped to Germany by way of the Danube, and this traffic has been temporarily interrupted at the Iron Gates by concrete barges sunk by the Yugoslavs. Unfortunately for the Reich, much of the Soviet oil is also transported on the Danube. Although it may be assumed that the Germans will soon clear the river of obstructions, the tie-up and resulting shortage of barges will undoubtedly make an appreciable dent in this year's deliveries. Considerable speculation has arisen as to why Great Britain has not taken advantage of its position in Greece to bomb the Rumanian oil fields. Hanson Baldwin, writing in the *New York Times*, has pointed out that Britain has neither the planes nor the landing fields in Greece necessary for such a task. Furthermore, he declares, the wells are so scattered and so well capped, and the pipe lines so effectively buried, that they do not provide really good targets. The stakes, however, are so high that we should not be surprised to see an attack attempted if Britain is able to hold on to its Greek bases.

✱

THE ADVENTURES OF LOYALIST SPAIN'S jewels make a romantic story as Louis Fischer tells it. But it is a discreet story, minimizing, as good romance is likely to do, the political significance of the events described. Mr. Fischer ventures only the comment that Indelacio Prieto, who grabbed the treasure on its arrival in Mexico, "could use the money to assist Spanish refu-

gees." That Prieto has failed to do so is admitted. No loyalist refugees have escaped from France on the proceeds of a single black pearl. And thousands of them, waiting in vain for ships and help, must have wondered why. The difficulties of getting Spaniards out of France are great, as we point out on another page. But money and political influence are powerful levers, and Prieto could have employed both to break the diplomatic log jam and free the men to whom he owes his loyalty. Instead he has sat tight on his cache of jewels presumably awaiting the day when they can be employed in more politically useful ways. And he has also tried to sit tight on the *Vita*, the yacht which carried the treasure to Mexico. When troops arrived the other day to take over the yacht as a foreign vessel harboring in a Mexican port, Prieto was found on deck armed with a pistol, a heroic position from which he was immediately removed. It is unfortunate that he cannot be as readily pried loose from the jewels.

War of Ships

THE crashing advances of the German *Panzer* divisions in the Balkans and in North Africa have monopolized the headlines during the past week. Yet grave as the turn of events in the Near East is, we must recognize that the focal point of danger is still the Atlantic.

The toll of the U-boats and the German long-range bombers has been rising. Revised British figures of March sinkings give a total of 375,000 tons, and we must presume a proportionate quantity of damaged shipping to add to the pressure on British yards. If the present rate of loss is maintained throughout the rest of this year it is estimated that five million tons of ships and their cargoes will disappear beneath the waves of the Atlantic. Hampered by air raids, the British shipbuilding industry is unlikely to produce more than one million tons of new ships in the course of the year. In this country we are rapidly expanding our shipbuilding capacity, and in 1942 we may be able to turn out three million gross tons. But during the crucial current year most experts agree that output will not exceed one million tons.

The perilous position in the Near East is very closely connected with the shortage of shipping. Britain had troops to spare for Greece, but the transport of a division with full equipment requires 100,000 tons of shipping, and by the Cape route the round trip would have taken four months. According to Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner, the original British plan to send six divisions to the Balkans was abandoned because the necessary ships could not be spared, and instead three divisions were organized by drawing heavily on the army in Libya. The very painful consequences are now visible.

In Britain itself the shipping shortage is reflected by a growing stringency in the food situation. There does not, as yet, seem to be actual hunger, but belts are tightening and the standard of diet is deteriorating. For example, lack of feed for cattle, much of which is normally imported, is diminishing the milk supply. In this country we find supplies for Britain, either bought outright or furnished by means of the Lease-Lend Act, piling up on the docks. In February exports from the United States to the whole British Empire totaled only \$180 million as compared with \$224 million in January, and the amount dispatched to Britain itself was only \$77 million.

Compare these figures with the quantities of goods which can be made available under the new authority granted to the President. The total appropriation under the Lease-Lend Act is \$7 billions, and while much of the material represented by this sum cannot be delivered until new production facilities are completed, it is believed that military and other equipment in stock and foodstuffs amounting together to \$500 million could be made available almost immediately. But if half the goods we supply remains on the docks and a sizable fraction of what is actually shipped ends at the bottom of the sea, the Lease-Lend Act is going to be reduced to a fairly impotent gesture.

The Administration has recently taken a number of steps to improve the situation. Congress is being asked to approve a bill making possible the purchase of the thirty-nine Danish vessels placed in custody of the Coast Guard a few weeks ago, and the question of confiscating the sabotaged Axis ships which were seized at the same time is under consideration. The President has also lifted the ban on the entry of American merchant vessels into the Red Sea and adjacent waters on the ground that, with the defeat of the Italians in East Africa, this is no longer a belligerent area. This move may make possible the direct shipping of supplies to Egypt for the use of Britain, Greece, and Yugoslavia, but unhappily it is by no means certain that such help will arrive in time to be of use. A fourth step toward alleviating the British shipping position is the agreement signed with the Danish minister, Henrik de Kauffmann, for American protection of Greenland. This action is partly defensive, for as Joachim Joesten points out on page 471, there is little doubt that the Nazis have been taking a more than scientific interest in that island. But it may also make possible the opening of a summer route to Britain for both planes and ships.

It must be recognized, however, that all these measures are at best palliatives. If Britain is to pull through this year it must have the use of more ships and it must find means of affording them better protection, for the tonnage available in the world for the use of the democratic nations is dangerously near the margin of safety.

With its import needs enlarged by the defense program this country has now few if any ships to spare for Britain. Some might be transferred from coastal routes and their freights switched to the railroads. But the most obvious way of economizing shipping which remains open is the formation of an Anglo-American shipping pool operating under a joint high command which could decide questions of priorities, coordinate routings, and prevent congestion in ports.

Yet, however efficiently shipping is used, losses will continue to be heavy unless the North Atlantic passage can be better guarded. This is the question we must face, for it is a question which will be decided by the public rather than the President, who is unlikely to make a move involving the risk of "a shooting war" unless certain of popular support. And in reaching a decision we must remember that our alternative to providing convoys is not sitting tight and playing safe. We are confronted with a choice of risks. Convoys may bring us fully into the war, but unless the U-boats are mastered, Hitler is very likely to win a complete victory. And such an outcome to the war, the country is agreed, would place in deadly jeopardy the United States and all it stands for. That is the major premise on which both the defense program and aid to Britain are based. Can we afford to ignore the logical conclusion?

Ford Knuckles Under

THAT troglodyte of American labor relations, Henry Ford, has finally been brought to his knees. The success achieved by the United Automobile Workers in forcing the manufacturer for the first time to deal with representatives of union labor, outside a few skilled trades, is a historic victory for the American working class. Bethlehem and Ford were the major holdouts left against the Wagner Act, and their submission will mark the firm establishment of collective bargaining in the mass-production industries. Day-to-day shifts in the struggle and the ebb and flow of public opinion make it hard for contemporaries to realize the progress unionism has made since 1937. Ford's example was an encouragement to diehard industrialists, a symbol of the determination of some big business men to remain above the law, and the union's victory is also in the true sense a victory for law and order and for democratic processes. No doubt Ford and his strong-arm squad will try their best to wriggle out of the situation in which they find themselves, but in our opinion a decisive battle has been won. The spontaneous strike at the River Rouge plant shows how deeply Ford employees have come to resent the spy-ridden dictatorship under which they have been forced to live, and the spirit demonstrated in the strike can only be strengthened if Ford goes back to his old tactics.

The strength of the strike spirit was in fact as much a surprise to the union as to Ford, and if the House Military Affairs Committee is really interested is getting at the facts behind recent strikes it might profitably ask Ford a few questions. Why were Ford officials mysteriously unavailable during the first eight or nine hours of the stoppage when union officials, at the request of Governor Van Wagoner, were trying to get in touch with them and stop the strike? And why did Ford officials persist in turning down the union's offer to permit its men to go on working on the few defense contracts Ford has. There is good ground to suspect that Ford (1) welcomed the strike and (2) wanted work to stop on the defense contracts so that he might have an excuse to break the strike and weaken the union. The Ford strike, like recent walk-outs at Bethlehem, illustrates the fact that the defense argument cuts both ways and that if unions handle themselves wisely they can benefit by the defense program to force recalcitrant employers to obey the law. We recommend to our friends on the extreme left study of the contrast between the whooping and hallooing by a few Southern Legrees in Congress and by the press and the recent victories won by labor on the picket line and before the Mediation Board. The Coxes and the Sumners provide excellent copy for the *Daily Worker*, but fortunately neither they nor our newspapers are representative of a majority of the American people.

The artificially created hysteria in Congress and the press has begun to abate. The strike in Big Steel has been averted with the granting of the union's demand for an increase in wages of 10 cents an hour, retroactive to April 1. At this writing a settlement of the coal strike, at least in the Northern mines, seems imminent. The successes of the National Mediation Board in dealing with some of the most troublesome disputes have taken the wind out of the sails of those who were hoping to make defense an excuse for depriving American workers of their rights. The anti-labor House Military Affairs Committee is continuing its hearings this week, but the President's refusal to permit J. Edgar Hoover to testify will deprive it of some sensational headlines. The testimony of Secretary Perkins on the inaccuracy of Hoover's information on "communistic influences" in the Vultee strike raises the question of whether he is still using the odoriferous "Red" Hynes as his chief liaison man for Los Angeles and Southern California. The matter-of-fact survey presented to the committee by Miss Perkins on the remarkably small number of strikes we have had was overshadowed only by the testimony of Knudsen on the mysterious stories of sabotage in the Ford plant during the strike. Ford officials asserted that \$1,000,000 worth of machine tools was destroyed during the strike. Knudsen said he "could hardly believe" these reports. He said even Nazi raids on Coventry hadn't been able to do that much damage to machine tools.

Food and Refugees

SEVERAL weeks have passed since the Vichy authorities peremptorily disembarked a group of Spanish refugees who, with all the necessary papers, were on board a ship bound for Mexico via Martinique. It has been established beyond question that Vichy's action was the result of direct pressure from Berlin and Madrid. Hitler has forbidden Spanish refugees of military age to leave France because, according to his own statement, he considers them presumptive enemies no matter where they go. Franco, for his part, is determined that no more Republican leaders shall escape from Europe because he fears that they may some day return to lead the discontented masses in a revolt against his rule. Although he has not yet persuaded Vichy to repatriate many of the former Loyalist leaders, he believes Vichy will ultimately tire of feeding them and turn them back voluntarily.

The Mexican government has vigorously protested this flagrant violation of the Vichy-Mexican agreement of last fall whereby the refugees came under its diplomatic protection. But against the combination of Hitler, Franco, and Pétain, Mexico is of course practically helpless. No country except the United States is in position to bring effective pressure on Vichy and Madrid to obtain the release of the refugees, and so far there is no indication that Washington is making use of its power. During the present week three American Red Cross ships are scheduled to sail for Europe with food. Two of these are bound for unoccupied France and one for Spain. Others will presumably follow. Under present arrangements the ships are scheduled to return empty across the Atlantic. An unofficial dispatch from Vichy suggests that the food for Spain be made conditional on permission for the refugees to leave France. We should prefer to go a step further and insist that no more food be furnished to either Vichy or Madrid unless the ships are permitted to return with Spanish refugees destined for Mexico. Vichy cannot openly oppose such terms, since the departure of the refugees would materially alleviate its own food shortage. Franco would hardly dare oppose it in view of the critical food situation in Spain. The only real opposition, presumably, would come from Hitler, who is not particularly concerned with keeping either Frenchmen or Spaniards from starvation.

The situation boils down to the question whether either Vichy or Madrid has any existence except as a Hitler puppet. It may well be that they do not. But if this is the case, it is useless to pretend that the food being shipped to unoccupied France and to Spain is being sent against Nazi wishes. Under these circumstances the shipments ought to be stopped outright. If, on the other hand, the puppet regimes possess a certain bargaining power of their own, however restricted, it is

obvious that the United States should take the utmost advantage of that fact. Recent uncensored reports from Spain appearing in the *Christian Science Monitor* indicate that Franco, at least, does possess a type of bargaining power. The food situation is reported to be so critical that Hitler dare not pass through Spain en route to Gibraltar lest revolt be provoked which could only be put down at great cost. In case the United States imposed conditions for the delivery of food, Hitler would have a choice between submitting to the conditions or digging into his own meager food reserves.

It is useless to rail at Hitler and Franco for their inhumanity or at Vichy for its weakness when our own State Department has failed to use its considerable power to save the Spanish Republican refugees. There are those who say that Washington in this respect is as hopeless as Vichy. But we dare not accept this verdict.

Blitzkrieg and Dismay

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

THE most important effect of the Nazi drive in the Balkans and North Africa will be its effect on American opinion. Lives lost, territory cynically shunted from one sovereignty to another, ancient cities devastated, even the conquest of valuable resources and strategic positions—all these in the end will matter less than would a growth of fear and hopelessness in America. Already this mood is beginning to be expressed; it will be fostered and politically exploited by every defeatist group; unconditionally it must be rooted out of the American mind. For if fear should become a dominant factor in the making of American policy, not a campaign but a war—and the hope of democratic survival—will be lost. Hitler is advancing in the East, as he advanced in the West a year ago, over the bodies of nations which had been disarmed, politically and physically, by terror. Even the magnificent tenacity of the Greeks and the courage of the Yugoslavs are proving a poor substitute for a long-sighted policy of combination and preparation.

The Battle of the Balkans is not ended. In Greece the British forces have not yet, as we go to press, engaged the Nazis in force. The Allied lines are being reformed in the mountains, and British reinforcements are said to be coming in from East Africa. And Russia's sensational agreement with Japan creates new possibilities. The flood of contradictory interpretations of that move are evidence enough of the ambiguity of the newest Moscow line. It seems clear at least that, whatever its effect in Europe, the pact with Japan cannot but help the Axis by increasing the direct threat to British positions in South Asia. But this help may be partly offset in the Balkans. Moscow's anger at Hungary's cynical invasion of Yugoslavia and its continued verbal support

of the Yugoslavs are significant; no nation—and surely not the Soviet Union—incur the displeasure of the Third Reich just for the moral satisfaction of it. Russia may be forced to defend its own frontiers, and the settlement with Japan certainly puts it in a position to face that risk with some show of strength. A show of strength may in turn avert open conflict—such is the logic of war diplomacy. It may even give Stalin a bargaining position from which he can pick off, without fighting for them, the Carpatho-Russian lands handed over to Hungary after Munich.

But no discernible combination of events seems likely to prevent a German victory in the Balkans, with Nazi rule running at least to the Dardanelles and the Russian frontier. The threat to Irak and the Suez Canal, though less imminent, is obviously a real one. And behind these military possibilities lie their political consequences, less tangible but just as important. What will be the effect of Hitler's successes on the Arab world, on Latin America, on the underground opposition in the Nazi-occupied countries, and, finally, on public opinion in America?

I spoke the other day to a group of college women in New Jersey—alert, middle-class suburbanites, well-read and interested in public affairs. I talked about Latin America and the way the Axis threat had affected opinion in the various countries. After the meeting a woman said to me in a puzzled tone: "You seem so certain that we can tolerate only one outcome of this war—a defeat of Hitler. But suppose it doesn't work that way. Most of the people here in this room want Britain to win. And we want the United States to help Britain win. But suppose Britain loses? If that should happen, a lot of the things Lindbergh has said would make sense. That's the way it seems to us. We'd have to get on with Europe somehow, Hitler or no Hitler. And so would Latin America. Isn't that so? And aren't you going too far when you assume Hitler *must* be defeated?"

That woman expressed an anxiety and division of feeling that haunt a large proportion of our people today—people who are not wholly pacifist or isolationist, and surely not pro-Nazi, but whose minds hang in a permanent state of unresolved doubt. Such people have been legion in every non-fascist country. They are the Britishers who anxiously, eagerly welcomed Chamberlain back from Munich and nourished their diminishing hopes on his promise of peace. They are the French who raised their shoulders at the idea of dying for Danzig. They are the Argentines or Brazilians who today prefer to keep an open mind about Nazi intentions in Latin America rather than alienate a nation which may control the world market for meat or coffee. They are just people—with a normal desire for a decent peaceful life who shrink from facts which war with that desire.

The effect of Hitler's successes in the Balkans and in Africa on this mass of unresolved opinion will be bad. Half consciously many minds will run for cover, taking shelter under convenient rationalizations. They will afford an easy target for the various pro-Axis propagandists—from right to left. In the United States they will present an obstacle to the swift application of measures demanded by the changing emergency.

It will be a major and necessary job for the Administration to crystallize this amorphous opinion behind a program which must be the more bold and drastic the further Hitler pushes his armies. I have long believed that the President and his chief colleagues should supplement their policies with a much more frank and continuous exposition of them. In spite of Mr. Roosevelt's open defiance of Axis intentions and the eloquent testimony of the Lease-Lend Act, each step in the Administration's policy has been taken or proposed with a minimum of explanation. And each possible future step has been dismissed as improbable: the question of convoys is a good case in point. Even more serious, the meaning of fascism, for the world and for the United States, has been too often forgotten in the stress of military development and the need to hurry the job of preparing a defense.

The political nature of the struggle in which we are engaged needs constant clarification. It is necessary for Americans to be made aware of the lines of battle that cut across national boundaries. We must learn to feel that our cause is one, not only with British airmen over the Channel and Greeks in their mountain passes, but with Spanish Loyalists rotting in French concentration

camps and French dockworkers demonstrating for Yugoslavia in the streets of Marseilles. We must know that this war is being fought in newspapers in Buenos Aires and in factories in Norway. We must believe that it can never end until the concrete realities of freedom have been reconquered by free men. The courageous and lofty words of Croce on another page of this issue express the only true philosophy for the struggle against fascism.

The United States plainly intends to give all possible aid to the nations that are still holding out against Nazi aggression. We have set our face against a world run by Hitler. If such a world is born out of this war, it will be over our defeated efforts. We have desired to limit our efforts to moral support and material aid. We have believed that our best chance of avoiding armed conflict lay in multiplying supplies for Britain and speeding their delivery. We have believed that the alternative would be a fascist victory and our own more certain involvement in the war. But the course we have followed also involves the danger of war; and we are not going to turn back from it as the danger increases.

This I believe to be our actual policy and the only one we can afford to adopt. It is a policy which calls for great courage and determination, and these grow only out of understanding. It is the manifest duty of a national Administration which—at least in the person of the President—understands the political meaning of this struggle constantly to clarify it for the people. Otherwise American policy will have to be carried through in the face of doubt and anxiety, and the way of the appeaser will be made easy.

The TNEC Recommends—What?

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 12

IT IS said that the truth shall make men free, but this is only so if they are prepared to act upon it. I think this is the text on which to sum up the work of the TNEC. Mr. Roosevelt's proposal three years ago for a monopoly inquiry was the greatest message he ever sent to Congress, and it will prove to our supercilious posterity that we knew very well what was wrong with us, even if we never got up courage enough to do more than swallow aspirin tablets. "Unhappy events abroad," Mr. Roosevelt said on April 29, 1938, "have retaught us two simple truths." One was that liberty is endangered "if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state itself." The other was that "the liberty of a democ-

racy is not safe if its business system does not provide employment and produce and distribute goods in such a way as to sustain an acceptable standard of living." In these sentences the one great democratic leader of our time provided the epitaph of an age.

If these opening remarks have the flavor of a post-mortem it is because I have just finished reading the final report of the TNEC. The committee has brilliantly paraphrased the instructions given it by the President, and it is not easy to throw off the spell of its rhetoric. I give a sample sentence. "If the political structure is designed to preserve the freedom of the individual," the report declares manfully, "the economic structure must not be permitted to destroy it." This seems to be the energetic language of men rolling up their sleeves, but as

one reads further it appears that this is but an interlude between the coffee and the marrons glacés. It is after-dinner statesmanship. When the committee gets down to the job of outlining a program of action its recommendations are ignominiously trivial. It spent three years digging up the facts, and then reentered them with as much dispatch as was decently possible.

Investigations like those of the TNEC and its many predecessors serve several purposes. They turn the nation into a vast schoolroom for instruction in the ABC's of our economic life. This the TNEC did, though in some fields, notably milk and insurance, the committee was careful not to look too far beneath the surface. These inquiries make the passage of social-reform programs possible by putting a few masters of enterprise in the pillory and letting the public have a good look at them in their moral undershirts. This is what Samuel Untermyer in his conduct of the Pujo inquiry did for Woodrow Wilson and what Ferdinand Pecora and Hugo Black later did for Franklin D. Roosevelt. But some smart press agent put the TNEC off the track very early in its career with the phrase "witch hunt." The practice of calling a spade a shovel was thus given a bad name, and the committee's conclusions were kept as innocuous as possible.

Congressional investigations are supposed to outline programs that come within shooting range of the evils uncovered. In this respect the TNEC, for all its 500-foot shelf of testimony and monographs, will not bear comparison with the best inquiries of the past. The recommendations of the Pujo committee in 1913 anticipated and surpassed the stock-market, banking, and security-selling reforms instituted by the New Deal. The original idea for the Wagner Act may be found, with much else, in the final report made by Basil M. Manly as director of the Industrial Relations Commission in 1916.

But aside from what seem to be excellent proposals to eliminate the use of the patent as an instrument of monopoly, the guttering candles lit by the TNEC will provide no beacons for the future. Its recommendations on insurance are the worst of all. Of industrial insurance, the greatest racket in the business, plundering the poor and ignorant, the report says, "A fundamental change in the conduct of industrial insurance should occur." The sentiment is unassailable. And if it doesn't occur? Then, the committee says daringly, "its eventual elimination may be necessary." And on what are we to rely for the fundamental change? "The primary responsibility for the change lies with the companies issuing such insurance and the states which supervise them." A campaign of scare stories calculated to make holders of life insurance believe that the TNEC was about to Sovietize their savings frightened the committee into limiting its proposals for federal supervision to a few timid suggestions. These

are prefaced with a choice bit of understatement. If these suggestions are not adopted, the committee ventures, "state regulation may eventually decay."

One way to strike at monopoly would be to abolish the holding company. The way to do it would be to revive older laws which forbade one corporation to hold stock in another. The evils of the holding company have been demonstrated over and over again in railroad finance, in utilities, and in industry as a whole. As late as 1914 Bouvier's law dictionary was quoting legal authority to the effect that "the most vicious of all the provisions in the [corporation] statutes . . . is that authorizing one corporation to own and vote stock in another." The committee, after proposing to plug one of the loopholes in the Clayton Act in a way which would give the judicially enfeebled Federal Trade Commission a check on mergers, does make a recommendation on holding companies. But it seems to face two ways at once. It "recommends an outright prohibition on the acquisition of stock in or holding-company control of competing companies," but "with suitable exceptions for bona fide investments and the control of true subsidiaries by parent corporations." The second part of the sentence seems to cancel the first, as is true of the explanation which follows: "These recommendations would . . . outlaw stock acquisition and the holding company as methods of combining competing corporations without disturbing the legitimate use of the holding-company device in the relations between parent and subsidiary companies." After a forthright proposal of this kind one is prepared for the separate statement appended to the report by the TNEC's vice-chairman, the Texas sage, Hatton W. Sumners. Sumners thinks that what is really wrong is that we "have forgotten that there is a living God." Though he proposes the electric chair for strikers, Sumners thinks prayer drastic enough for the malefactions of big business.

Feeble and equivocal as are the committee's proposals to deal with "the growth of private power," they are sturdy by comparison with its nebulous and wordy treatment of the problem of providing steady employment and a better distribution of income. In three short paragraphs dealing with "the lower third" of our population the committee is satisfied with "nothing short of a program specifically designed to amplify their daily diet, to train them for suitable occupations, to make available the benefits of low-cost housing, and to give them opportunity to develop their cultural attributes." To achieve this the members of the committee boldly "commend such efforts as the food-stamp plan, slum clearance and low-cost housing, the extension of hospital and medical facilities, and the development of vocational and cultural programs for the less privileged of our people." The committee might at least have been specific enough to propose free piano lessons for share-croppers.

Can Tammany Come Back?

BY WILL CHASAN

NEW YORK CITY may be in for a rude shock next November. Two successive victories by Reform Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia have fostered the impression that Tammany Hall, corrupt ruler of New York politics for more than a century, has been finally deposed. But a cold appraisal of the city's rival political forces does not encourage this view. There is reason to believe that the political alignment which kept Democratic bosses in office until LaGuardia's first election in 1933 has not been basically altered, and may reassert itself this fall.

Most New Yorkers do not realize that LaGuardia's triumphs in 1933 and 1937 were not the result of a permanent shift in political strength. Both were produced by unusual combinations of circumstances. His election in 1933 was aided by the Seabury committee's graft disclosures, but would have been impossible had there not been a split in the Democratic Party. His total vote—421,689 on the Fusion ticket and 446,883 on the Republican—was 327,000 less than the combined vote of the rival Democratic candidates, O'Brien and McKee. His reelection in 1937 was due largely to a huge labor-party vote which has since declined and to dissension in the Democratic Party, whose strength was vitiated by a bitter primary fight. Another factor was the findings of the Dewey investigation, which were announced shortly before Election Day. The Democratic machine, in brief, was defeated by a temporary piling up of misfortune and not by a superior political force.

Nor is any such force on the city's political horizon. The Republicans, senior partners in the LaGuardia coalition, have been strengthened by offices and patronage which have accrued to them as a result, but they are still a hopeless minority. This is not entirely unfortunate, since the Republican organization in New York is not distinguished for its liberalism and its concern for clean government is strictly that of a party out of power. The Fusion Party's influence is a thing of the past. In 1933 it was the channel through which popular indignation against municipal corruption expressed itself, but it has since disintegrated. Indignation is no lasting basis for a political party, and Fusion's divergent elements had nothing else to hold them together. The American Labor Party, third of the triumvirate linked against Tammany, polled 483,000 votes for LaGuardia in 1937, its first foray into municipal politics. Political observers thought that it might play David to the Democratic Party's Goliath. However, like Fusion, it is now in decline,

although for quite different reasons, one of them being the disruptive effect of a Communist clique. Despite internal difficulties, the A. L. P. might have achieved (conceivably it still may) sufficient strength to divert the course of New York politics permanently into new channels. Its failure to do so stems from the same lack of political acumen that has capsized most liberal parties in the past. "What reformers don't get," Frank Hague told George Creel in 1936, is that "politics is a business" and "not a revival meeting." The A. L. P. leaders have been no exception. The end of the party's influence is by no means in sight, but its present debility does not brighten the outlook.

Although the city administration has eluded its grasp for more than seven years, the Democratic Party is not gravely weakened. Its clubs have not been so completely cut off from the patronage troughs as is popularly believed. The Bronx and Kings County administrations remain in its hands, and numerous jobs have been retained in other boroughs. Generous amounts of federal and state patronage have helped to build up a fairly substantial political diet. The essential vigor of the Democratic machine is shown in its continuing ability to dominate local elections, probably the clearest test of straight party strength. Practically the entire Democratic slate of state assemblymen and senators has regularly been voted in, and in 1939, the year of the last City Council election, it obtained a two-thirds majority. A significant aspect of the 1939 elections was the defeat of several candidates specifically indorsed by LaGuardia.

Against this background the outlook for the reform groups is distinctly unfavorable. It is unlikely that Democratic chieftains will make the mistake of naming a candidate associated in the public mind with the party's unsavory past. It is worth noting that Manhattan's Tammany leaders, mostly deeply incriminated in that past, will not decide the party's choice. In political termi-



Mayor LaGuardia

nology Tammany is still synonymous with the New York Democratic Party, but actual control of party policy passed out of its hands more than a decade ago as a result of the growth of other boroughs. Moreover, since 1933 its prestige has declined because it has been less successful than the Bronx and Brooklyn organizations in electing its candidates. The position of Tammany leaders within the party has been further undermined by Roosevelt, whose animus against them dates back to 1932, when at Smith's behest they opposed his nomination. This hostility, among other things, has deprived them of choice federal patronage such as federal judiciary appointments. In Bronx and Brooklyn these have been guided by organization recommendations, but in Manhattan appointments Tammany has been ignored. Power to decide party policy and select candidates now reposes in Bronx and Brooklyn leaders, and the Democratic candidate will be designated by them.

Although there are no definite indications of who will be the candidate, the two names most frequently mentioned are William O'Dwyer, Brooklyn district attorney who cleaned up Murder, Inc., and Sam Foley, Bronx district attorney and close associate of the national chairman of the Democratic Party, Bronx Democratic boss Ed Flynn. Flynn's recent offer to withdraw Foley is part of some intricate bargaining with Brooklyn leaders, and does not necessarily remove him from the picture. In any case, O'Dwyer would make the better candidate because he is more widely known and has a forceful personality and a good labor record, acquired during a term as Brooklyn county judge. Brooklyn Democrats like O'Dwyer, and he is popular among Tammany leaders. Some of the latter are skeptical of the kind of mayor he would make because, as one of them told the writer, "O'Dwyer was a cop and he'd probably think that everybody was a crook. He'd lean over backwards and be hard to deal with." The same leader suggested that Foley might make a less effective campaigner but a better mayor. "Foley," he said, "has a reputation for honesty, but would be less difficult than O'Dwyer." Either O'Dwyer or Foley probably could win easily against any candidate but LaGuardia.

However, it is fairly certain that LaGuardia will run, although he has not yet announced his candidacy. It is even reported that Roosevelt is trying to get the Democratic nomination for him. Flynn, who holds the whip hand in New York Democratic politics by virtue of his control of state and federal patronage, intimated as much several weeks ago in a speech in North Carolina. But an effort to impose LaGuardia on the Democratic Party probably would fail. The opposition of Tammany, in Manhattan, and of embittered district leaders in other boroughs could thwart it. The attempt, moreover, would disrupt the Democratic organization sufficiently to insure LaGuardia's victory should he then turn around and accept the nomination from a Republican-Fusion-Ameri-

can Labor Party alliance. Even indorsement by Roosevelt, who is indebted to LaGuardia for his help in the last Presidential campaign, might easily have the same effect.

LaGuardia as a Democratic Party candidate seems incongruous, but some Democrats feel that his nomination might be good strategy. It would guarantee the election of every other important Democratic candidate without a knock-down-and-drag-out fight. LaGuardia would be mayor, but he would be a hostage of the Democratic Party—a restless, irascible, vitriolic hostage, but a hostage none the less. The strategy has a precedent; in 1903 Boss Murphy placed two leading Fusionists on the Tammany ticket.

The outcome of a straight contest between LaGuardia and O'Dwyer or Foley or any candidate of equal caliber who has the solid backing of the Democratic Party is difficult to predict at this point without the aid of a crystal globe. LaGuardia has been an excellent mayor, and he has enormous personal popularity and the advantage of office. On the other hand, it is questionable that these can compensate for the decline in organizational support caused by the weakening of Fusion and the Labor Party. In 1937 Fusion polled 159,000 votes for LaGuardia, but there is little chance that it now can muster more than 100,000. A factor which may cut further into the Fusion vote is that last year many influential Fusion backers supported Willkie and were indignant over LaGuardia's stand for Roosevelt. Obviously the same is true of numerous Republicans. It hardly seems within the realm of political possibility that the Republican Party will bolt LaGuardia entirely, since that would mean forfeiting the very tangible benefits of their association. But there is a chance that sections of the Republican organization might find inducements for doing so.

The Labor Party's 483,000 votes in 1937 probably will dwindle to less than 300,000. Its inability to poll more than 317,000 for Roosevelt last November is an indication of this. Moreover, important sections of the party, notably the New York County organization, are under Communist influence, and hostile to the Mayor. Ironically, the labor vote which supplied his margin of victory in 1937 may prove LaGuardia's undoing in 1941. The left-wing C. I. O. unions which provided his most vigorous labor advocates in the last election now view him with disfavor. The old-line A. F. of L. unions have always been Tammany adjuncts and can be counted on to remain in the Democratic camp. A candidate like O'Dwyer would enable them to do so without losing face. Barring Roosevelt's indorsement or some unexpected turn of events, these influences could pull LaGuardia's vote below the victory line. Only a first-rate conflict in the Democratic Party, like the one which hopelessly split it in 1933, would permit the election of any Republican candidate other than LaGuardia.

What is important is that no matter who emerges as

mayor next November, the old Democratic machines will still be around and dominant. They will control the City Council and possibly the Board of Estimate and other key positions. Without a drastic change of fortune for either Fusion or the Labor Party, which there is no reason to expect, LaGuardia's reelection would simply postpone their complete capture of the city. Democratic leaders intimate that the party has reformed and that if they are intrusted with office there will be no repetition of the Walker scandals. Some of them may even believe this, but talk of a reformed Democratic Party is absurd.

The shift of leadership from Tammany to the Flynn and Kelly machines in Bronx and Brooklyn does not pre-empt any change in ethics or policy. Once back in office, it no doubt would refrain from the more obvious forms of corruption—at least until it was firmly entrenched. But the Olvanys, Marinellis, and (Tin-Box) Farleys are still the party's ruling types in municipal politics, and

they will continue to shape its character. A person like O'Dwyer or former United States Attorney John Cahill, a Flynn man who may turn out to be the Democratic dark horse, would compel some restraint, but sooner or later characteristics ingrained by more than a century of looting public funds would come to the top.

The return of the party under whose aegis the old Board of Aldermen came to be known as the "Den of Forty Thieves," might have another, more ominous aspect. The New York Democratic Party has always been under the thumb of conservative elements and has been a reactionary force in state and national politics. There is no contradiction between this and Flynn's adherence to the New Deal, which is about as deep-rooted as that of the Southern Democrats, and has the same motivation. At a time when liberal forces in the national Democratic Party are hard pressed to find allies, control of the city could make New York Democrats a powerful foe.

Liberty and Action

BY BENEDETTO CROCE

A MORE special examination is needed of the concept of liberty in relation to action, not now viewed as the criterion of historical interpretation or as general moral direction, but as determinate action in determinate circumstances. If we omit from our survey of the sphere of practice the eternally Vulgar of mankind—those exclusively intent (or intent in the degree of their vulgarity) upon their private business, upon the means of subsistence, upon comfort and pleasure; and if we consider only true men, animated by the earnest search for the common good and so by the moral ideal—those who effectively carry forward mankind with their work—all such are, intrinsically, representatives of liberty. They vary, certainly; they disagree and fight each other on particular issues, but the historical result, which emerges through cooperation, composition, and elision from their different or contrary tendencies, is the creation of a new and richer form of life, and thereby involves the progress of liberty.

The same thing is to be said of the parties which are based upon the variety of men and their problems and tendencies, and designate their changeable groupings. These, provided that they have moral worth and consistency, that is, the will for the common good, and are not mere factions and bands, are also all intrinsically liberal.

Now, if this is how things are, how is it that in the past people have spoken, and even now speak, of a liberal party, specifically liberal, which seems to wish to claim for itself the prestige of liberty? Is there then a

party which is not a historical formation or subject to contingency, which champions a philosophical and eternal principle, a philosophical party among political parties, something more and something less than they, and at bottom different, something which therefore does not connect well with them, and like an interloper or intruder becomes tiresome and may seem even ridiculous?

Nothing of the sort. The liberal party is really a party, because it represents a historical situation, and its name, which, like all names, has good etymological rather than logical reasons, is the name of a political party and not of a philosophical school. Its historical character leaps to the eye directly one tries to carry the name to epochs other than its own. Thirst for liberty, fights for liberty, the glory of liberty emerge from every period of history—liberty "which is so dear, as they know who give up their lives for her." Nevertheless, there was no party properly and consciously liberal in the medieval hierarchy, or in the freedom of Greece and Rome, or even in the early centuries of the modern era, when people were working to free themselves from feudalism and theocracy, and fashioning the arms and the rule of the absolute monarchies.

The liberal party came into existence to challenge at one and the same time the outworn and exhausted absolute monarchies and the no less outworn and empty ecclesiastical absolutisms, Catholic or otherwise. Having run through a sort of pre-history in the struggles for freedom of conscience, in the English revolution, in the

period of "Illuminism," and in the French Revolution, it took form and consolidated itself after the fall of Napoleonic dictatorship and for a century was the dominating factor in European life. In its days of power, like any other party which wins to office, the liberal party made use of the strong hand: it enjoyed or procured the support of certain economic classes, behaved variously in various countries, from time to time carried out necessary agreements and transactions, customary in the world of affairs and so in the world of political affairs. Yet in so doing it did not lose and squander amid material considerations of circumstances and methods that liberty of which *igneus est vigor et caelestis origo*, liberty which is spiritual and moral strength, operating certainly by means of those circumstances and with those practical methods, but never coinciding with them or resolving itself into them. It was said and it was repeated that, when it had risen to rule and become well established in power, and had passed beyond the danger of counter-offensives by the former regimes, the liberal party then lost its splendid virtues, enthusiasm, dash, self-dedication, readiness to fight and to lose its life for the sake of its soul. And cries of distress and alarm were raised as its accustomed forms, the well-marked political divisions of conservatives and liberals, of right and left, and so on, were seen to disappear and to be succeeded by other more prosaic divisions on special or economic questions. None the less it was natural that all this should happen, and that when the war was over the warlike spirit of the past time should be laid down with the weapons of war. The triumph of the liberal party carried in itself, as its logical correlative, the gradual end of that party itself, which had accomplished its goal, and which in order to be of further service had to become something else, had in fact to yield its place to something else.

It was not properly speaking the liberal party—already in some sort thrust into retirement as the effect of its own victory—that entered, as they say, upon a period of decadence and crisis. It was the liberal settlement, which it had advocated and realized and consolidated, that began to be plotted against, threatened, and undermined by a double range of forces, related to each other but not identical. In the range of the intellect these forces were the check to mental, dialectic, and historical modes of thought, modes which had been initiated toward the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, and prevailed in the first half of this latter century, but were now ousted by positivist materialism, and later by a species of irrationalism and mysticism. In the range of social affairs the forces at work were the profound economic changes which robbed certain classes of importance and increased that of others, indeed almost dissolved some while bringing others almost newly into existence or to positions of extraordinary power. This is not the place to describe a process which in its essential

lines is clear to everybody's mind, in its past and present development and acceleration.

Questions badly framed and answers worthy of them, solutions which solve nothing, and stupid proposals have followed in the train of this so-called "crisis." The chief and commonest of these brings into doubt the very principle of liberty, and inquires whether human life cannot be better conducted by substituting for thought and criticism an instilled and obligatory belief, and for the deliberations of the will, obedience—an inquiry shown up by the mere formulation of it as unworthy of further discussion. Many, too, are those who resort to the reading of omens to determine whether the future belongs to liberty, or to authority, or to slavery, revealing an anxiety sometimes perhaps not without a hint of nobility. This anxiety, however, directing itself to the solution of a fantastic theoretical problem and vainly circling around it, can but increase to the point of agony and delay recourse to the only means to health, which is to follow the never uncertain path of duty and to nourish in oneself and in others the virtues of liberty.

It is obvious that the great ages of poetry and art are followed, as Dante would say, by the gross ages, and none the less we always long for and desire and prepare with zeal and effort for the coming of the ever-flourishing and classic beauty; so, too, the great ages of thought relax and are succeeded by an age of mere echoers, compilers, or, indeed, by positively forgetful and unintelligent generations, yet the ideal always remains thought, which creates truth, and never becomes not-thought, nor do we devoutly prepare ourselves to become stupid and shortsighted in honor of a stupid and shortsighted century. Not otherwise is it with the ages of liberty, moments of moral brilliance which yield to periods of less splendor and force, of uncertain light, or even of darkness and night. In this extreme case we rediscover the meaning of Vico's *cursus* and *recursum*, and of Goethe's saying that God, when he sees a society increasing in wisdom and understanding, but necessarily ever less energetic because less pugnacious, wearies of it, and breaks the universe into fragments to make room for a new creation. Nevertheless, when periods of barbarism and violence are approaching it is only for the vile and the foolish that the ideal becomes unfreedom and slavery; for others it remains that which alone can be called human, the only ideal which always works. We always tend toward liberty and work for it even when we seem to be working for something else; liberty is realized in every thought and in every action that has the character of truth, poetry, and goodness.

Moral action, then, must not be governed by what is about to happen in the near future, or by what will happen when it happens. For if we suppose that human society enters for one or two centuries, or even for a thousand years, upon a condition of servitude, that is to

say, of liberty attenuated and reduced to a minimum, of the least possible creativity, approximating the condition of animals, this incident—an incident as short against eternity as a wink of the eye—does not affect morality, does not interfere with its task, or change it. This task is ever to kindle liberty from liberty, and from time to time to select the means and materials adapted to this end. And since new adversaries have moved against it, taking the place of those that, like the absolute monarchies, had been vanquished, while others, weary but not extinguished, have again scrambled to their feet, or at least to their knees, the liberal party, which had been thrust or had thrust itself into retirement for lack of adversaries, today finds the adversaries and with them the ideal conditions for fresh activity.

But at this point the greatest doubts and objections are usually raised, because, it is argued, a liberal party cannot work effectively when the actual conditions in which it was formed and worked in the past no longer exist. For example, there is no longer the same local life and local autonomy, no longer a landlord class which has the capacity and the leisure to take part in the administration and government of public affairs and to pursue political studies, no longer are there industrialists interested in competition and in free trade among nations.

In place of these, we see everywhere the centralization of administration and government, masses of city workers and agricultural laborers with their respective mass leaders, industrial monopolies, and so on. What such noble minds as De Tocqueville, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and Italians of the right after 1870, caught a glimpse of as they reflected on the future of liberty, seems now to have happened, and that in an irreparable fashion. The facts have turned against the liberal settlement, and we are invited to resign ourselves to mass governments and to dictatorships.

Those who make this objection forget, in propounding the material conditions, that the fundamental and sole necessary condition for a liberal party is the rebirth of oppression or tyranny, whether lay or ecclesiastical, whatever its particular forms may be (demagoguery, dictatorship, Bolshevism, and so forth)—the thesis which substantially provokes its antithesis. And they forget it because, unaware or ignorant of its *igneus vigor* and its *caelestis origo*, which we have recalled, they fallaciously posit liberty as a material and economic fact among material and economic facts. Hence it is natural that they consider it finished with the material conditions with which at one time it was bound up and consider that it cannot be restored until those conditions are reproduced.



"WAIT, MAYBE I DON'T GO! I AIN'T SO SLEEPY.."

But why should liberty desert the world, and man descend from being a man to being a slave or a sheep, just because, instead of the few roads and the poor communications of other days, human society has now at its disposal railways and airways, telegraphs and telephones and radio, means of understanding which facilitate centralization of government and business? Or because, instead of individual cultivation of land, we are now adopting or may adopt agricultural associations or even state agricultural institutions; and instead of free trade, trade which is more or less regulated? Liberty has no objection to make, in principle, to these or similar economic changes, if calculation and economic experience, which are alone competent in these matters, approve of them, in the given conditions, as more useful and more productive than others. Liberty objects to and opposes only this: nationalization of the soul, the sale of that which cannot be sold; and it accepts or rejects all economic changes only with regard to this, its supreme principle.

The premises having been thus reestablished in their true aspect, the correct conclusion to be reasonably drawn is not that a liberal party has nothing more to do in the world and is henceforth, as the journalists say, an "anachronism," but rather that it has enough and too much to do because the antithesis of its thesis has arisen. But a liberal party cannot do its work with the same means that it once used, because its antithesis has not the same form that it used to have. Therefore it has to look for new means, and, constant in its goal, faithful to its own religion, it must renew itself on the practical side, must study other methods of penetrating into minds and hearts, ally itself with other interests, and give life to a new ruling class.

And if someone asks that the program of the regenerated liberal party should be particularized and that the precise norms for carrying out its intention should be described, the request can be met with a smile at the simple-minded questioner. What he would like is to possess, in a few short rules, what must be a varied and complex movement finding its way as it makes it and its means to action in acting, a labor of good sense, of course, of patience, of practical and political skill, of greater or of smaller scope as it may be, not waiting upon programs but putting itself into action every day and every instant. And, to clear up this assertion by an example, in this very instant the writer of these pages is in his way collaborating toward that end, dissipating the clouds of certain bad political reasonings and allowing to flow in with the rays of the sun a little of that warmth of which the need is great. Strong impulses, the opening of new ways to action, resolutions in moments of crisis are more especially reserved for the apostles and political geniuses. There is no reason to suppose that there will be less of these in a world which has need of them, and by its own efforts and labors strives to call them into existence.

The Case of the Spanish Jewels

BY LOUIS FISCHER

TOWARD the end of 1938 the Spanish Republican government rented a handsome villa in Deauville, one of the most fashionable seashore resorts in France. In the villa lived several well-dressed men and several beautiful Spanish ladies. They led the life of rich South Americans spending the season at the playground of Europe's high society.

As Franco's army pushed closer to Barcelona in December, 1938, Dr. Juan Negrín, Loyalist Prime Minister, began to worry about the government's treasures. When the civil war started in 1936, many wealthy Spanish aristocrats, landlords, and industrial magnates fled Republican territory precipitately and could not smuggle out their jewels. The Republic gathered up these fabulously valuable gems. It ransacked private mansions and palaces in the mountains. Its agents tapped walls to find secret safes. In the deserted house of a countess of ancient lineage in Madrid, they confiscated a cache in which was a necklace of black pearls, a diamond tiara, and like knickknacks, worth several million dollars. Similar valuables left in bank vaults by Fascists who were executed or imprisoned were added to the government hoard. Some of the jewels were family heirlooms that had been brought from the Golconda in India when sixteenth-century Spanish explorers sailed around the Cape of Good Hope in search of the wealth of the East.

All articles were carefully catalogued and described. A special guard responsible to Dr. Negrín was put in charge of the collection. Negrín told them they would pay with their lives if anything happened to it.

The entire treasure was in the city of Figueras, near the French border. It had been transferred to that town shortly after the beginning of the siege of Madrid. There was a hoary fortress at Figueras with several subterranean levels which no aerial bomb could demolish.

No one person ever had access to the treasure. Nothing could be taken from it without the written permission of the entire board of custody, which consisted of officials of the Finance Ministry. When the League of Nations' commission which counted the foreign volunteers in Loyalist Spain prior to their repatriation finished its labors, Dr. Negrín and Alvarez del Vayo, the Foreign Minister, wished to show their appreciation of its impartial efforts by giving its chairman, the Finnish General Jalander, and its secretary, Lieutenant Colonel Basch of France, two small presents in the form of inexpensive jewelry. They had to make a special request of the board of custody, which voted to grant it.

As the front crept nearer to Figueras, Negrín gave

orders to have the entire treasure transported to the chic villa in Deauville. But this was merely a temporary expedient, for if the Loyalist regime collapsed, the jewels would not be safe from the French authorities or from Franco spies. Spanish Fascists had been reported loitering in the vicinity of the villa. Negrín therefore gave instructions for the purchase of an ocean-going yacht.

Catalonia fell. Half a million Spaniards preferred exile in France to life with General Franco. Negrín, Del Vayo, Azaña, and other Loyalist leaders also took refuge in France. Negrín immediately ordered his officials to remove the jewels from France to the Western Hemisphere.

One night in the second week of February, 1939, the well-dressed inhabitants of the Deauville villa put on working clothes and carried huge cases filled with diamonds, sapphires, emeralds, pearls, and gold and platinum jewelry down to the sea and loaded them on the yacht *Vita*. The estimated value of the jewels was \$50,000,000. The cargo also contained strong-boxes packed tight with stocks and bonds.

The treasure on the *Vita* was in charge of Señor Puente, a young officer in the Carabineros who had just been promoted to the rank of colonel. He belonged to the Spanish Socialist Party, and Prime Minister Negrín trusted him. Negrín instructed Colonel Puente to place the jewels in the safe-keeping of President Cárdenas of Mexico. They would remain in Mexico until a favorable turn in the wheel of history made it possible for the anti-fascist Republicans to return to Spain and set up a government. Then the treasure would constitute the Republic's financial foundation stone.

The *Vita*, under Colonel Puente, left Deauville at full speed, and its swift engines carried it quickly away from the shores of Europe toward America. Then it slackened its pace and cruised leisurely. It stopped in a West Indies port to refuel and take on fresh water and food.

Meanwhile, Dr. José Puche, Chief of the Health Service of the Republican army, was racing from Europe to Mexico to act as Negrín's contact man with President Cárdenas.

Colonel Puente was an old admirer of Indelacio Prieto, veteran Socialist leader and former Loyalist Minister of War. Prieto had been ousted from the government by Negrín and sent as Spain's special plenipotentiary to the inauguration of Pedro Aguirre Cerda, the new Chilean Popular Front President. That decorative mission completed, Prieto, filled with resentment against Negrín for having supplanted him and eliminated him from active participation in Spanish politics, took up residence in Mexico City.

From the high seas Colonel Puente sent a radio to Prieto in Mexico. When the yacht *Vita* anchored at a Mexican port, its jewels were turned over to Prieto. Negrín's special emissary, Dr. Puche, arrived too late.

When the Spanish war ended, Dr. Negrín himself went to Mexico and saw President Cárdenas. He also tried to see Prieto. However, Prieto refused to meet him. An acrimonious exchange of letters took place between Prieto and Negrín. One of Negrín's letters was thirty-eight pages long. Nothing helped. The Mexican government denies that it has any legal control over the *Vita's* treasure. Prieto has full access to it and can from time to time attempt to market its gems and valuable papers. Negrín has lost it. Prieto could use the money to assist Spanish refugees.

The beautiful *Vita*, flying the flag of Panama, rides at anchor in the harbor of Acapulco, Mexico.

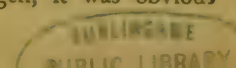
Hitler Loses Greenland

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

IT WAS inevitable that the United States should take action about Greenland. Hitler's designs on this last Danish colony antedate his invasion of Denmark. Years before that invasion he had begun to fan the flames of the ancient feud over this strategic island, with a view to pocketing it at the moment when the two lawful claimants were going at each other's throats. It has long been known in Scandinavia that those activist Norwegians who, under the name of "Dansk-Norsk Ordning," agitated for a reoccupation of Greenland, despite the Hague Court decision in favor of Denmark, were among Quisling's most servile followers. A good example of them, and one of the most fanatic, is Gulbrand Lunde, Minister of Education and Propaganda in the Quisling government.

Since the occupation of Denmark and Norway by the Germans last April, the Quislingists have been highpressuring Berlin for a new "arbitration" that would take Greenland from Denmark and place it under Norwegian sovereignty, as part of the price for the Norwegian Nazis' recent active, if inefficient, intervention in the war—as compared with Denmark's stolid passive resistance. The idea was well received in Berlin because it fitted Germany's own military schemes so well. After "awarding" Greenland to the dummy government in Oslo, the Nazis could have occupied the island in Norway's name. This seemed the easiest way to settle the issue in a pseudo-legal manner, for the Danish government would probably have refused active help in a seizure of Greenland by the Nazis.

Its recalcitrant attitude was clearly evident in the bold action of the Danish minister in Washington, Henrik de Kauffmann, both on the Greenland question and in the matter of the seized Danish ships. Few representatives of subjugated countries have displayed such courage. However, given the mentality of the Nazis and their complete power in Copenhagen, it was obvious



that Mr. de Kauffmann's days as the official representative of King Christian in this country were numbered. Although he undoubtedly acted with at least the left-handed support of the Danish King and his Cabinet, it was inevitable that the Nazis would quickly force Copenhagen to repudiate the agreement and to disavow or recall its minister to the United States.

Greenland has popped up again and again as one of Denmark's hottest issues. The Danish Nazis have always accused Prime Minister Stauning of planning to sell the island to the United States, one way or another. As late as November, 1940, the Danish Nazi organ *Faedrelandet* (the *Fatherland*)—now also called *Forraedrelandet* (the *Traitors' Land*)—violently assailed Stauning because he had done nothing to prevent the United States from "establishing air bases in Greenland."

At the time such air bases had not yet been constructed but they were doubtless being prepared. What probably caused this outburst of Nazi wrath was the interception of a German "meteorological" expedition of some fifty armed men by the Norwegian gunboat Fridtjof Nansen, which was patrolling the Greenland waters in cooperation with the British. The Nazis were captured and interned as soon as they set foot on the Greenland coast. About the same time, Norman Davis, an emissary of the American Red Cross, uncovered on a visit to Greenland the beginnings of a Nazi fifth column. It was operating there under the leadership of a Herr Moritz, a German citizen who had come to the island on the pretext of dealing in seal hides and fats, but who actually had been sent to pave the way for a coming occupation.

German strategists have long been toying with the idea of an Arctic *Blitzkrieg* that would bring all of the Danish island possessions (Greenland, Iceland, the Faroes) under Nazi domination. The coup was to be carried out by a force of seaplanes and seaplane-carriers stationed at Trondheim in Norway, the nearest point to the islands. If successful, it would have brought about the almost complete encirclement of Great Britain.

There is another interesting aspect of the Greenland question. For some time rumors have been rife in Scandinavia that King Christian of Denmark has had his fill of German "protection." It would seem to be only a matter of months, perhaps weeks, before the King abdicates and the present government resigns. Such a move would doubtless be followed by the setting up of a free Danish government like the several governments-in-exile now operating abroad. Although Greenland may not be suitable as the seat even of a government in exile, it would be an asset in any attempt to reconquer the Danish mother-country from abroad. Economically of course Greenland is more of a liability than an asset, although it possesses the most valuable cryolite mines in the world. But it has great strategic importance by virtue of its position on one of the principal North Atlantic sea lanes.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Bankers Hate Competition

AFTER long and patient investigation and extensive public hearings, at which all interested parties were given an opportunity to express their views, the SEC has decided to enforce competitive bidding in connection with the issue of new securities, or the sale of outstanding ones, by all registered public-utility holding companies or their operating subsidiaries. The new rule applies not only to issues underwritten by bankers and offered to the public but also to private placements. That means that an insurance company which wants to buy a whole bond issue from a utility company will no longer be able to make a private bargain but will have to submit its sealed bid in competition with other institutional investors and bankers.

This provision may give some slight consolation to the investment bankers as a body, since they have been complaining about the way they were losing business through private placements, but it will not reconcile the small Wall Street group whose long-standing near-monopoly of high-class utility issues is seriously threatened by the new rule. Their indignation is likely to be heightened by the knowledge that a great deal of issuing business, which under the old "tied-house" system would surely have fallen into their laps, is now in prospect, owing to the progress being made in breaking up the utility holding companies. In the course of integrating their properties these companies must dispose of extraneous interests, and consequently large blocks of securities now in their portfolios will be offered to the public. After May 7 all such offerings, when a total of more than \$1,000,000 is involved, will have to be thrown open to competitive bidding by prospective underwriters.

The elimination of banker influence over utility managements is a duty clearly laid upon the SEC by Congress. The Public Utility Act of 1935 requires the commission to withhold approval of a security issue if it finds that "the terms and conditions of the issue or sale of the security are detrimental to the public interest or to the interest of investors or consumers." Such interests, Section 1 of the act states, are injured "when subsidiary public-utility companies enter into transactions in which evils result from an absence of arm's-length bargaining or from restraints of free and independent competition."

In attempting to insure arm's-length bargaining in respect of utility security issues, the SEC has hitherto relied on a rule prohibiting the payment of any underwriter's fee, except where participation was limited to 5 per cent of the total offering, to any affiliate unless the affiliate had been awarded the securities as the most favorable bidder in open competition. But this rule proved difficult to enforce. Leading investment bankers continued to negotiate, as managing underwriters, with concerns to which they were affiliated. When the SEC challenged their right to obtain an underwriting fee, they always blandly denied that any affiliation existed between them and the utility concerned. In more than one

instance such denials have irresistibly reminded me of the equally vehement protests habitually made by notorious followers of "the party line" when it has been suggested that they are affiliated with the Communist Party. Under such circumstances some weight must be given to constructive evidence. In explaining the transmission of sound and light our physicists have been forced to hypothecate the intangible something they call ether; so too we can only account for the concentration of utility underwriting among a handful of Wall Street houses by hypothecating an invisible but magnetic link between them and certain electrical empires.

Such a link, the SEC recently ruled, exists between Morgan, Stanley and Company and the Dayton Power and Light Company, and as a result it ordered the surrender of an impounded underwriting fee earned by the investment bankers in connection with the Dayton company's bond issue in February, 1940. The ruling pointed out that partners of J. P. Morgan and Company held a large part of the preferred stock of Morgan, Stanley and Company and thus had an incentive to get business for the latter. Further, it was asserted, J. P. Morgan and Company occupied an influential position in the United Corporation, a holding company they had organized in 1929, so that its wishes in regard to the choice of an underwriter for the corporation or its subsidiaries would carry unusual weight. As the Dayton Power and Light Company was controlled by Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation, which in turn was a subsidiary of United Corporation, the SEC came to the conclusion that negotiations between the Dayton company and Morgan, Stanley and Company were of the arm-in-arm rather than of the arm's-length variety. This inference Morgan, Stanley and Company hotly challenged, declaring that the decision of the SEC was "not based on facts but . . . on what the commission thinks was liable to happen. Such a result belongs to the world of make-believe." In other words, the SEC has no right to assume that the consistency with which United Corporation has handed its underwriting first to J. P. Morgan and Company, and then, when these bankers gave up their investment business, to Morgan, Stanley and Company, is evidence of anything but a purely platonic friendship. It seems easier to believe in ether.

Under the new competitive-bidding rule there will no longer be any necessity for long arguments about affiliation. Every utility holding company or subsidiary of a holding company will, when issuing securities, be obliged to invite bids and award the underwriting to the banker offering the most favorable terms. Opponents of this rule claim it must lead to overpricing and will thus prove injurious to investors. But, as in any other open market, overpricing of securities will provide its own corrective. If a banker is awarded an issue of bonds at 105 and finds on reoffering them at 107 that investors consider the price too dear, he will suffer a loss, and the next time both he and his competitors will be more cautious. On the other hand, underpricing, which is very apt to occur when issues are sold by private negotiation, means that the company concerned is burdened with higher charges than market conditions warrant, and this is detrimental to all its existing security holders.

An even stranger objection, which has been seriously advanced by banking interests, is that the enforcement of com-

petitive bidding would interfere with free enterprise. Thus the National Association of Security Dealers in a memorandum presented to the SEC declared: "Compulsory competitive bidding would lead in practice toward complete government control of the market." Really, it is time a movement was launched to introduce Adam Smith to Wall Street.

In the Wind

A NEW POLITICAL PARTY which will follow the Communist line on foreign and domestic problems may come into being shortly. The American People's Meeting, convened in New York on April 5, appointed a committee to draw up plans for the new organization. It will be based to a large extent on the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, now virtually controlled by Communists, the left-wing of the American Labor Party, and the remnants of the Washington Commonwealth Federation. John L. Lewis may head it.

THE REUTHER PLAN has been rejected, according to the *American Machinist*, manufacturers' journal, because it would mean "labor participation in management" rather than because of "the irrelevant arguments as to whether the plan could actually produce 500 planes a day."

IN NORWAY the Nazis are trying to stimulate the sale of their publications by offering as prizes autographed pictures of Quisling, copies of a book by him, or a day spent in his company. The sales remain small.

AMERICAN Trotskyists are enjoying a boom. Their newspaper, the *Militant*, formerly the *Appeal*, has increased in size, thanks largely to contributions from people who admired Trotsky and wished to help his political heirs after his murder. The Trotsky Memorial Fund has far overshot the expected mark.

THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY, author of "The Soviet Power" and current idol of American fellow-travelers, visited Ivan Maisky, Russian ambassador to Great Britain, a short time after the last Soviet election. Immediately upon being introduced the Dean said: "First let me congratulate you on your government's remarkable victory at the polls."

ELIZABETH DILLING, author of "The Red Network," now writes under the name of the Reverend Frank Woodruff Johnson. As the Reverend Mr. Johnson she is the author of a book called "The Octopus," an anti-Semitic tract which is being widely circulated by American fascists.

A FEW WEEKS ago a Guatemala City evening paper printed a letter criticizing the government. Immediately the rumor was spread that this unheard-of event was designed to prove to the just-arrived editor of *The Nation* that freedom of the press existed in General Ubico's tight little dictatorship.

[The \$5 prize for the best item received in March goes to D. A. M., of 415 Lexington Avenue, New York City, for his story about William Randolph Hearst and "Citizen Kane," published on March 29.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Gone with the Mules

SYMPATHY for the tenant farmer is spreading in spite of the war. This is what they tell me in the office of the organization for share-croppers in New York. I know the ladies of the New Hampshire Federation of Women's Clubs have asked to hear a speech about him in May. The ladies' interest in the tenant farmer is splendid, but it is also a little late.

Tenancy is decreasing. Indeed, in the group of states where the plight of the tenant farmer has seemed saddest—the sixteen Southern states from Maryland through Texas—the figures show that there were nearly 350,000 fewer tenants in 1940 than there were ten years before. Those who hoped to abolish tenancy can cheer. Cheer again: land ownership in the same region is increasing. There are nearly 150,000 more farmers who own their own land than there were in 1930, and land ownership has always been the pattern of the American dream.

But if the ladies of New Hampshire and elsewhere will excuse me, I am not going to wave any flags until I have done a little problem in subtraction:

Fewer tenants	339,047
More landowners	143,048
	<hr/>
	195,999

That 195,999 is not a figure in pure mathematics. Every item in it is a family of people unaccounted for in the statistics. They are the families which have been pushed even out of the status which touched hearts as far north as New Hampshire. There are more like them. Rural populations have increased while the chance to be even a tenant has declined.

Take Mississippi. Everybody does take it when they want scenes and statistics of sadness. It has 11,315 more landowners than it had in 1930. It also has 32,798 fewer tenants. That means that at least 21,483 families which once may have deserved our sympathy as tenants have now not even that precarious and sometimes seemingly persecuted relationship with the land. They have been set free from tenancy, which means they are free to squat in idleness, to stand on small-town street corners, to hope only for occasional day labor—free to starve but for the intervention of relief. Share-cropping begins to look like a system of security which white men and black men once had but now have lost.

The explanations are simple; possibly they indicate

progress. In every Southern state which had as many as 100,000 tenants in 1930, the average size of the farms had increased by 1940. A strange thing is that when the Farm Security Administration helps tenants to buy land, it has in most cases insisted on farms larger than the average in the neighborhood. Sensible farmers did the same thing—when they could. Farms of adequate size are essential for farmer security, but adequate-size farms in most Southern states are within reach of fewer people than the Southern land contains. Profitable farming practices have put wider acreages to work with fewer men, and the heartless plantation owner with the machine is changing a South which, recent statistics show, has more than half the country's farmers but less than a fifth of the country's farm implements.

Man's story is the mule's, but sadder. Man and mule worked so long together in the South. Burrhead and redneck moved up the cotton rows behind the good, brown, much-respected beast. They understood each other and sometimes they thought they understood the land and the cotton—at least until they took the cotton to the gin. Now man is separated not only from the land but from the mule also. More than a million mules disappeared from the Southern scene during the ten years before they were counted in 1940. But last fall Milo Perkins reported that there were a million more people on the cotton farms of the South at the beginning of the present war than there were when the first world war began. Maybe men ought to die like the mules. Maybe men ought to breed with at least a mule-dealer's understanding of possibilities. They don't. In the South they will not soon. There is no such religious opposition to birth control in the South as there is in New England, nor any such general practice of it either.

The share-cropper may disappear. The people who once could hope to be share-croppers will not. They will be fed or they will steal. They would just as soon steal a factory as a hen. Indeed, when the situation was less acute, New Hampshire blamed them in part for the collapse of the state's biggest cotton mill. The people who could once hope to be share-croppers will not mind the accusation again. They will be glad to deserve it. Maybe the ladies in New Hampshire are wise, even if they are late, in wanting to hear about share-cropping. It may be high time they began to listen. And if I were going to talk to them, I'd say, "Look out, ladies, Mississippi is a good deal closer than you think it is." And I'd hate to see New Hampshire gone with the mules.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

THE annual report of the New York Public Library tells us what we already knew: that the reading of books dropped sharply during the *Blitzkrieg* days of last spring and summer as the result of that obsession with newspapers and the radio which all of us experienced. In general, literature tends to fall not only into disuse but into disrepute in such times as the present. The writer who has the strength to go on writing according to his bent and his conscience is likely to be considered weak or irresponsible. Similarly, though a great deal of lip-service is paid to the "heritage of the past," which is distorted to fit its particular use, all the circumstances conspire to persuade us, as readers, that it is almost a moral duty to keep up with the latest edition of today's newspaper, and that, conversely, any desire to experience the resolutions and pleasures of "pure" literature is at best queer, at worst an unworthy impulse to escape. No one would expect a prize fighter to fight all evening with no time out for rest and refreshment, but if you are caught reading Dante or Jane Austen between the rounds of the war of nerves you are likely to be considered not quite patriotic.

Especially in the United States, where this suspicion of "the classics" is endemic, the tendency toward literature-baiting is likely to grow. It is a stupid and self-defeating attitude rising out of an ignorance, induced by non-reading, of the reasons that motivate the desire to "escape" into the republic of letters—a desire which one encounters these days, despite the general disapproval, in strange as well as in familiar places.

One of the primary appeals of the great literature of the past in a time of disorder, though less obvious than some others, is outlined, in a different context, by T. S. Eliot in *Tradition and the Individual Talent*, one of the essays in "The Sacred Wood." The historical sense, he writes, "compels a man to write not merely with his own generation in his bones, but with a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer, and within it the whole of the literature of his own country, has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order." And again, "The existing monuments [of literature] form an ideal order in themselves. . . ." It can be described as an order because all great art has sprung from a common and unifying source, the human mind and imagination driven by the two compulsions, for free play and, paradoxically, for some kind of system—of religion, philosophy, politics, or art—that will transcend and establish control over contemporary chaos, personal or social. Most of the particular systems have fallen of their own inadequacy; what remains to us are the "monuments" of idea, form, and evocation which comprise Mr. Eliot's "ideal order."

It is these elements of order, underlying unity, and cumulative, uncoercive authority—and the fact that even a skeptic can accept the poets' miracles of Dante and Shakespeare—that make the "sacred wood" a source of strength and re-

newal when the times are out of joint. And so if I were a committee-fancier, I should advocate as one form of defense against fascism at home and abroad, not a subtle burning of the books but an Association for the Actual Reading of the Great Works of Literature. I specify actual reading, for one characteristic of the sacred wood is that it does not exist until one enters it; but actually to enter it is to acquire a historical sense, to oppose to what may seem to schoolgirls a tidal "wave of the future," not the all-too-feeble breakwater of contemporary and negative "anti-fascism," but the firm shore of a past which nevertheless "has a simultaneous existence" and composes an order simultaneous with the present. As Benedetto Croce declares in the title of his new book, history is in essence the story of liberty. That is doubly true of great literature; and actually to read it is to gain a fresh faith in the invincibility of the free human spirit which it is the primary and futile purpose of fascism to destroy.

Croce's book, by the way, has been received with acclaim in England. The *Manchester Guardian*, according to a cable to the American publisher from George Allen and Unwin, declared that the "greatest living Italian has struck blow for liberty," while the *Spectator* called it the "most powerful because most profound statement of the principles for which we are fighting."

Also by the way, I should like to register my profound disgust with one of the most recent examples of literature-baiting, the publicity-seeking announcement of *Books Abroad*, a journal published at the University of Oklahoma, that the "Divine Comedy" had won the most votes in a poll of "eminent critics" to determine the world's worst book. Twenty-six "critics" (the quotation marks are mine), according to *Publishers' Weekly*, "let down their hair and cooperated in the effort to choose the duds of literature, but Lewis Mumford and Rolfe Humphries declined to take part in what they considered a presumptuous enterprise." I salute Messrs. Mumford and Humphries.

EDGAR ALLAN POE'S "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" was published a hundred years ago this month. And the *Virginia Quarterly* prints in its current issue an article called *The Case of the Corpse in the Blind Alley* which may be taken, according to the editors, as commemorative of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the detective story. It is a blistering attack by Philip Van Doren Stern on the art as it is now practiced.

In the course of his criticism, which I found both convincing and interesting, Mr. Stern punctures the common belief that detective stories are enormously popular—"they are popular as a type, but no one of them is read widely." For mystery stories are not sold in any great quantity directly to the public; probably as much as 85 per cent of all copies circulated reach their readers through rental libraries. This system insures a minimum sale of about 1,500 copies for almost any mystery; it also places a top limit of about 3,500 copies for even the best ones. But while Mr. Stern grants that

this state of affairs may serve to keep good authors from entering the field, he thinks the principal difficulty is the fact that the mystery story is today being written for a purely professional audience (mostly men) clustered about circulation libraries, which demands not a book but a drug and is in a position to enforce its demand. According to Mr. Stern, it is forever complaining that mystery stories get worse and worse. "Yet heaven help the writer who tries to give them anything but the old familiar brand!"

What the murder story requires if it is to recover its standing as literature is what any story requires—characterization, atmosphere, maturity, and an understanding of human action and motive. "Mystery story writers need to know more about life and less about death—more about the way people think and feel and act, and less about how they die," says Mr. Stern and ends with the wry remark: "It is surely strange that an age so deeply concerned with death as our own has not yet made its mark upon an art that deals only with killing."

MISCELLANY: Bills to make permanent the present temporary postal rate of 1½ cents a pound for books (it extends only to July 1) have been introduced in the House and the Senate. "By far the greatest of the benefits," says *Publishers' Weekly*, "have been enjoyed by book-buyers, libraries, and readers in the more distant parts of the country, those least well served by bookstores and libraries." That is exactly what the low rate was designed to accomplish. Drop a letter to your Congressman. . . . The committee formed by friends of James Joyce, shortly before his death, to obtain financial aid for him and his family points out that the expenses incident to his illness and death make the raising of funds all the more necessary, and asks for contributions, however small. Joyce's wife is in Zurich; his daughter Lucia is still in a sanatorium in occupied France. The committee includes, among others, Mary and Padraic Colum, Bennett Cerf, B. W. Huebsch, Eugene Jolas, and Edmund Wilson. Checks should be made payable to Mrs. Maria McD. Jolas, Chairman of the Joyce Fund, and sent to 1049 Park Avenue, New York City.

MARGARET MARSHALL

The Fear of Abundance

THE DEVIL OF THE MACHINE AGE. By J. Russell Smith. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$1.50.

"FOR ages," writes Professor Smith, "we worked to overcome scarcity, but now, forced by a new technology, we strive to plan scarcity. . . . Abundance with its glutted market has become the devil of the machine age; relative scarcity its god." [His italics.]

The purpose of this popular sermon in economics is to show how planned scarcity is paralyzing our economic system. Everyone of us, in his capacity as producer, seeks to restrict the output of his product in the hope of maintaining its price—that is to say, the amount of other products for which it can be exchanged. Through trade associations, gentlemen's agreements, combinations, and sometimes through outright monopolies, manufacturers attempt to limit production to the amount which the market can just absorb at a prearranged price and profit. If the capacity of the market

diminishes, then output must be reduced even though plant and labor are rendered idle. Labor organizes for the same purpose: to maintain or raise wage rates, to diminish hours, and to restrict recruits to its ranks. For if labor is to maintain its price, it must contrive to make itself scarce. And so it is with the farmer, but his problem is more complicated owing to the vagaries of nature and the difficulties of organizing so scattered a group of producers. Consequently, he depends on legal restrictions obtained by political pressures.

But if we are all producers, so are we all consumers, and in that capacity we are anxious to buy as cheaply as possible. Thus we regard competition as a sovereign remedy for every industry save our own. But most of us think of our standard of living chiefly in terms of money income, that is to say, what we receive as producers, and much less in terms of its exchange value. We lay relatively less stress, therefore, on our economic interests as consumers and normally do not organize to protect those interests. Nor do we realize that if all producers succeed in restricting output and maintaining prices nobody gains an advantage, and there must be a smaller supply of exchangeable goods and less real income for everyone.

That, as Professor Smith points out, was roughly the result of the attempt under NRA to maintain prices at a point where everybody could make a secure profit. For that reason the Supreme Court decision in the *Schechter* case was "a face-saving godsend" to a great many people in industry and in the Administration. But the stronger producer groups continue their restrictive practices even though the recent activities of the Department of Justice have made them more cautious.

At the present time the nation is trying to raise production to new heights under the stress of the war emergency, and, in certain directions, we find ourselves struggling once again with the problem of scarcity. But the question of how to turn potential abundance into a blessing instead of a curse will demand an answer even more insistently when the war ends. We shall have to find a way of organizing abundance so that all may work and the fruits of their labor be fully distributed.

Have the business men of this country got a solution for this problem? Professor Smith is skeptical, but he insists that "in the long run the resources of the country will be made to support its people," and that if this cannot be achieved within the framework of private enterprise, it will be done by the government's taking over a substantial part of industry. Professor Smith is no admirer of state socialism, and business men, therefore, may pay attention to what he says even though he makes mincemeat of some of their most cherished prejudices. He writes with admirable common sense and he brings to the subject of economics the geographer's constant awareness of physical realities—an awareness which seems lacking in all too many economists.

I have only two mild complaints to offer. I wish he had developed more fully the positive remedies he puts forward for curing artificial scarcity. And some protest must be made to his publishers in regard to the pricing of this book. A dollar and a half is altogether too much for a slim volume of under a hundred pages and must serve to restrict the abundant circulation it deserves.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Sammy Glick

WHAT MAKES SAMMY RUN? By Budd Schulberg. Random House. \$2.50.

IF YOU have frequently looked with fascination at the unmistakable lineaments of big business and have tried to solve the mystery of what must have been the living transformation of the individual into the corporation, then you will follow the quest for the answer to the question posed in the title of Mr. Schulberg's book along with Al Manheim, through whose eyes we pursue Sammy's life history. Sammy Glick's progress from newsboy to grand mogul of Hollywood is accomplished through singleness of purpose, moral anarchy, and the recognition of the nature of the race he runs faster than the treadmill he runs upon. Sammy steps into everyone's shoes—and wears them, and it is with a sense of utter inadequacy that we see the sureness of his footing, as well as the amount of his salary, increase, and watch his features, his walk and talk and personality, alter as he appropriates the trademarks of intelligence, culture, and charm of those pedestrians who pick themselves up to find Sammy far ahead rounding still another corner of his career.

The question is, of course, not answered, as it could scarcely be since it's the riddle we live under, but it is the measure of the honesty and sincerity of the book that Mr. Schulberg explores the question seriously and, what is more, finds his own attempts at a conclusion inconclusive. In the search for an answer the line of the plot is deftly played out in the person of Al Manheim, whom the problem obsesses. Al would like merely to free his mind of Sammy by a hatred worthy of him, but in the widening circles of his search he finds hatred inadequate and is forced through the very excitement and urgency of the chase into the battlefield of the individual and society. In his search Al is educated; Sammy is left alone with the fear of being overtaken: "You can't have your brothers and eat them too."

This is Mr. Schulberg's first novel, and he is more concerned with saying what he sees and feels than with how he says it, and that is as it should be. The book is uneven; the first part is badly written and developed; there is too much of the paltry patois of small-story sophistication and type-writer chatter. One finds a paucity of expression ("her body trim and cool and confident"), and the snappy conversation is at times oh so nugatory. But each of these charges is controverted as one turns the pages, and it is a pleasure to watch the author write through and past what really is his "first novel" to find his own form and content. Toward the end Mr. Schulberg does say what he wants to say, the writing is good, the plot blooms, and the form is there. Hollywood, that junction of theater and audience, is more honestly, amusingly, and instructively covered than in any other book I know. It is an integral part of the story and the natural habitat for Sammy.

I do, however, protest against the niggardliness of the expression of sincerely felt emotions that recalls bright books now faded. The careful indifference, the special argot of understatement and underplaying, the determined bathos of the characters before the probity of their feelings are exasperating. And the quantity of Scotch consumed in the course

of the book is alarming, far too expensive for the sober writer's budget, to say nothing of the sober reader's. One remembers the flowing bowl of the twenties, both literary and economic, and ponders the reason why the novelists of that generation are still suffering from hangovers.

H. P. LAZARUS

De Gaulle on Warfare

THE ARMY OF THE FUTURE. By General Charles de Gaulle. With a Foreword by Walter Millis. J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.

OF ALL De Gaulle's writings, this is the best known. It was first published in France in 1934 under the title, "Vers l'Armée de Métier." It contains one of the first concrete proposals for an armored force, and in 1937 Paul Reynaud produced some rather convincing evidence to show that General Guderian had leaned heavily upon this book in forming the new German *Panzer* divisions. The French High Command, however, saw little in the book, and soon after it was published, Weygand went to the length of directing a certain Lieutenant Colonel Didelet of his staff to write an article attacking De Gaulle's ideas. It was shortsightedness such as this that lost the war for France.

De Gaulle envisioned an army of six large armored divisions, which, with supporting infantry, artillery, aviation, and services, would number about 100,000 men. The tanks would be supported in their break-through mission by attached air units, and the infantry and artillery would follow up to develop and hold the positions taken by the tanks. In describing how this armored army would operate, De Gaulle brings in all the features of the modern battle—the crushing blow of the armored units followed by swift, outflanking maneuvers, the relatively small number of casualties, and, finally, the rapid collapse of the enemy. Indeed, De Gaulle so closely approximated the Sedan break-through—where the Germans actually broke the French armies with a force of between five and seven armored divisions—that his book must rank as an outstanding example of military prophecy.

However, this prophetic theme obscures the main point of the book, which is indicated in the original title—"Toward a Professional Army." De Gaulle contended that future battles would be decided by the armored-air team. He proposed that the principal defense forces of his country should consist of the armored army previously described. This would mean, on the one hand, a much smaller number of men required for military service, and on the other, a much greater amount of equipment. Moreover, this equipment would be of such a highly technical nature that it would be obviously impossible to train part-time conscript soldiers to use it efficiently. Therefore De Gaulle suggested that the mass army—"the nation in arms"—be abandoned, and that a return be made to the old small professional army of long-service volunteers.

De Gaulle advanced many irrefutable reasons for this return to the eighteenth-century-style army. It would be vastly more efficient in war, much less costly in men, and cheaper to operate in the long run. De Gaulle further states that a really professional army would be indifferent to politics. He does not consider the question that it might also be indifferent to democracy. The problems raised by De Gaulle are by

no means solved, nor will they be for some time to come, but it is plain that the military establishments of all nations are moving along the lines he indicated, "toward a professional army."

HARVEY S. FORD

The Soong Family

THE SOONG SISTERS. By Emily Hahn. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$3.

THE famous Soong sisters are already fairly well known to Americans, though this reviewer knows of only one other full-length biography—"Three Sisters," written by Pearl Buck's sister, Cornelia Spencer, which appeared in 1939. Emily Hahn is the clever American novelist whose sketches and stories are familiar to readers of the *New Yorker*. She has lived in China during the past five years, and her material for "The Soong Sisters" was collected with the cooperation of Madame H. H. Kung and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. The elusive Madame Sun Yat-sen, however, refused to be interviewed and was therefore rather neglected and misinterpreted in the story. This has always been the stumbling block confronting writers who have aspired to do such a composite biography. Evidently Madame Sun prefers not to be considered a pillar of the ruling "Soong dynasty," but an independent torch-bearer for her husband's revolutionary principles. For her own story, we shall doubtless have to await an autobiography.

The Soong family is the most fascinating human-interest story in China, and Miss Hahn has made good use of her material, especially in the case of the father, Charlie Soong, and in giving a new personalized portrayal of Madame Kung, least known of the three sisters. The author, however, failed to make the most important point about Madame Kung, which is that her financial wizardry has built up what is probably the greatest personal fortune in modern Chinese history. With delicate irony Miss Hahn merely remarks that Madame Kung learned "how much science there is in banking."

This Soong family is almost as much American as it is Chinese, though we have few family Alger stories to match its history. Apprentice Charlie Soong ran away from his uncle's shop in Boston to become cabin-boy on a coastal side-wheeler. He wanted a modern education and was adopted by a Confederate general, who sent him through Vanderbilt University. Charlie went to Shanghai in 1886 as a preacher for the Southern Methodist Church, but made his fortune selling Bibles and foreign machinery. He married the daughter of one of the earliest Christian families in China, and their six children were all educated in the United States from an early age. The three attractive and highly intelligent daughters were sent to Wesleyan College for Women at Macon, Georgia; Eling (usually spelled Ai-ling) and Chingling at the age of fifteen, and Mayling at nine.

Charlie Soong was a secret follower of Sun Yat-sen, "Father of the Chinese Revolution," and on their return to China both Eling and Chingling became Sun's secretaries. Eling resigned to marry H. H. Kung, a Y. M. C. A. secretary. She had four children, developed into an extremely competent *lai-tai*, and has been the power behind her hus-

band's throne ever since. Dr. Kung is now Minister of Finance.

Chingling married Dr. Sun shortly after her return in 1913 and became his right-hand helper and an active revolutionary in her own right. Since Dr. Sun's death in 1924 his widow has been a living symbol of integrity not only in China but for socially conscious people everywhere. She is now in her forties, still beautiful, still bent on achieving the social changes so long delayed in China, and still the idol of youth and of the common people of her country.

Mayling came home from Wellesley in 1917 and was Shanghai's reigning society belle until 1928, when she married Chiang Kai-shek, who soon established himself as the de facto head of the Chinese government. Madame Chiang's charm and energy have been an important asset to that government, especially in winning foreign sympathy. Her books have been widely read abroad.

It is to be regretted that this biography, because it evasively skirts internal family feuds and the political problems which determine the character of its subjects and their role in China, falls short of being a critical work. It is not without authority, however. It is that part of the story which Madame Chiang and Madame Kung wish to see presented to the public, and is to be considered in the general class of "authorized biography." Miss Hahn is eminently qualified to have done a much better study had she not been obliged to pussyfoot in order to secure the necessary cooperation. Nevertheless, "The Soong Sisters" is a delightful and well-written book, and the author has handled a delicate subject with much skill.

NYM WALES

Labor and National Defense

LABOR AND NATIONAL DEFENSE. A survey of the Special Labor Problems Arising from America's Defense Activities and a Program for Action. Published by the Twentieth Century Fund and compiled by a research staff headed by Lloyd G. Reynolds of Johns Hopkins University, assisted by Russell Nixon of Harvard University and Charles Killingsworth of the University of Wisconsin. \$1.

THE Twentieth Century Fund has rendered an invaluable service by its timely publication of a report on labor in its relation to national defense. Its findings and recommendations are as up to the minute as the morning newspaper, without the distortion, confusion, and alarm which characterize so many of the current press accounts of happenings on the labor front.

Pressed into the book's 130 pages are brief factual analyses of labor requirements and supplies, with all of the complexities involved in the training, allocation, and full utilization of the various skills; the matters of wages, hours, collective bargaining, as well as available procedures and government machinery for adjusting disputes arising out of these issues, and a program designed to cope with immediate problems in the sphere of employer-employee relations. The recommendations are the responsibility of the Fund's labor committee, under whose auspices the study was made, headed by William H. Davis, one of the three public representatives

of the recently created National Mediation Board; its other members are William Chenery, editor of *Collier's*, Frazier MacIver, vice-president of the Phoenix Hosiery Company, William M. Leiserson, NLRB member, Sumner H. Slichter of Harvard, Edwin E. Witte of the University of Wisconsin, and Robert J. Watt of the A. F. of L. Philip Murray of the C. I. O., another member of the committee, was compelled to withdraw because of lack of time.

The report affirms that continuous, efficient production is imperative to the effort to build America's defense and to aid Britain, and that work stoppages are a grave hindrance to this effort. But how are stoppages to be prevented? "World experience," says the committee, "has demonstrated that the cooperation of labor cannot be gained by compulsion. Strikes in democratic countries can be prevented only by agreement between employers and workers—not by law." Disputes over working conditions are bound to arise. But these can be settled, with the aid of existing conciliation and mediation machinery, provided labor's pledge not to impede production during the conciliation period "be matched by a pledge on the part of management to make no changes in working conditions during that period."

The most difficult type of dispute, the report finds, is that over union recognition. On this point the committee accepts the principle established by the National Labor Relations Act. "The spirit of the statute and a decent respect for prevailing opinion demand, in this period of emergency, universal and ungrudging acceptance by all employers of the processes and implications of collective bargaining. This is a vital need in the interest of maximum defense production."

It is labor's "clear obligation," according to these conclusions, "to seek the legal remedy in preference to direct action." It is recognized, however, that the Labor Board's processes involve serious delay, and since, in the matter of organization, the time element is often the controlling factor, "either side is disposed to make militant changes in the status quo." For this reason the report recommends (1) priority treatment by the board of cases involving defense industries; (2) orders and procedures by an equity court designed to prevent irreparable injury to either party during the delay incident to protracted appeals from the board's decision. The latter, in the reviewer's opinion, is a very difficult, if not impossible, expedient. In recent arguments before the Labor Board by representatives of the Ford and Bethlehem corporations, it was made abundantly clear that they will accept no decision from that body until it has been passed on by the courts. This means years of delay. It is quite beyond the wisdom of any court, assuming its willingness, to estimate what such delay might cost the parties concerned.

The study recommends maintenance of established standards and good working conditions and, above all, maintenance of *real* wages by combating increases in the cost of living. It recommends retention of the Wage-Hour Law, and in this connection clarifies several points on which confusion has run rampant. It reaffirms first of all the more or less accepted fact that long hours are inefficient. But should the emergency call for a longer work week than the established forty hours, the Fair Labor Standards Act does not prohibit it. The law merely provides time and a half for overtime. This does not impose any hardship on defense industries, as

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the added expense can be passed on to the purchaser, and has probably already been figured into contract estimates. On the other hand, it may have two very beneficial effects: the need of added hours of work in defense industries, and overtime pay, may tend to attract more workers, thus preventing a possible labor shortage where speed is most urgent; and it could serve to provide increased earnings during the height of production with an automatic leveling off when the regular work week can be restored.

The essence of the program is flexibility rather than rigidity; its approach is human rather than legalistic. Machinery to carry out the program, it is suggested, should be chiefly of an administrative character, and should include, in addition to that which already exists, an over-all agency along the lines of the recently created National Mediation Board and "a network of joint agencies with equal labor and management representatives." The program is offered not as a blueprint, but more in the nature of an agenda. Its good common sense is refreshing and offers a welcome relief from the stuffy nonsense on the subject which has been spouted of late by tongue and pen in immeasurable volume. Proponents of the program are all men of extensive experience in the field of production and labor relations, and of unquestioned integrity. Their recommendations will undoubtedly be taken with all the seriousness they deserve by a good many Administration leaders, by the more progressive employers, and by a very large segment of labor. One cannot help wishing that this little volume could be put into the hands of all leaders of industry, every editor in the country, and all members of Congress.

ROSE M. STEIN

Can Old Age Be Delayed?

MUST WE GROW OLD? By Barclay Newman. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

WE ARE becoming an increasingly elderly nation. Insurance figures show that in 1930 our mean length of life was 63.2 years; one hundred and fifty years ago it was 35.5 years. Ninety years ago one-eighth of the population was forty-five or over; today more than one-fourth of our population is forty-five or over. There has recently been an increased medical interest in the problems of aging appropriate to these facts, and to a corresponding increase in economic and social concern for the aged. The Macy Foundation has just published, under the editorship of E. V. Cowdry, a 750-page digest and synthesis of current knowledge presented technically by a number of competent authorities.

Almost simultaneously there appears this popularly written summary of geriatrics. It is really more than that, however; it is a presentation of the formerly very dull subject of hygiene in a new and very stimulating form. There are no brush-your-teeth and get-eight-hours-of-sleep exhortations in this book. There is, rather, a courageous challenge, implied by the title, of the conventional assumption that age and death are inevitable, with nothing to be done about them. Perhaps, Newman reminds us, death is with human beings, as with animals, always an accident, always unnecessary. Time itself is certainly not lethal. The disorganized harmonic function associated with old age is brought about by many diverse

factors, of which time is not necessarily one. Most glands do not show evidence of age changes which cannot be accounted for otherwise; for example, by the lack of iodine. Perhaps, after all, "growing old" and words allied to it are used "only because they summarize under one general heading a great list of phenomena, mostly still without known cause."

The author is neither presumptuous nor arrogant. As a scientifically trained man, he is well aware of the hazard of too great a deductive leap; he recognizes the distrust and condescension which the mere raising of the question will evoke from the tough-minded empiricists, some of whom he quotes. He would probably expect anything but gentle treatment from the present reviewer, committed as I am known to be to the death-instinct theory of Freud, according to which we are all determined to die by some force as ancient as life, and more powerful. But there are ways of attenuating or deferring this instinct.

Mr. Newman is encouraged by such writers as Dr. L. V. Heilbrunn (University of Pennsylvania), who wrote: "... the search for a remedy for this universal ailment is not as fantastic as was Ponce de Leon's quest for the fountain of perpetual youth. In the case of some lower animals, as for example flatworms, it is possible to make older animals grow young again; and although such a reversal of physiological age may never be possible to any great extent in animals as complicated as man, it nevertheless seems quite reasonable to suppose that when the nature of senescence becomes more clearly understood, ways and means will be developed to delay its progress."

There, in a word, is the theme of Newman's book; we have already made some steps in delaying the progress of age; can we expect to go further? What has been discovered recently in dietetics, endocrinology, cancer, blood chemistry, vitamins, and normal cell physiology that would encourage us to believe that, by taking thought, we may add days to our years, if not cubits to our stature?

Mr. Newman writes in a clear, sprightly, readable style. He cites sound authorities, and, except for the implications of the title, nothing he says would be objected to by the most orthodox medical scientists. Perhaps his optimism will be as good for us as for our patients.

KARL MENNINGER

Published This Week

JAPAN UNMASKED. By Hallett Abend. Ives Washburn. \$3.

THE WISDOM OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, INCLUDING THE JEFFERSON BIBLE, "THE LIFE AND MORALS OF JESUS OF NAZARETH." Edited by Edward Boykin. Doubleday, Doran. \$2.50.

THE WAVE OF THE PAST. By R. H. Markham. University of North Carolina. 25 cents.

THE AIRMEN. By Selden Rodman. Random House. \$2.

SOCIAL DOCTRINE IN ACTION. A PERSONAL HISTORY. By the Rt. Rev. Msgr. John A. Ryan. Harper. \$3.

MEN AND IDEAS. Essays by Graham Wallas. Norton. \$2.50.

NEW POEMS: 1940. An Anthology of British and American Verse. Edited by Oscar Williams. The Yardstick Press. \$2.50.

WYOMING. American Guide Series. Oxford. \$2.75.

THE PENGUIN HANSARD. Vol. I. From Chamberlain to Churchill. Vol. II. The National Effort. Penguin Books. 25 cents each.

IN BRIEF

IN MY FATHER'S HOUSE. By James Street. The Dial Press. \$2.50.

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WHAT THE CITIZEN SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE NAVY. By Hanson W. Baldwin.

WHAT THE CITIZEN SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE COAST GUARD. By Hickman Powell. W. W. Norton & Company. \$2 each.

These are useful introductory books by well-known authorities for the layman, or prospective draftee, who wants to know the essentials about the composition, operation, and function of the three principal services.

ART

SHOWS of the work of three great, or once great, abstract painters held in New York recently afforded an opportunity to consider the present condition of our most advanced painting. The demise of abstract art has been hailed again and again of late; nevertheless it continues to provide our most stimulating pictures. It is my opinion that the fate of our particular tradition of art depends upon that into which abstract art develops. True, three or four great painters still use representation—Picasso, Matisse, Rouault, Vlaminck—but they operate in very personal veins from which there is no issue for the future. They raise up no promising disciples, for those who follow them are imitators, eclectics, and little else. Representation may return, but it will return only on the basis of what we have learned from abstract art.

Of the artists who have produced the best painting of the last five years or so, without doubt one is Miró. His pictures continue to excite. They may puzzle the

layman, but they do not bore his eyes. The show of his recent work at the Matisse Gallery impressed one with the extent to which the modern painter derives his inspiration from the very physical materials he works with. In spite of, and perhaps because of, the freedom it offers, canvas imposes upon the painter a style more or less proper to itself. In the course of time even this style with all its flexibility may become something that confines. The artist will grow to desire a medium the very difficulty and novelty of which will help him to conceive freshly. Klee took to painting on plaster, wood, and scratched canvas. Miró has begun to paint on burlap and fiber board, and with promising results. The coarse surface of the burlap has refreshed his invention, compelling him to tighten and compress his design in order to animate and set off the minuscule criss-cross pattern of the rough stitching. Since the burlap does not present a smooth surface, paint must be rubbed rather than brushed on, and so a new quality of "paintedness" is gained. And although the brick reds, the blacks, yellows, and livid whites are reminiscent of Miró's previous work, the result constitutes on the whole a new and brilliant phase in his development.

As if to emphasize the control exerted by the medium, the water colors executed during the same period make the sharpest contrast to the burlap paintings. Necessarily, paper and water call for different treatment, yet the difference between Miró's water colors and his oils, whether on burlap or canvas, is much greater than the difference, for instance, between the water colors and the oils of Cézanne. Miró's water colors are tenuous, precious, and not altogether satisfactory, but there is something too valuable to dismiss in almost everything he has touched in the last few years, at least to judge from the work that has reached this country. One painting must receive special notice: a long, narrow panel on canvas, full of echoes of primitive art, which with its long tentacular bands of dark blue against cobalt and its sudden touches of vermilion, yellow, and white, was the most completely successful single painting of the show.

How arduous is the career of the abstract painter, how difficult it is to sustain his freshness and growth, is made more evident by Léger's example. The exhibition of his latest water colors and drawings at Marie Harriman's was disheartening. I was never much struck by the bulk of his work, though he does have the ability to integrate seemingly

discordant elements into solid, unified compositions. But for a long time he seems to have done nothing but repeat himself under various disguises. By force of repetition Léger's painting has become facile and empty, a matter almost of formula. His color has become more Currier and Ives than ever. Organic objects have replaced the mechanical ones and the abstract forms—Léger was never a consistently abstract painter—and they are used to attain a stale, poster prettiness. In picture after picture the various elements curl themselves into the same neat combinations. There is still that same effect of reconciled flatness and solidity which was one of the most pleasing qualities of Léger's earlier work, but this has become too facile and too decorative; the massiveness is all show. When the abstract artist grows tired, he becomes an interior decorator—which is still, however, to be more creative than an academic painter.

The show of Kandinsky's paintings at the Nierendorf Gallery was composed chiefly of his post-war work (one picture for each year of his career as a painter), but there were enough pictures dating from before 1914 to make manifest how much his work has fallen off since then. The early paintings are semi-abstract landscapes, spontaneous and turbulent in their color; we perceive in them the feeling that went into the actual handling of the paint. Since then Kandinsky's art has become non-objective and excludes all representation. Under the influence, I believe, of some false analogies with the mathematics of music, with music as an art of self-expression, and with platonic notions of essential form, he paints in precise geometrical figures, all ruled lines and circles drawn with a compass. Instead of a picture, however, a gimcrack is produced. The Slavic peasant colors which Kandinsky favors are rich and strong when brushed with the vigor and freedom of his earlier manner, but they become superficial when fixed with draughtsman's precision in dry, careful, spic-and-span diagrams resembling nothing so much as astronomical charts and patterns for dirndl dresses. I do not hold theories to be responsible for the decline in Kandinsky's art; Mondrian has produced very good painting in terms of pure geometry, and Mondrian has theories. It is simply that Kandinsky cannot do it, being the painter he is. All this notwithstanding, Kandinsky is even today not a negligible painter. He still turns out good pictures occasionally—very often under Klee's influence. They

are best when smallest in format. And this is true of most contemporary painting. For as a rule the modern painter cannot cover large spaces successfully—the revival of mural painting has so far not disproved this. He is at his best when forced to compress and tighten; just as the modern poet finds a page and a half more than adequate to whatever he may have to say in any single poem.

The cases of Kandinsky and Léger demonstrate how easy it is for the abstract painter to degenerate into a decorator. It is the besetting danger of abstract art. We, with our tradition of easel-painting, are not satisfied to have our pictorial art in the form of decoration. We demand of a picture what we demand of literature and music: dramatic interest, interior movement; we want a picture to be a little drama, something, even if only a landscape or still life, in which the eye can fix and involve itself. It is the task of the abstract artist to satisfy this requirement with the limited means at his disposal. He cannot resort to the means of the past, for they have been made stale by overuse, and to take them up again would be to rob his art of its originality and real excitement. That so many abstract artists are not equal to the task does not compromise abstract art—as yet. And when one has exposed oneself long enough to contemporary art, one begins to realize that the unsuccessful pictures of a good many abstract painters are more interesting than the most brilliantly successful pictures of such painters as Grant Wood, Alexander Brook, etc., etc. CLEMENT GREENBERG

RECORDS

COLUMBIA'S new set of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony, made by Bruno Walter with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, I will postpone until I can consider it together with the Victor set of Toscanini's performance with the N. B. C. Symphony, which has not yet arrived.

Comparing the new Stock-Chicago Symphony recording of Brahms's Symphony No. 3 (Set 443, \$4.50) with Columbia's older but fairly recent Weingartner-London Symphony version, I find that I prefer the music in the form that Weingartner gives it—the first movement, for example, played with his poised control, his subtly inflected steady pace, as against Stock's sudden whipping up of pace at the beginning of the development section and the coda; or the

concluding section of the second movement, taken by Weingartner with only slight broadening of the *Andante*, as against Stock's sentimental dragging. The recorded sound of Stock's orchestra is more voluminous and rich than that of Weingartner's; but Weingartner's has greater clarity and sharpness of definition and better balance. Moreover, the Stock recording loses considerable brilliance on a machine with less than the widest frequency range; whereas on such a machine the Weingartner violins continue to sing out. Even on a wide-range machine there is a marked loss of brilliance near the end of the third, sixth, and seventh sides of the Stock set; some sides of my copy produce a rattle on some machines with light and otherwise sensitive pickups; and some sides have noisy surfaces.

Reiner's performance of the *Bacchante* of "Tannhäuser" with the Pittsburgh Symphony (Set X-193, \$2.50) is superb, but without the flaming tonal opulence of the Victor version. That is because Reiner and the Pittsburgh Symphony are not Stokowski and the Philadelphia, and because their performance is not as well recorded. It is one of Columbia's better jobs, with fidelity to orchestral color and sonority, but with occasional muddiness and occasional hollowness, and with a sudden raising of volume-level in the middle of the third side that is attended by bad rattling.

There is much finer recording of the sound of an orchestra on the single disc (11517-D, \$1) of Debussy's *Rhapsody No. 1* made by Benny Goodman and the New York Philharmonic-Symphony, but there is an occasional rattle on this one too. The work, written as a test-piece for students of the clarinet, exploits the resources of the instrument and those of the orchestra in Debussy's exquisite style and—surprisingly enough—with some musical effect; and Goodman's phrasing is now beautifully sensitive and now engagingly lively, but without all the subtlety Debussy requires. As for the second volume of *Rediscovered Music of Johann Strauss* (Set 445, \$3.50), most of it is pretty dull, the performances by Barlow with the Columbia Broadcasting Symphony are fair, the recording is coarse.

One outstanding April release from Columbia is the Budapest Quartet's performance—extraordinary in the ways that this unique group's performances are, and well recorded—of Beethoven's *Op. 18 No. 1* (Set 444, \$4.50). And a single disc (71026-D, \$1) offers a beau-

tiful and excellently recorded performance of Chopin's *Barcarolle* by Gieseking. The warmth and intimacy of Schumann's superb *Piano Sonata in G minor* are not in the work as it is now assaulted and battered, now sentimentalized by Sascha Gorodnitzki (Set X-186, \$2.50). And Bach's *Church Cantata No. 158, "Der Friede sei mit dir,"* I find neither interesting nor well sung by David Blair McClosky, baritone, who has recorded it with a few instrumentalists and a small chorus (Set X-191, \$2).

Some outstanding jazz performances that were recorded here for English Parlophone several years ago are being released by Decca in albums entitled *Gems of Jazz*. The first (Set 200, \$3.50) includes one of the finest of the performances, "Willow Tree" (18108), with exquisite singing by Mildred Bailey and beautifully sensitive playing by Teddy Wilson, Johnny Hodges, and Bunny Berigan; and almost as good is their "Downhearted Blues" (18109). While these are the best there are good things on the other records: "The World Is Waiting for the Sunrise," with Jess Stacy, Gene Krupa, and Israel Crosby, and one of Mead "Lux" Lewis's performances of his "Honky Tonk Train Blues" (18110); "Twelve Bar Stampede" and "Feather Bed Lament" (18111), with Joe Marsala, Benny Carter, Pete Brown, and Billy Kyle; "Tillie's Downtown Now" and "The Buzzard" (18112), and "What Is There to Say" and "Keep Smiling at Trouble" (18113), with Bud Freeman, Berigan, and Claude Thornhill. The "Tillie's Downtown Now" is the performance on the A master; Parlophone issued the performance on the B master, which is better paced and has a better solo by Berigan and the more exciting piano solo by Thornhill.

For those who like American folk music there are *Southern Prison Songs*, excellently sung by Lead Belly and the Golden Gate Quartet (Victor Set P-50, \$2.25); "The Old Chisholm Trail," *Songs of the American Southwest*, most of them sung with appropriate simplicity and gusto by Tony Kraber (Keynote Recordings, 133 West 44th Street, New York: Set 104, \$2.75); and *Two Centuries of American Folk Songs*, sung by Elie Siegmeister's American Ballad Singers in arrangements and styles some of which I find excessively arty—for example, a street cry made into a canon (Victor Set P-41, \$2.25).

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Poll-Tax Corruption

Dear Sirs: Political corruption in the South is the bosom friend of the poll tax. If a voter cannot afford to pay the tax he can arrange with the ward boss for its payment—if he votes *right*. Many political machines buy receipts and distribute them on Election Day with marked ballots, and when the voter returns, he must redeliver the blank ballot received at the polls; this one in turn is marked, and the illegal process continues unabated. Many employers at sawmills and factories pay the tax, then file the receipts away; on Election Day the receipts are turned over to the employee with explicit instructions on how to vote.

A free suffrage has been one of the primary concerns of American democracy since colonial days, and we have eliminated property, color, and sex qualifications. But the state of Mississippi in 1890 initiated a reactionary process whereby the provisions of the Civil War amendments were circumvented. The purpose was to nullify Negro influence, and was born of a deal between Northern Republicans and Southern Bourbons. Southern editors since those days have discounted talk about democracy and have earnestly championed the cause of white supremacy. Southern poll-tax opponents are not, however, interested in the numerical increase of Negro or white suffrage. They would be contented if the tax did what its promulgators planned. But the tax is now an instrument of the political machines, which tap the voting population regardless of the quality of the voter. Today Southern poll-tax reformers are agitating for educational qualifications to weed out the undesirable Southern citizens, Negro and white.

Poll taxes allow Congressmen and Senators to stay in Washington long enough to enjoy the benefits of seniority. It is seldom that these men use their political dominion to support progressive legislation. They have consistently obstructed federal relief, public housing, wage-and-hour legislation, collective bargaining, and the right to strike. In the House of Representatives the Apocalyptic Horsemen, Martin Dies, Howard Smith, Clifton Woodrum, and Eugene Cox, are all from the poll-tax South. And their records speak for themselves.

The constitutional question is still

open, for the Butler decision in the Breedlove case that "poll taxes are laid upon persons without regard to their occupation or property to raise money for the support of government or some specific end" was an examination of the tax in the abstract light of the right to tax and the power to collect. However, Justice Butler did not comment on the real question: Does the poll tax obstruct the franchise?

The Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution embodies the principle that the right to suffrage is of national importance, and is not to be left to the *exclusive* control of the states. If the states have the right to tax the franchise, they have the power to destroy representative government. There are other questions which the courts have to answer: Does the right to vote in a national election depend exclusively upon the laws of a state? Can a state tax a federal privilege? These are the questions which the Prittle test case is raising, and with enough support it should reach the Supreme Court this year. In the meantime, the Geyer bill (H. R. 7534), which was tabled during the last session of Congress, must be passed, as must any other important defense measure. This law, introduced by a California Congressman, makes it unlawful for any state to require the payment of a poll tax as a qualification for voting or for registering to vote in a national election.

Southern politicians argue that the repeal of the poll tax as a qualification to vote would litter the government with "niggers" and end white supremacy. But this is untrue, as every Southerner knows: literacy tests, residence qualifications, intimidations, and white primaries work remarkably well to disfranchise the Negroes. In North Carolina, a repeal state, the Negro's vote remains as insignificant as it is in Louisiana, a certificate state, where less than 1 per cent of the Negroes vote.

The repeal of the poll tax is the specific problem of the Southern whites, but it is of importance to every citizen in the United States as one step toward suffrage reform in a section where "less than one-third of the adults in twelve states that form one-sixth of the nation are able to take part in the democratic process."

HERBERT R. COLLINS

Brooklyn, April 11

Steel Capacity

Dear Sirs: I am troubled by an apparent contradiction between the economic theories of Keith Hutchison and I. F. Stone.

Mr. Hutchison, in his article of March 1, suggests that the leaders in the steel industry are against construction of new plant capacity: they are afraid that when rearmament ceases and we are in the midst of a post-war depression all this proposed new capacity will drive steel prices down.

Mr. Stone in his article advances the theory that the leaders of the automobile industry are ignoring suggestions that they use their idle automobile capacity for the production of planes, and instead are having new plants built for this purpose. He states that the construction of new plants has its advantages for the companies.

Why should the steel industry oppose, while the automobile industry apparently favors, an increase of productive capacity? This is a problem which I cannot resolve.

HENRY BUHLER

Minneapolis, Minn., April 10

Right of Angary

Dear Sirs: Referring to the seizure of Italian, German, and Danish ships by the United States government, *The Nation* of April 5 states: "... the seizure has a firm basis in both international and domestic law. The action was taken under what is known as the 'right of angary.' This right has its roots in long-established custom going back into the Middle Ages."

You may be right. That may be the law. All I know about international law is the little I learned in an inadequate course on the subject taught by an under secretary of the United States Department of State. I often must refer to dictionaries to check words not used every day. Black's "Law Dictionary," third edition (1933), has this to say about Angary, Right of:

In international law. Formerly the right (*jus angariae*) claimed by a belligerent to seize merchant vessels in the harbors of the belligerent and to compel them, on payment of freight, to transport troops and supplies to a designated port. It was frequently exercised by Louis XIV, of France, but as a result of specific treaties entered into by states not to

exercise the right, it has now come to be abandoned.

At the present day, the right of a belligerent to appropriate, either for use or for destruction in case of necessity, neutral property temporarily located in his own territory or in that of the other belligerent. The property may be of any description whatever, provided the appropriation of it be for military or naval purposes.

Requisition of neutral property is justified by military necessity and accordingly the right of angary is a belligerent right, although the claim of the neutral owner to indemnity properly comes under the law of neutrality.

It would be helpful to those of us who have long regarded Black as an authority if you would state rather precisely which of the paragraphs you think governs the case of our seizure of Italian, German, and Danish ships. Or did the passage of the Lease-Lend-Give-Away bill make us *ipso facto* a belligerent? JUNE PURCELL GUILD
Seattle, Wash, April 14

Tribute to Zabel

Dear Sirs: May I ask a few inches of space to salute Mr. Morton Dauwen Zabel's review A Tribute to Milles (issue of March 22)? To find a critical vocabulary, critical standards, and a frame of reference with real meaning was a rare pleasure. This is a period when the inanities of Mr. Jewell and the obscenities of Mr. Craven are accepted as criticism and authority. The few real critics, such as J. J. Sweeney and E. M. Benson, seem to write little or not at all. Could not you, sirs, persuade Mr. Zabel to write regular art criticism for *The Nation*?

JOHN ANTHONY THWAITES
Mexico City, March 31

Welsh Vowels

Dear Sirs: Louis B. Salomon's interesting review of John Cowper Powys's "Owen Glendower" in your issue of January 25 is marred by an unscholarly reference to "bygone Cambrian celebrities without a vowel to their names." Perhaps it is too much to expect that the living daily language of more than a million people of the British Isles should be known to scholars on the other side of the Atlantic when so many scholars nearer to Wales reveal such striking evidence of their ignorance of it and its literature; but one cannot allow such a remark to pass unchallenged for all that. There are no Welsh words or names without vowels: Mr. Salomon's error arises from the fact that

Welsh has its own orthography, which is not that of the English language—hardly a strange phenomenon in view of the fact that Welsh is a much older language and has a written literature going back to the days when English as now spoken was still an unborn tongue. Welsh has more vowels than English: for example, *w* is both a vowel and a consonant; so are *y* and *u*. So that the word *Cwm*, which, to an English-speaking person, is an unpronounceable word of three consonants, is actually a word with a middle vowel. In fact, the English have borrowed this noun to name some of their most beautiful valleys—coombe, as in Coombe Martin. The Welsh *Cwm*, more economical in its spelling, is pronounced pretty much like coombe, which to a Welshman without knowledge of English would be unpronounceable.

Possibly Mr. Powys was in the wrong, too, in not giving an English version of these names, seeing that he has Anglicized the name of Owen Glendower, which in the Welsh is Owain Glyndwr.

D. RAYMOND JENKINS
London, England, March 8

Farmer's Lament

Dear Sirs: Last February 17 dairy farmers went to the polls throughout the New York milkshed and voted 99.5 per cent in favor of amendments to the federal and state orders which will bring us a better hundredweight price for our milk. No one thought these amendments would give us everything we want; yet they are a decided improvement, and nothing prevents the orders from being further amended. But no good will be accomplished for the farmer by the increase in the fluid price classification. Increases in the fluid price classification will react against the consumer—the farmer's market—as it opens the way to instant increases in the retail price. This will certainly cut down consumption.

Fluid-milk consumption would not be as high as it is today if it were not for relief milk and penny glasses of milk provided for children in schools. If we insist on an increase in the fluid classification, many people buying bottled milk will begin purchasing evaporated and powdered milk.

The price set on the fluid classification is a fictitious one, and anyone advocating a raise in this price class is not trying to help the farmer. This is a smoke screen behind which the dealer is helped to the farmer's money.

Farmers are interested only in the

blend price. Regardless of any plan which is put forward, whether it be the Young plan or any other, it is still the blend price that concerns the farmer. The Young plan is nothing more than the quota system, and farmers are not interested in the quota system.

Ways can and must be found to raise the blend price without putting an added burden on consumers.

RUTH E. HILL
Jamesville, N. Y., April 10

CONTRIBUTORS

WILL CHASAN has contributed articles on current politics to *The Nation* and other periodicals.

BENEDETTO CROCE, one of the world's most distinguished philosophers, will soon publish in this country "History as the Story of Liberty," which will contain the article in this issue.

JOACHIM JOESTEN, a German journalist who prophesied the invasion of Denmark in his "Rats in the Larder," has just arrived in this country after an exciting flight from Scandinavia.

LOUIS FISCHER served for many years as *The Nation's* correspondent in Russia and other parts of Europe. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce will shortly publish his autobiography, "Men and Politics," of which the article in this issue is a fragment.

HARVEY S. FORD is the author of "What the Citizen Should Know About the Army."

NYM WALES is the wife of Edgar Snow, who has been a newspaper correspondent in China for many years. She is the author of "Inside Red China."

ROSE M. STEIN, a frequent contributor to *The Nation*, is now doing labor research in Washington.

KARL MENNINGER, well-known psychiatrist, is the author of "The Human Mind" and "Man Against Himself."

CLEMENT GREENBERG contributes critical articles on art and literature to the *Partisan Review*.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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Editor and Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor
ROBERT BENDINER

Washington Editor
I. F. STONE

Literary Editor
MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors

KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART

Dramatic Critic

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager and Director of Circulation

HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager

MARY HOWARD ELLISON

The Shape of Things

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TOLD A RECENT PRESS conference that the American public was insufficiently aware of the danger to this country in the situation abroad. But, he added, it was gradually awakening. We believe that both these statements are true, but we also believe that full awakening may come too late. We appeal, therefore, to the President to talk to the people frankly and directly; to explain to them the perils he sees ahead of us and to state exactly what steps he thinks should be taken to meet them. If, as we strongly suspect, he considers that our main task today is to keep the North Atlantic route open and to maintain the maximum flow of supplies to Britain by whatever means necessary, let him say so. If he believes that this end cannot be secured without convoys, let him put this issue squarely before the public. Between the small percentage of Americans who for one reason or another are completely isolationist and the small percentage who are prepared to go into the war completely, the major body of Americans sways, pulled one way by a strong dread of involvement in the war and the other by an equally strong conviction that we cannot afford to let Britain be conquered. It is the task of democratic leadership not to impose a decision on the people but to help them resolve their doubts and to choose a definite path to follow. We beg the President to assume this task as his most urgent duty; to lay aside all considerations of political consequences and put before the country the full facts of our present situation. We are confident that the people will respond with an unmistakable mandate for action.

★

THE SPANISH PRESS HAS LAUNCHED A NEW series of attacks on Britain, thus indicating the extent to which German successes outweigh London's efforts to appease with trade credits. Pressure is also being directed against Portugal, which is told it must choose between Spain and Britain. Such ominous signs point to the possibility that Hitler's next move, after he has cleaned up the Balkans, may be against the Iberian Peninsula. That is a step which, as W. E. Lucas explains on page 495, he has hitherto hesitated to take because it would make

Germany responsible for feeding Spain, already in the throes of famine, and would provide Britain with an opportunity to occupy the Azores, the Canaries, and the Cape Verde Islands. On the other hand, the conquest of Gibraltar would not only help to bottle up the British fleet in the Mediterranean but would also make possible German control of the whole of Northwest Africa. Two thousand more miles of coast bordering the Atlantic would be available for the use of German sea and air raiders, with corresponding hazards for British ships trading with both South Africa and South America. If Hitler is counting on finishing the war this summer by winning the Battle of the Atlantic, he can hardly fail to take over Spain and Portugal. Even though Portugal is a dictator state, it will scarcely welcome Nazi "protection," for it knows that the end result is likely to be its submergence in an Iberian empire ruled from Madrid—and Berlin. The Spanish government will offer no resistance, for it is in the hands of Hitler's devoted admirers, the Phalangists. They are obviously ready to adopt the Hungarian argument that, since German might cannot be withstood, it is sensible to cooperate with it and gain a scavenger's reward.

★

THE RENEWAL OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN Vichy and Berlin with the view of establishing a basis for "collaboration" is another pointer toward the probability of a German move into Spain. According to reports from Vichy, one of the conditions laid down by the Nazis is freedom to transport troops to the Spanish border through unoccupied France. On the other hand, it is said that the French government adheres to its refusal to allow Germany the use of the French fleet, which would be of immense value in protecting Spain against any countermove by the British navy. However, the pressure being put on Vichy is increasing. The Nazi-controlled Paris press is staging another campaign against the "men of Vichy," and a new attempt is being made to secure the return of Laval as the only man who can be relied upon to place Franco-German relations on a satisfactory basis. It is said that the Nazis do not insist on his reinstatement in all the positions he held before, but Laval himself is reported to be demanding full direction of home and foreign affairs and the title of "chief of the government," now held by Marshal Pétain, who would become a truly decorative "head of the state" with no executive authority. There can be hardly any doubt that Laval, once installed, would give the Nazis anything they asked, but he would probably have to call in the German army to protect him, for he is a stench in the nostrils of the French people, who after ten months' experience are daily growing more belligerently anti-Nazi. Indeed, Laval is already said to be terrified of assassination, a fate which seems to have overtaken Jean Fontenoy, one of his leading aides.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY ANTI-FASCIST refugees are reported to have been shot at Vernet, a concentration camp maintained by the Vichy government, when they took part in a protest against Vichy's decision to extradite some of them to Germany and send others to do forced labor in Africa. At the same time comes a substantial rumor from Vichy itself that a special convention has been negotiated between Vichy and Madrid by which the Republican Spaniards still in France may be turned over to Franco. This is indicated by the fact that forty-five young French men and women who tried to pass through Spain to join the Free French forces were held in Figueras for several months and then sent back to France. The existence of such a convention would also explain why male Spaniards between the ages of seventeen and forty-eight are not permitted to apply for passage to Mexico. It would take a Euripedes to do justice to the tragedy which appears to have been enacted at Vernet; but even a State Department official ought to be capable of understanding that the Pétain regime, in turning over anti-fascists to Hitler and Franco, has sacrificed every claim to being called French or independent or humane. Yet, so far as we know, Henry-Haye is still being recognized in Washington as the ambassador of a country rather than the representative of a prefecture of Berlin.

★

TUCKED AWAY IN THE APPROPRIATIONS BILL for the Department of Justice is a grant of \$100,000 to the FBI, "exclusively to investigate the employees of every department, agency, and independent establishment of the federal government who are members of subversive organizations or advocate the overthrow of the federal government." This provision could hardly be matched for reckless policy, vague definition, and bad English. As the American Civil Liberties Union points out, the Dies committee's frantic and futile attempts to find "reds" in the government is proof that such a sweeping, and expensive, inquiry would have no results except the disruption of morale. The provision would give to the FBI, which has too much power already, virtually the prerogatives of a political police. The vagueness of the wording makes the provision extremely dangerous. The appropriations bill, including this provision, has already passed the House. Inform your Senator that \$100,000 must not be wasted on such an inquisition.

★

THE "UNIVERSITY IN EXILE," WHICH WAS founded by Alvin Johnson in 1933, when the Third Reich was less than a year old, has just been granted a permanent charter by the University of the State of New York. Under the terms of the charter full academic powers are conferred on the New School of Social Research and the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, which is largely staffed by scholars of foreign birth and

training. The event serves to remind us of the quality as well as the numbers of the great immigration which has taken place in the last eight years, not only from Germany but from other countries overrun by fascism. It also points up the fact that the United States is one of the few remaining sections of the world where free minds can function. That is a matter for pride but it also involves a great responsibility. Many Americans have yet to discover that the charter of freedom is never permanent, and in this respect, particularly, the émigrés of European culture have much to teach us, for they know what freedom is worth and what it costs.

★

"Never in Paris did I have such beautiful-fitting corsets," said a distinguished European visitor* the other day in our corset salon.

*She bought Saks own pantie girdle of power net and rayon satin lastex. \$12.50.

*She bought several Dorothy Bickum girdles of reinforced power net, white, tearose. \$18.50 each.

*She bought *five* of our exclusive duplications of a fine French corset in silk chiffon elastic with satin panels. \$59.50 each.

—Ad for Saks-Fifth Avenue

We have it on good authority that many of the distinguished Europeans still stranded in France for lack of money, influence, and visas are finding the German corset very trying; and there are said to be French refugees in New York who cannot even buy a meal, let alone a pantie girdle.

A Bill to Repeal the Wagner Act

THE Vinson bill, which has been approved by the House Naval Affairs Committee, is really a bill to repeal the Wagner Act. Under it, a fine of \$5,000 and a prison sentence of one year could be imposed on "either labor or management" which tried to bargain collectively in plants now open shop. By freezing the status quo in industry it would take from unorganized workers and unions not yet granted recognition the rights conferred on them by the National Labor Relations Act. It would encourage other employers now dealing with unions to break off relations with them, and it would weaken the right to strike by establishing a twenty-five-day "cooling-off" period after a strike vote had been taken. Mediation would be compulsory, and arbitration awards by the Mediation Commission would be enforceable by contempt proceedings.

Voluntary mediation under the present Mediation Commission has been successful from the standpoint of both labor and defense; it has, indeed, been so success-

ful in giving labor a square deal that there is a good deal of undercover grumbling against the commission in big-business circles. But experience with compulsory mediation in the last war, both here and abroad, indicates that attempts at coercion are more effective in causing strikes than in settling them. In Great Britain, during the last war, more than half a million munitions workers engaged in strikes after they had been declared illegal, and in this country the number of strikes rose by 20 per cent after mediation had been made compulsory.

The Vinson bill does not spring from a desire to settle labor disputes peacefully; it is an attempt to deprive labor of the added bargaining power given it in war time by the increased demand for workers. From the standpoint of elementary economic justice and industrial efficiency, the place where curbs should be imposed is on the bargaining power of capital, not of labor. Donald M. Nelson, Director of Purchases for the OPM and Sears, Roebuck executive, declared recently that some defense industries "had been a little greedy." The financial pages of the press offer much evidence to support this opinion. At the same time Labor's Non-Partisan League declares: "A WPA study in fifty-nine cities shows that a manual worker with a family of two small children needs at least \$1,300 to \$1,500 a year for a bare maintenance budget, which would not provide even some of the simplest comforts. Yet two-thirds of the industrial workers earn less than this amount, according to pay-roll reports of employers." The economic argument is buttressed by an even stronger political argument, put with great eloquence by Federal Security Administrator Paul McNutt in his Jefferson-dinner speech before the National Democratic Club in New York. Mr. McNutt replied to hysteria about strikes and demands for the restriction of labor's rights by declaring that we can only save democracy by extending and improving it.

"A coalition of business men, military officials, and Congressmen," the *Wall Street Journal* reported frankly from Washington on April 17, "stirred up anti-strike legislation, pigeonholed the New Deal's federal oil-control bill, waived NLRB compliance as a requirement for defense contracts, and toned down the anti-trust case against the oil industry." Chairman Vinson of the House Naval Affairs Committee has been one of their principal tools. As Hatton Sumners's Judiciary Committee usurped the power of the House Commerce Committee on the wire-tapping bill, so the Naval Affairs Committee has usurped the power of the House Labor Committee on Vinson's bill to repeal the Wagner Act. Though the bill makes crucial changes in labor's rights, it was rushed through the committee after only two days of hearings and after only two witnesses had testified—Secretary Knox and John Green of the shipbuilding workers' union. Knox and Stimson have helped the bill along by their statements, and Knudsen, as in his speech before the

Academy of Political Science, has grown less and less restrained in his condemnation of labor, though he aided and abetted the three months' strike of capital last summer for special amortization privileges and repeal of profit limitations on defense contracts. It may be that Knudsen is speaking out more openly because he feels that the new powers given Harry Hopkins and Leon Henderson in the defense picture are limiting his authority. His function is to exercise his abilities as a production man on the blueprints of defense, not to act as a super-lobbyist for big business. In the former capacity, where his abilities are unquestioned, he could be most helpful. In the latter, he serves only to disaffect labor and undermine morale.

Will Japan Move South?

THE week that has passed since the signing of the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact has brought only conflicting guesses as to its significance in terms of immediate Japanese policy. Some observers are certain that Japan will take advantage of the pact to launch its long-expected drive into the South Seas. Others seem equally confident that Japan has drawn a blank, and that it is in no better position than before to risk war with the United States. Still others look for an intensification of the campaign against China, while F. Tillman Durdin, probably the best-informed of the correspondents now in the Far East, predicts that Japan's first step will be an effort to conclude peace with Chiang Kai-shek.

In view of these conflicting interpretations, the interview with Toshio Shiratori, special adviser to the Japanese Foreign Office, published elsewhere in this issue is worth careful reading. Mr. Shiratori speaks for the extremists who have largely controlled Japanese foreign policy in recent years. He is obviously attempting to make the American people see the logic of Japanese expansionist dreams.

Except for their unusual candor, Mr. Shiratori's remarks follow the pattern of other recent Japanese statements. They represent an effort to appeal to isolationist sentiment by alternating threats with visions of a Greater America which is to coexist with a Greater East Asia and a New Order in Europe. Completely absent, of course, is any intimation of Japan's grave weakness after four years of indecisive war with China. Nor is there any indication of dissent within Japan regarding the course which the extremists have marked out for the island empire. Yet these factors must be weighed, along with the dreams of the militarists, in any effort to anticipate Japan's next step. From a military point of view, Japan's position has been little, if at all, improved by the pact, especially as Soviet assistance to China seems likely to continue. In view of the uncertainties of the European war, Japan

will not dare to remove any considerable number of its troops from Manchuria. Nor has its shaky economic position been bettered. The United States still has it within its power to throttle Japan, militarily and economically, by imposing an iron-clad embargo on the export of oil, steel, and other essential war materials. Politically, the position of the Japanese extremists has been undermined by the free hand recently given to big business in dealing with the economic crisis. The business elements in Japan have always been inclined to be conciliatory toward the United States.

The special Cabinet meeting called to hear Mr. Matsuo's report suggests that despite the belligerent statements from Tokyo the basic decisions regarding Japanese action have not been made. Japan will probably confine its immediate efforts to strengthening its position in Thailand and Indo-China—a task which in any case would have to precede a drive on the main British and Dutch possessions in the South Seas.

The Price of Steel

THE steel industry has suffered two severe shocks in the past two weeks. The first was administered by one of its own leaders, E. T. Weir, chairman of the National Steel Corporation, who while negotiations for a wage increase were proceeding between United States Steel and the SWOC upped the rates of his own non-unionized workers by 10 cents an hour. This was exactly the extra amount which the SWOC was demanding, and after Weir's action any possibility of a compromise on a somewhat lower figure vanished. Not only United States Steel but all the other companies agreed fairly rapidly to pay the same increase. They did so with all the better grace because, with the demand for steel running away from supply, they imagined they would be able to compensate themselves through higher prices.

It was at this point that Leon Henderson, newly appointed Administrator of Prices and Civilian Supply, provided the second shock by issuing an order freezing steel quotations at their present level. The decision has evoked strong protests in the industry, and the Administration is being accused of encouraging wage advances while resisting price-raising, with the result that steel profits are being squeezed out of existence.

Before accepting this sad picture as a complete representation of the facts, it is well to consider the present financial position of the steel industry. Mr. Henderson's action, as he has explained, "should not be interpreted as fixing summarily a steel price ceiling for the duration of the emergency." It is intended, rather, to provide a "cooling-off period" during which a study can be made of steel prices and costs, "including wage increases, the significance of capacity operations, and the differences in

costs among producers." Meanwhile, as Mr. Henderson has pointed out, the fact that basic prices have not been altered since the defense program was launched does not mean that receipts per ton have been the same. Various concessions have disappeared, charges for extras have been increased, and in some cases premiums have been obtained for early deliveries.

The most important fact with regard to steel, however, is that the huge increase in output, which stems directly from the government's defense spending, has drastically cut the costs of steel production, especially in the case of the big integrated companies which control some 80 per cent of the total output. According to the *Wall Street Journal* of February 5, 1941, nine leading concerns averaged \$3.28 per ton profit in 1940 compared with \$1.63 in 1939, in spite of a heavy increase in taxation. Again, United States Steel raised its output from 60.7 per cent of capacity in 1939 to 80.2 per cent in 1940, and its profits rose 150 per cent. The same company has estimated that the new increase in wages will cost it about \$62 million per annum, and since its total profits for 1940 were about \$102 million, it might appear that earnings would be cut sharply. However, U. S. Steel has been operating since the beginning of the current year at almost 100 per cent of capacity, and there is every reason to suppose that this rate will be maintained at least into 1942. As a result fixed charges will be spread over a much larger total tonnage and net earnings will very probably be maintained despite the larger wage bill.

Another point to be taken into consideration is that a part of the additional cost of labor will be offset by savings in taxes. As the invaluable *Wall Street Journal* pointed out on April 17: "Most if not all of the big steel producers are currently earning at a rate putting them well into the excess-profits tax brackets. Of every dollar of earnings in the top brackets 62 cents goes to the tax collector. Thus so long as the wage increases do not cut profits below the excess-profits tax credit, the cost of the advances, so far as the stockholders are concerned, is only about 38 per cent of the amount by which wages are boosted."

Taking such considerations into account, it seems probable that the big steel concerns, which control the whole process from raw material to the finished product, may be able to absorb the increase in wages and still retain handsome profits. But the position of the smaller producers must also be taken into account, since every ton of steel which can be delivered from the furnaces is now required. Such producers have to buy ore and scrap in the open market; they do not enjoy economies obtained from very large-scale operations—for instance, in pig-iron manufacture—and in many cases they are working with older and less efficient plant. It may be that some of these concerns will find their margins of profit wiped out by increased labor and other costs. But a rise in steel

prices sufficient to bring them a reasonable return would mean pure gravy for the big fellows, and would raise the costs of every industry using steel to the detriment of the government and of civilian consumption.

Mr. Henderson must decide, therefore, the best method of keeping the small concerns in production. It would certainly be cheaper for the government to subsidize them than allow a rise in prices, or it might prove advisable for the government to lease their plants for a fixed charge for the duration of the emergency. But the first thing to be done is to ascertain the exact status of costs and profits in the steel industry, and the meaning of Mr. Henderson's freezing order is that the steel companies must open their books and prove their case before their plea for higher prices is given consideration.

The Balkan Scramble

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AS THE German forces push southward through the Greek mountain passes, plowing their dead into the earth as they move, the New Order begins to take shape behind them. Hitler spent his birthday discussing the disposition of the conquered lands, and solemn dispatches from Berlin reported progress in drawing up plans for Balkan "reconstruction." But we need not wait for the final blueprints; Hitler's basic purpose is already clear. The New Order in Eastern Europe is to be calculated chaos.

Pretty soon the map drawn at Versailles will begin to look like the work of disinterested and inspired statesmen rather than of conquerors concerned chiefly to safeguard their own position. The nations that were set up in 1919 on the ruins of old empires were at least roughly adjusted to national aspiration and ethnic realities. Under Hitler's plan each fragmentary group is evidently being prepared for a future of vendetta and guerrilla warfare against its neighbor, with Germany standing by as both agent provocateur and umpire. This system is hardly calculated to provide Hitler with the fruits of peace; but he is doubtless ready to sacrifice a certain percentage of production to the larger necessity of keeping his feudal estates weak and at odds with one another.

The Rumanian War Minister has called upon his helpless country to wipe out the "bitter traces" of its losses in 1940. Concretely this means that the present government is supporting agitation for the return of Rumanian territory turned over to Hungary by Hitler last winter. But Hungary, taking advantage of the general dissolution, plans to demand or take more of Transylvania from Rumania as well as a part of the Banat—claimed by Rumania—from Yugoslavia. The corpse of Yugoslavia obviously offers the best pickings to the Balkan vultures. Bulgaria, having surrendered to Hitler without a fight

and even joined in the attack on northern Greece, has already put in its bid for a slice: Bulgarian troops are now occupying several areas in Macedonia and Thrace. The new state of Croatia, torn out of the side of Yugoslavia, is apparently destined for "independence" under Nazi control. What prizes the triumphant Italian Fascists will win, besides the Albanian lands reconquered by Hitler, no one can yet say. They are laying claim to Dalmatia, "which is Roman and Venetian," and to Montenegro, a tough little principality which can be counted upon to cause trouble to any nation that annexes it. But whatever Mussolini gets will be in the nature of a hand-out, and Hitler will certainly assure himself outlets to the Adriatic before he takes care of his diminished Axis partner. The final slicing-up of Yugoslavia will await the end of the war in Greece. But enough has happened to provide a picture of the New Order in process of organization. France, whose turn may come next, should watch the Balkan scramble with interest.

Meanwhile the Allied retreat in Greece continues. The whole effort of the defending forces is obviously concentrated on making the Nazis pay as high a price as possible—in men and material and time—for every mile gained. And this object is apparently being accomplished; Hitler is not getting his Balkan victory for nothing. But wars are not won by minor defensive successes. Already a possible withdrawal of the British forces is being discussed in the press here and in England. Some experts are convinced that the maximum military advantage of the Greek resistance in Greece will soon have been realized and that the strategic value of a timely evacuation would offset its political ill effects.

I have before me a memorandum prepared for *The Nation* by the eminent military expert, Herbert Rosinski, which arrived too late to be printed in full in this issue. Its timeliness is so apparent that I want to summarize it briefly here. In all his lectures and writings Dr. Rosinski has pointed out the danger of basing optimistic hopes on superficial minor successes. The present situation in Greece, he believes, should have been expected and discounted in advance. At no time was there reason to believe that the Yugoslavs could hold out against the vast superiority, in numbers and equipment, of Hitler's mechanized divisions. While the British and Greek forces, better prepared and supported by Britain's naval power, have a chance of at least maintaining a foothold on the peninsula, he doubts the wisdom of an attempt to do so.

Britain, Dr. Rosinski believes, moved its forces into Greece for compelling political reasons. Today, for equally compelling military reasons, Britain must consider the advisability of taking them out. "However painful it may be," he says, "the arguments for such a move from a purely strategic point of view are almost overwhelming. On the great strategic map of the war this

core of Greece forms an isolated bastion which may indeed serve to hold up the Nazi advance for a while longer but in itself possesses no appreciable value either for defense or for a possible counter-offensive at a later stage. Its flanking position toward a German advance through Asia Minor is in its turn heavily discounted by Italian control of the Dodecanese; while the chances of successful bombing operations against the Rumanian oil wells from its air fields are conceded to be very small. In contrast, the British position in North Africa forms one of the main pillars of the whole Allied strategy, the fall of which would entail the most serious consequences, not only for the Near East, but for the whole conduct of the war. Now that the German drive across Libya has rapidly developed into a serious menace, the reconcentration in North Africa of all forces, including the bulk of the British armored forces at present in Greece, has become a vital military necessity.

"Thus the question of evacuation leads back to the dilemma before which the Allies found themselves placed from the beginning of this campaign: whether for moral reasons to expose themselves to the possibility of a military disaster which might engulf with the best part of their forces the whole of their power of resistance in the Near East, or, by refusing to let themselves be drawn into that trap, to furnish Hitler the opportunity of denouncing their failure to support their allies."

The Nazi drive in North Africa has during the past week bogged down; and when a *Blitzkrieg* loses its *Blitz* it may find difficulty in recovering momentum. If the British move sufficient forces from Greece to Egypt they may succeed in permanently checking the German advance toward the Suez Canal. But by the same act, as Dr. Rosinski points out, they will help Hitler wage the psychological war through which he unceasingly attempts to impose the fiction that all the troubles of the non-belligerent nations arise from their susceptibility to British instigations and their reliance on British promises. Today this idea is rammed home through German war communiqués which praise the heroic resistance of the Greeks while at the same time insinuating that British forces "are nowhere to be seen" or "are already looking around for the nearest port of embarkation."

These maneuvers, in Dr. Rosinski's opinion, are preparations for a new and heavy peace offensive to be launched at the end of the Balkan campaign. With Britain thrown—or frightened—off the Continent and the superiority of German arms finally demonstrated, Hitler will ask, "What possible hope of a come-back can the Allies entertain; what interest, above all, can the American people have in such a hopeless cause?" The fact that this argument is based on a series of military fallacies does not lessen its danger. But it is a danger that Britain must reckon with in making the crucial political and military decisions of the coming days.

Pipe Lines and Profits

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 20

THE hope that the Russo-Japanese pact does not mean Soviet abandonment of China is growing dimmer here, and this would be the psychological moment for the Administration to make Morgenthau and Jesse Jones stop piddling and fiddling over that \$100,000,000 they promised the Chinese last fall. It would also be the psychological moment for an embargo on all oil shipments to Japan. The Chinese need a shot in the arm badly, and their continued resistance is as important to us in the East as Britain's is in the West. *Pravda's* belly-crawling assurances yesterday to Hitler and its scarcely veiled invitation to the Japanese to help themselves to "vulnerable spots" in the East signal serious trouble ahead. I am informed in the Department of Commerce that our oil exports to Japan are still averaging about 400,000 barrels a week, and have been as high as 600,000 barrels. This includes crude oil for Japan's refineries, fuel oil for its navy, low-grade aviation gas, motor fuel for mechanized vehicles, and lubricating oils of all kinds. Since the oil companies are always asking for our intervention in their behalf in Latin America, since we helped them muscle in on the Near East fields after the last war, and since we may have to defend the Dutch East Indies, an embargo ought to apply to shipments from American oil-company properties anywhere—in the Dutch West Indies as well as the Dutch East Indies, on the Persian Gulf as well as the Gulf of Mexico. A government too flabby to keep its oil companies from fueling our enemies is too flabby to fight a successful war.

Rancid is the word for the contrast between the unwillingness of the oil companies to make this contribution to the security of their country and the many favors they continue to ask and receive here in the name of national defense. The State Department is making a fatted calf of Camacho in preparation for the return of our prodigal oil companies to Mexico. We have placed a Rockefeller in charge of promoting our Good Neighbor policy, and he has the help of a Chase National Bank executive in passing on Export-Import Bank loans to Latin America. Chase National, based on Standard Oil millions, is well known for neighborliness in Latin America, particularly in Cuba, where it financed a man named Machado. It and the oil dollar-a-year men could easily prove criticism unjust by exerting their influence to stop oil shipments to Japan. Some of them have been using their influence to obtain some extraordinary letters

in behalf of their companies from Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Stimson, and Mr. Knox. There is no good reason why this influence shouldn't work both ways.

So far the only embargo for which the oil trust's dollar-a-year men have been plugging is an embargo on Thurman Arnold. Thurman Arnold, like Senator O'Mahoney, derives ultimately from the oil state of Wyoming, and the oil companies aren't accustomed to back talk from that area. The Senator is so well house-broken that he didn't even mention the oil monopoly in the final report of his monopoly inquiry, a spectacle to make history gape. Arnold, though unpredictable, has backbone, and he started out last fall to use both the Sherman Act and the Elkins Act against the pipe lines. Control of transportation is as much the heart of the oil monopoly today as it was when Henry Demarest Lloyd wrote "Wealth Versus Commonwealth." The pipe lines are supposed to be common carriers; the oil monopoly has kept them private thoroughfares. The first move made by the oil companies was to obtain a report from the National Defense Commission, prepared by Leon Henderson, hinting that defense would be impaired if Arnold were permitted to demand divorcement of the pipe lines. The report said the companies would not build certain pipe lines badly needed for defense if he went ahead with this part of his anti-trust suit. When I asked where these pipe lines were to be built I was told that was a military secret. I then obtained possession of this military secret for 15 cents by buying a copy of the annual pipe-line number of the *Oil and Gas Journal*, which contained a map showing all existing pipe lines and the two proposed new ones referred to in the report.

One was to be built from Port St. Joe, Florida, to Chattanooga by Pure Oil (Dawes interests) and Gulf (Mellon). The other, from Baton Rouge to Portsmouth, was the competitive answer of Standard of New Jersey and Shell interests, which didn't propose to be put at a disadvantage in the Southeastern marketing area. The promoters of the first line ran into a snag and asked the legislature of Georgia for the right to acquire property by condemnation. The companies obtained a letter from the President saying this was needed for national defense, but on March 19 the legislature, though intensely pro-Roosevelt, refused the request, and the companies are now about to ask Congress for a law giving them the right of eminent domain in Georgia. The Cole committee, which since 1933 has spent about \$500,000 investigating oil without ever doing much about it, was

chosen as the oil-company forum. On January 24 Rear Admiral H. A. Stuart, director of naval petroleum reserves, had written Congressman John M. Coffee of Washington that the proposed pipe line was "a purely private enterprise" for the importation into the Southeast of "imported refined petroleum products, probably from Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, etc. . . . and so far as I am aware would not be of any service to the navy." Admiral Stuart was forced to eat his words. On the witness stand before the Cole committee he was confronted with a letter from Secretary of the Navy Knox declaring that this pipe line was required for defense. Major Clifford V. Morgan, oil expert in the office of the Under Secretary of War, who also failed to see any connection between this pipe line and defense, was similarly confronted with a letter to the contrary from Secretary of War Stimson. The railroads and the brotherhoods claim that with 9,000 tank cars a day idle and a shortage of steel the defense argument really runs the other way. Congressman Lea elicited the information at the Cole committee's hearing that the Baton Rouge-Portsmouth

line alone would require enough steel to build three 35,000-ton battleships.

Curiously enough, this is the moment at which the liberals on the ICC have finally prevailed upon their colleagues to exercise, for the first time, the power given them by Congress thirty-seven years ago to regulate pipe lines. An order has been issued reducing crude-oil pipeline rates to an 8 per cent return (they have been averaging 25 per cent), and another order reduces the rates of two Midwestern gasoline pipe lines to a miserly 20 per cent (they have been averaging 30 per cent). No doubt the companies will use this as an additional argument for softening up the consent decree they are now negotiating behind the scenes with Thurman Arnold. Thus the ICC, like Providence, moves in mysterious ways. The joker is that very few independents can get to the pipe lines anyway. So long as we permit integrated companies to control the flow of oil from the well to the service-station pump, a reduction in the rates they charge themselves for the use of their own pipe lines merely forces them to put less in one pocket and more in another.

Tokyo—Moscow—Berlin

BY ROBERT W. BARNETT

ON March 15, two days after Foreign Minister Matsuoka's departure for Moscow, Berlin, and Rome, I asked and was granted an interview with Toshio Shiratori, special adviser to the Japanese Foreign Office and one of Mr. Matsuoka's principal aides. Mr. Shiratori, formerly Japan's ambassador to Italy, is a strong advocate of Japanese cooperation with the Rome-Berlin Axis and was an influential architect in the construction of Japan's present policies—domestically, the New Structure; internationally, the New Order in Greater East Asia. The orientation for which Mr. Shiratori speaks entails explicit opposition to the vested interests of Anglo-American capitalism, and in the course of an earlier interview, on September 26, 1940, he had made his position on this score clear to the point of bluntness. When I cited Japanese opinion in Shanghai to the effect that a Japanese-American war would be a supreme tragedy, Mr. Shiratori replied, "It may be a tragedy but it is a necessity—an inevitability."

Between my two interviews with Mr. Shiratori much had happened. General Tatekawa had found his efforts to conclude a Japanese-Soviet non-aggression agreement apparently fruitless. The Gaimusho, or Foreign Office, had watched with little satisfaction the reelection of President Roosevelt, acceleration of the American rearmament effort, and the passage of the Lend-Lease bill.

It had observed, too, the unbending resistance to German air attacks offered by the British people and the Royal Air Force, the Italian reverses in North Africa and in Albania, and Bulgaria's adherence to the Axis. Units of the American navy were cruising off the coast of New Zealand when Matsuoka embarked upon a mission of state that was to culminate in the treaty with the Soviet Union. It was clearly a strategic time to check on the gains and losses to date and to inquire about trends for the future.

What, I asked Mr. Shiratori, have been the concrete gains which Japan has already achieved through adherence to the Tripartite Alliance? "It has been stated frequently," Mr. Shiratori began, "that Japan has nothing, Germany everything, to gain from the alliance." This judgment, he conceded, has a large measure of truth if one looks at Europe alone. In Europe Germany's opponents are Great Britain and the United States. Germany has no navy; Japan has. Japan is therefore a potential aid to Germany's war plans. Furthermore, he went on, it is said that in the East Japan cannot be assisted by Germany, indeed, has no need of German support, and one is asked why Japan therefore has not remained alone? Japan has not remained alone because after Great Britain and the United States are shut out of Europe, as is bound to be

the case apparently, these two powers will then be prompted to attack Japan. If Japan stayed aloof now, Germany and Italy would be entitled to let it take care of itself later. Their own hands would in all probability be full, and they would have no desire to assist Japan.

The essence of the Tripartite Alliance, Mr. Shiratori continued, is that the new orders, both in Europe and in Asia, must be bound together and made interdependent. Hence, as Japan fights for the New Order in Greater East Asia it is helped by the war being waged by Germany and Italy against Great Britain and the United States. At one time the war in Europe was merely a European affair, and the prospect was that Hitler would confine his interest and his energies to the Continent. After the downfall of France, indeed, Hitler offered peace to Great Britain on condition that it keep its hands off Europe and restrict itself to maintaining its empire overseas. Had the British Empire been ruled by its people, Mr. Shiratori suggested, and not by an oligarchy, such an arrangement would have been quite acceptable. But Great Britain rejected this offer, making it clear that Germany must continue the struggle against the entire Anglo-Saxon world. Germany is therefore compelled to wage war until it breaks Anglo-Saxon control not only in Europe but throughout the world. The Axis must defeat Great Britain in Asia as well as in Europe.

It was recognition of this prospect, Mr. Shiratori explained, that made Hitler realize the necessity of a pact with Japan. Japan accepted the offer of a pact, he continued, because it felt that if Germany and Italy were genuinely determined to defeat Great Britain, such an objective had a very clear and intimate relation to Japan's own mission in East Asia. The Japanese realize that the New Order in Greater East Asia is incompatible with a Pax Britannica. Japan regards the China war in essence as a war waged against British rule in China.

Mr. Shiratori next turned his attention to the charge that Germany has not afforded Japan much help. The answer, in his view, is simply that Japan has fought China for three and a half years without material help from any source. I interrupted him at this point to draw attention to the fact that the Chinese and many observers in the United States believed that American aid to Japan had helped to support its war effort. Mr. Shiratori insisted that Japan had fought alone "despite the tender mercies of the United States" and had reached the point where help from any quarter was welcome. He reiterated that Germany had actually contributed invaluable assistance by fighting for the New Order in Europe.

I suggested to Mr. Shiratori that were Germany, in the future, to find itself in the military position to which Italy has been reduced in recent months, Japan might, in turn, face a different situation.

"We cannot say which side will win," he replied, "but we know which ought to win—must win—and which to help. That should be enough." In any event, he continued, the pact made no difference; Japan would be in the same position without it if Germany were to suffer reverses. After the last World War Japan, an ally of the democracies, found that its designs were frustrated by obstacles created by the democratic powers. These powers, in recent years, he argued, had continued to pursue the same course, long before the pact was concluded. In the China campaign and elsewhere Japan had encountered American criticism and opposition. Indeed, British and American hostility to Japan during the China war, according to Mr. Shiratori, was solely responsible for Japan's adherence to the Axis.



Toshio Shiratori

"For many months," I remarked, "but especially since September, 1940, it has been a commonplace to declare that Japan and the United States belong to clearly opposed camps. Both Japanese and American observers are inclined to attribute to each other a large measure of bluff in the conduct of these increasingly strained relations. Who, in your opinion, is the real bluffer and wherein lies his pretense?"

Mr. Shiratori laughed at this manner of approaching the question, but began answering me by saying that Japan and the United States have been in different camps ever since the Treaty of Portsmouth. In 1914 it was mere accident that accounted for Japan's support of the Allies. The World War, he said, opened the eyes of both Italy and Japan. Both countries readily admit the gravity of the mistake they made. As to which country was the biggest bluffer, Mr. Shiratori solemnly asserted that so far as Japan was concerned there was no element of bluff in anything it undertook. This, he said, has been amply demonstrated in the China war. The rulers of the United States, he went on, are already deeply involved in Europe and in Asia. To them the issue of war in Europe and Asia is a matter of life or death. Wall Street and America's financial interests feel that the war is their war, and they cannot afford to let Germany and Japan win. As to whether or not Germany and Japan would be able to defeat the United States, Mr. Shiratori would not hazard a guess, but, he added, not every war is bound to produce decided victors. There can be wars in which

all parties are winners or all parties losers. In the last World War all major parties were losers; he expected this one to produce only winners.

Mr. Shiratori said that it was only common sense to view the post-war world as one made up of several autarchies. The American autarchy would have at its disposal the vast natural resources of North and South America. What more, Mr. Shiratori inquired, could it desire? Americans could stay at home, and the masses would greatly benefit from a decision to let Asia alone. The Japanese autarchy would include Greater East Asia. Japan would set its house in order and leave the rest of the world alone. What territories, in exact terms, would be included in Greater East Asia Mr. Shiratori did not make clear, but he maintained that Japan's purpose was not so much economic as humanitarian. Wherever Asiatics were enslaved they must be released. So far as economic resources were concerned, the Asiatics in South-east Asia would be glad to share resources which other parts of the world do not possess, but they do not wish to be under the rule of imperialistic nations.

In addition to the American and Japanese autarchies, Mr. Shiratori informed me, there would be a Soviet autarchy, which would probably include a large part of British India. Turkey's future position he found difficult to foresee, except that the country could not of course remain independent. It might be included in the Soviet group or in the European group. The European autarchy, under German dominance, would include the European and African continents, but even so it would be the one most lacking in material resources.

When I asked Mr. Shiratori if Europe's deficiencies might not contain the seeds of conflict between Japan and Germany, he said such a conflict was now difficult to foresee. It has been a great mistake, he insisted, to attribute to Hitler designs to conquer the world. "I think that the American public has been led to believe in the existence of dangers which in fact are non-existent. That is, they are told to fear the danger of aggression from Europe or from Asia. Europe's concern is only to be left alone. If the United States has a real interest in the fate of England, then the United States should realize that it possesses enough territory to invite all Anglo-Saxon peoples to reside there."

As for Australia, Mr. Shiratori expressed the opinion that since its inhabitants were white Japan had no claim upon it and would be very glad to live at peace with it.

At this point I asked Mr. Shiratori what was the particular purpose at the bottom of Foreign Minister Matsuoka's trip to Europe. He expressed the belief that the mission had no definite object further than to make personal contact with Hitler and Mussolini and to compare notes with them. "Will Matsuoka attempt," I asked, "to conclude an agreement with the Soviet Union in the

course of this journey?" Mr. Shiratori said that this was not impossible. Japan had always attempted to bring about better relations with the Soviet Union. Germany and Russia were at present on good terms. It is possible, he added, that Germany would use its good offices to assist Japan in this object. I asked if a Japanese-Soviet agreement was not, in fact, a prerequisite for a wholly satisfactory implementation of Japan's designs in the south. Mr. Shiratori said that he did not believe that it was. He saw no reason why Japan and the Soviet Union should clash in any event. The Soviet Union, he believed, wished to remain neutral to the end of the current world conflict. Of course, if it found Japan completely helpless it might not remain idle. Therefore Japan wished, in advance, to make agreements with all countries which do not stand in its way. If the United States would remain neutral and speed Japan in its southward march, Japan would be only too glad. I asked Mr. Shiratori bluntly if Japan would regard a Japanese-Soviet agreement as a go-ahead signal for the southward push. Mr. Shiratori said that he could not speak for the Russians, but he saw no reason why the Soviet Union should seek to check Japan in its program of southward expansion. Russia might even hope for the acceleration of that program, he suggested, since this might bring about Japanese-American hostilities. Should this occur, the whole world would be at war, with only the Soviet Union aloof and neutral.

I suggested that Japanese statesmen must surely have made plans for dealing with China in connection with their southward expansion and asked Mr. Shiratori what, at present, were the prospects of bringing to an end the "China incident." He replied quickly that the Japanese regarded the Chinese war as practically finished. The supreme object of Japan's China campaign was already or would soon be attained—that is, the establishment of China's independence from harmful exploitation by imperialistic peoples, especially Great Britain. Mr. Shiratori said that it was amply clear that Sir Victor Sassoon was at the bottom of the China war. So long as Britishers were guilty of sinister manipulations, Japan and China could find no lasting peace. China, he said, would swiftly confiscate foreign properties in Shanghai. His own government, he told me, had already promised the Chinese to abandon Japan's special rights there. This promise, however, would not be made good until other peoples had been forced to give up their privileges. Shanghai, in this regard, has a unique importance. All decent people, said Mr. Shiratori, consider Shanghai a hell on earth—a veritable city of vice. Who made it so? The British. This wicked element must be driven away—at the point of the bayonet if necessary. The operation would be very simple. I asked Mr. Shiratori if the operation would take place before or after the establishment of the New Order in Greater East Asia. He evaded my

question but asserted that the existence of Shanghai would certainly be wholly incompatible with the New Order when it was established. What objectionable activities the Japanese themselves have carried on in China, he said, had been learned from teachers from the West,

who had influenced liberal and capitalist elements within his country. Japan at present feels that it must cure that unfortunate aspect of the situation at home. If the rule of Tenno is really achieved within Japan, Mr. Shiratori concluded, Japan's problems elsewhere will be solved.

Hitler Eyes Portugal

BY W. E. LUCAS

WHATEVER may be happening in the Balkans or in the Libyan Desert, one thing is certain: the Atlantic is the main theater of this war.

Only there can a speedy collapse of Great Britain be forced. Without a quick victory in the Atlantic Germany will have to face a long war and the one peril which it really fears, the steadily growing pressure of sea power and of American material aid to the Allies.

It is in the light of the Battle of the Atlantic that the present campaign in the Balkans and the Axis drive to the Egyptian border must be viewed. The Balkan campaign, if the Germans are successful, will not only threaten British supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean but clear the way for a future advance into the granary of the Ukraine and the oil fields of the Caucasus. These will be necessary steps for Hitler if he is unable to obtain a victory in the Atlantic this summer. The attack on Egypt is directed not only against the Suez Canal but against the whole of the North African coast as far south as Dakar. The further the British can be pushed back from the Tunisian border, the greater the pressure that can be brought to bear on an isolated General Weygand to bend him to the will of Berlin. It can be said that the Nazi advance in Libya is made with a backward glance toward the Atlantic seaboard and that one of its main objects is to strengthen the Axis position on the Western Ocean.

These preliminary moves in the extension of the Battle of the Atlantic automatically bring the Iberian Peninsula into the strategic picture. In this major plan Portugal, jutting far out toward the west, holds obvious prizes for the Germans. It has two fine harbors in Lisbon and Oporto. Madeira and the Azores are stepping-stones to the American continent. The Cape Verde Islands and the Portuguese colonies in Africa pierce the Allied control of the African continent south of the Equator. From the airports of Cintra and Espinho long-range bombers could roam within hailing distance of the Western Hemisphere. From Lagos in the south the skies above the Straits of Gibraltar could be closely patrolled. Against these advantages the physical difficulties of an occupation of Portugal are few. Perhaps less than any other small

European state could this country offer resistance to the advance of Nazi mechanized troops, coming through Spain.

Portugal's independence has been seriously threatened ever since the Nazi legions arrived in the Pyrenees. It was a matter for wonder then that Hitler did not order his armies to roll on into Spain and, fanning out, to occupy Gibraltar and Lisbon. There was nothing at that time to stop them. The neutrality policy adopted by Salazar in October, 1939, could not of itself have prevented his country from becoming the center of a tug-of-war by the contending forces. But it seemed that an independent Portugal had its uses for Hitler. Lisbon was the last remaining outlet from Europe to the world beyond. Through it passed Nazi agents and material for propaganda in South America and the United States. At the Cintra airport great four-engined Lufthansa passenger planes landed daily, together with smaller Italian and Spanish aircraft. They brought in not only men but goods of small bulk and high value. Some of this remained in Portugal; much was carried by Italian planes or ships to South America and gained for the Nazis needed foreign exchange. From Portugal itself raw materials could be acquired in limited quantities and shipped over the Spanish border. Lisbon was one of the few leaks in the British blockade through which, by devious methods, essential fats could be sent into Germany. At the same time the Nazis were making their dispositions for the possible taking over of the country. To these Axis activities the British replied with counter-measures and attempts to win the Portuguese government to a firmer belief in the possibilities of an Allied victory.

In the meantime Salazar was using every means at his disposal to keep the German threat at arm's length and to prevent the economic strangulation of his country by the British blockade. Obviously Portugal's last line of defense is the Pyrenees. Only so long as Nazi troops can be kept on the northern slopes of those mountains can the country maintain its independence. The key to the situation lies in Spain, and it has been to bolster General Franco's resistance to Hitler pressure that Salazar has worked ever since the early months of 1940.

So far this policy of close cooperation with Spain has brought results. Through an agreement with the British the majority of the food that is imported into Spain comes from Portugal and its colonies. The British let it through the blockade, and payment for it is made in sterling against the Anglo-Spanish clearing arrangement. Incidentally this is a profitable business for the Portuguese since it enables them to sell some of their colonial products and at the same time gives them valuable



Dr. Salazar

sterling credits. Another recent commercial treaty with Spain has stimulated trade between the two countries and, together with a pact of mutual assistance, has drawn them into a closer union. But these safeguards will be effective only while food remains the most important factor in the Spanish situation. It is the scarcity of food in

Spain that enables Salazar to exert his decisive influence on the war policy of Franco—against participation.

On the other side of the Portuguese balance sheet are the economic difficulties of the Portuguese state. Salazar has worked for twelve years to build a solid financial and economic foundation for his New State. But the dislocation of world trade resulting from the war has interrupted most of the commerce of the Portuguese colonies, which before 1939 found their biggest market in Central Europe. The friendly agreement between Britain and Portugal has done something to mitigate the situation, but nothing can divert the inexorable forces that are crippling the country at the very beginning of its experiment in "national regeneration."

There is a sharp cleavage of opinion among the people. The great majority by tradition and sympathy are pro-Ally. At the same time, as is only natural in a dictator regime, there are many groups, both within and without the government, which derive their inspiration from the ideologies of the totalitarian states. Most Portuguese are undoubtedly behind Salazar, but there is less widespread support for the regime as a whole. This conflict of thought and feeling within the country has naturally produced strains that lessen the political strength of the state.

When all is said and done, the fate of Portugal must depend upon factors over which Salazar has no control. Its future stand in the war will depend upon the strategic demands of the Axis powers, that is, upon

Hitler's calculation of the profit and loss that would follow an occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. From the example of the Balkan countries it might seem that he would find the swallowing of Spain and Portugal a simple and inexpensive matter. But there exist certain conditions in this part of Europe that must make the Nazis hesitate. In the first place there is the question of food. Already, without German occupation, 20,000,000 Spaniards are on the verge of starvation. Portugal, though almost self-supporting, offers nothing of real consequence in either food or raw materials. Moreover, occupation would immediately bring about the complete blockade of the Peninsula and thus reduce the people to actual starvation. Hitler would then face the alternative of allowing 25,000,000 people to starve or feeding them himself. The latter choice would put a heavy strain upon the German transport facilities and at the same time drain the limited food supplies which Germany has stored for itself and the rest of occupied Europe. Even if these difficulties could be overcome, it is doubtful that Hitler could spare so much fuel for a non-essential military object.

Great Britain's reaction to the occupation of Portugal would certainly be the seizure of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, and possibly Madeira as well. And British possession of these invaluable strategic positions for the Battle of the Atlantic would largely offset the advantages which the seizure of the French ports of Casablanca and Dakar would bring to the Germans.

Apart from these two major considerations the Nazis must question the advisability of increasing by another thousand miles the coast line which they will be forced to defend against British naval attack. The shape of things to come has been glimpsed in the recent raids on the Norwegian coast and the constant landings, small but persistent, on the shores of France. If the British can withstand both the siege and the invasion of their island fortress during this year, by 1942, with a growing parity in the air, the whole of Europe's eastern seaboard will be a battlefield immensely difficult to defend. And in the background looms the shadow of the United States, which is being compelled to push farther afield the frontiers it must defend for its own safety.

These, then, are the questions which Hitler must face before he can make any decision that will affect the independence of Portugal. If he is convinced that occupation is to his advantage he will move into the Iberian Peninsula in spite of the risks involved. His next step depends in large measure upon the success of the present campaigns in the Balkans and in Libya. If these two regions can be cleared up, then it will be possible for him to develop his strategy on the southern Atlantic seaboard by way of the North African coast, without having to disturb the hornets' nest of difficulties that lies along the path through Spain and Portugal.

Eviction by Machinery

BY DALE KRAMER

ALITTLE more than a month and a half ago, on March 1, the date when most leases expire, thousands of American farmers had to leave their homes because the technology of agriculture today made it impossible for them to compete with their neighbors. They had been squeezed out, evicted by the power machine, and many of them left the land for good.

The trend is manifest today in all agricultural areas. What happens is simple. A farmer—say, a small operator in Iowa—owned his property until the insurance company foreclosed on his mortgage in the early thirties. From then on he managed only fairly well, for his equipment was not especially good and his credit was impaired by the foreclosure. His neighbors meanwhile had succeeded in equipping themselves with the new power machinery, which cut their production time almost in half. It is true that one of them had to mortgage his farm in order to purchase the new implements, but at any rate he had them.

In the past few years the neighbors of the man who had to surrender his property to the insurance company have found their farms altogether too small. With little added time and expense each could cultivate another forty to eighty acres, perhaps more. The one who had to mortgage his property to buy the equipment feels that it is absolutely essential that he get additional land to enable him to meet principal and interest. The insurance company is naturally eager to secure the highest rent possible for the foreclosed farm. Having had little paint or repair, the buildings on it are not of great value. But the farmer next door has no use for the buildings, and he offers simply to rent the parcel of land at a price equal to or higher than that paid by the present lessee.

The farmer threatened by this squeeze resists for a year or two, accepting an additional rent load and putting in longer hours. But in the end he bows to the inevitable. He shops around for another farm, but there is none to be had. In the past the evicted farmer purchased a feed-grinder, hay-baler, or equipment of some kind with the proceeds of his closing-out sale, moved to a nearby village, and tried to pick up a living by custom jobs. But the field has long been overcrowded. Demand for farm labor is anything but heavy except for a few weeks in the busy seasons, and even if an opportunity came along the evicted man would hesitate to accept it because his social status would be hurt. Eventually he may be forced to endure the reduction in status, but he will want to hide his shame by migrating to another part

of the country. Another possibility for him is to acquire a subsistence patch somewhere; or he may follow the road to the city and, in time, to the relief rolls.

This process, familiar in farm areas throughout the country, is relatively direct and simple. Perhaps in more cases the fences are merely uprooted after the death or retirement of a farm operator. Yet the result is the same: a section of the agricultural population is displaced. In the South the reduction from small owner or share-cropper to field hand, and from field hand to vagrancy, can happen very quickly.

For some time the sweep of technological advances has worried the men whose job it is to see into the future of agriculture, and, lately, the talk in farm homes has turned more and more to the subject. Now comes the United States Department of Agriculture's survey of the problem (a 224-page report titled "Technology on the Farm"). If it offers no solution, it at least gives a view of the problem as a whole, and makes it possible to measure in some degree the impact of the changes on the whole rural population.

Nowadays the farmer rides to the field on a speedy pneumatic-tired tractor. Where he used to follow afoot a single plow drawn by a team of horses or mules, several plows now follow him. Disking, harrowing, and planting are greatly facilitated not only by improvements in the implements themselves but also by the tractor's greater speed. It is therefore not surprising that the number of tractors in use doubled between 1930 and 1940, and that a further increase is predicted. About 60 per cent of all farms large enough to make practical use of tractors already have them—about 90 per cent of the farms in the wheat and corn belts and the specialized dairy, truck, and orchard areas of the East and Far West.

It is in harvesting machinery that the most recent and startling technological gains have been made. The big combine, cutting and threshing at the same time, which, in the 1920's began to eliminate the great crews that once followed the wheat harvest, was succeeded in 1935 by the "baby" combine, and in 1939 by the "midget." Now the great crews which used to follow the wheat harvest have all disappeared, and along with them that engaging feature of the old Midwestern harvest season—the neighborly threshing ring with its gargantuan dinners.

The invention a few years ago of a mechanical cotton picker, foreshadowing the displacement of hundreds of thousands of small owners, share-croppers, and field hands, perhaps more than anything else called attention

to the farm technological problem. But the picker has not yet been perfected and consequently its impact on human lives has so far not been seriously felt. On the other hand, the mechanical corn-harvester works efficiently, and the rapidity of its adoption during the past year or two has been phenomenal. Corn-husking used to be something of an art, and probably will remain one as long as the annual contests held throughout the Middle West retain their popularity. But a relatively small percentage of next autumn's crop will ring against the tall sideboards of the wagons. Instead, machines which look like giant worms will rumble quickly down the rows behind tractors, sucking the yellow ears from their husks. A good hand picker does well to harvest an acre a day; in the same time the mechanical picker harvests seven or eight acres with ease.

Other factors facilitating production are improvement in plant and animal stocks and headway in the fight on the insects and diseases which beset them. The situation is pointed up ironically by Henry Wallace's role in the development of hybrid corn while, as Secretary of Agriculture, he had to deal with overproduction. Hybrid seed steps up production five to six bushels an acre, or from 15 to 20 per cent. It is now used on 24,000,000 acres, or one-fourth of the total acreage planted to corn, with an estimated increase in yield of 100,000,000 bushels and with probably another 120,000,000 bushels in sight.

Almost all other plants have been improved, though the result has been less dramatic than in the case of corn. The cotton staple has been lengthened, and new types of wheat, oats, sugar beets, and soy beans have been introduced. The average farmer has also become a scientist in animal breeding and care.

The effect of all this on the national farm community can be summarized roughly as follows: (1) The larger, better-equipped, better-financed farmers benefit by the advance of technology ("To him who hath shall it be given"). (2) Poorer farmers migrate to the cities, shift to subsistence patches, or live somehow by odd jobs or by government relief ("and from him who hath not it shall be taken away"). (3) Young men find it increasingly hard to become farm operators.

The first point has already been partially illustrated by the account of the farmer who acquires a few score additional acres but has no intention of expanding further. Conditions favor to an even greater degree what Midwesterners call "corporation farmers"—the plantation owners of the South and the large fruit and vegetable growers of the Far West. The possibilities for the big owner can be judged from the survey's conclusion that in the South about four families are displaced by each tractor. The rate is not so high in other crop areas, or where custom and stiffer resistance by the population make it more difficult to throw fields together. But the opportunity is plain.

Landless farmers may, as the second point indicates, accept odd jobs, but the fact is that on the farms today there are at least 1,500,000 men—more than half of them under thirty-five years of age—either totally unemployed or unable to get work except in the busy seasons. Naturally wages have been forced far down. (Agricultural workers are not covered by wage-and-hour legislation.) Even the medium farmer who heretofore kept a hired hand finds it possible, with power machinery, to handle his work alone except during harvest, and then he can get all the help he wants for a dollar a day, or less.

The surplus of farmers and the shrinking of tillage land are partly responsible for the increased difficulties of the young man who wants to become a farm operator. Technology adds another handicap, as does the increase in capital outlay necessary to begin. In 1900 a young man wishing to start on an average scale needed only \$3,000—the figure does not include land—and most of that he could borrow. The sum required had risen to \$8,000 by 1930, and today he could hardly expect to get along with less than \$15,000 in cash and credit. Since no farm laborer can hope to save anything like this sum out of his wages, only those blessed by inheritance can hope to become operators.

It is true that other than technological factors have contributed to the situation. For one thing, country boys used to find work more readily in the cities than they do now. In 1929, for example, 2,081,000 farm persons migrated to the city and 1,604,000 returned, leaving a net loss to the farm of 477,000. The ratio in 1939 was 1,063,000 to 805,000, or a loss to the farm of only 258,000. This loss would be beneficial still, except that the farm birth rate is high. Each year 400,000 men reach maturity on the land, but only 110,000 die and perhaps an equal number retire. As a result, the farm population in 1940 was 32,245,000 as compared with 30,220,000 in 1929, and by 1950 it will probably have increased by another 2,000,000.

Mechanization itself, the agricultural economists believe, will force from 350,000 to 500,000 farm operators and workers from their occupations during the next decade. The figure seems extremely conservative. The development and widespread use of the mechanical cotton picker, or of some other machine not yet on the horizon, could double or triple the figure. It is therefore conceivable that ten years hence 3,000,000 men will be living on the land with no opportunity to till it, while hundreds of thousands of others will have migrated to city relief rolls, and many more to subsistence patches.

Five days after he took office in 1933, President Roosevelt called a conference of farmers to map agricultural legislation. Three weeks ago the President, Vice-President Wallace, and Secretary of Agriculture Wickard delivered radio addresses commemorating that occasion.

Most of the speakers pointed with pride to the New Deal's achievements. National farm income had been reduced by half during the Hoover Administration. Under the New Deal it was raised from \$5,409,000,000 in 1933 to a probable \$8,500,000,000 in 1940 (the exact figure has not yet been computed). There were other gains: the rehabilitation of thousands of farm families by the Farm Security Administration by means of loans and grants, the refinancing of mortgages by the Federal Land Bank, seed and feed loans to farmers in drought areas, loans to cooperatives, rural electrification, and the disposal of surplus products, to name the major services.

Some 2,000,000 farmers gathered at banquets throughout the land to hear the enthusiastic reports of the speakers, but for all that, dissatisfaction among the agricultural population seems to be increasing. The loss of the farm belt by the New Deal testifies in some degree to that fact. More recently farm organizations have made a strong fight for increased aid. The Senate Agricultural Committee shows an inclination to support them. Recently it unanimously approved the Bankhead bill to increase loans on the five basic crops—cotton, tobacco, corn, wheat, and rice—in an effort to add an additional \$1,000,000,000 to farm income. Advocates of increased aid point out that income is still about \$2,000,000,000 below the 1929 level.

Exactly what steps, if any, the Administration will take is not clear. The writers of the Department of Agriculture's survey freely admit their inability to see a solution to the agricultural problem as long as the economic system is organized the way it is now, though they do suggest such alleviating measures as a conservation works program, the extension of the Farm Security Administration's activities, rural housing projects, and the like. But expenditure of new sums on agriculture, even if the President should desire it—and it appears that he does not—will meet with increasing opposition; only the other day the *New York Times* called for the end of even present benefit payments, and its chief columnist, Arthur Krock, is conducting a campaign against the relatively high corn loans which put a "floor" under the market.

Meanwhile, with surpluses piled up, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration has asked farmers for larger acreage cuts, and is conducting elections among corn and wheat farmers for authority to inaugurate selling quotas. A quota would be allotted to each farmer, whether a cooperator with the AAA or not, should a two-thirds affirmative vote be secured. It is a step repugnant to agricultural officials, and it aims only at maintaining the present income levels, rather than at raising them.

The war may increase agricultural income if Mr. Roosevelt decides to send large supplies of food to England. But the present large stocks are in good part the

result of the loss of foreign markets. Moreover, the desire for friendship with South American countries provides an argument for less competition with their farm products in the small foreign market which remains. Induction of young men into the armed forces may temporarily reduce the surplus of farm labor, but it has been shown that any real shortage only hastens the adoption of labor-saving machines. Thus a prolonged conflict might prevent immediate worsening of the situation, or even provide a slight shot in the arm, but afterward the problem would be accentuated.

The stock answer is, of course: provide the underprivileged of the nation with an adequate diet and the farm problem will solve itself. There is nothing wrong with the answer. The farm and city cooperatives are endeavoring to eliminate the barriers to exchange of farm and manufactured goods, but progress is necessarily slow. The authors of the Department of Agriculture's survey, the heads of its various divisions, lay the blame squarely on industry, declaring that the agricultural problem cannot be solved without drastic reorganization of the industrial system, a conclusion which appears judiciously arrived at from the facts.

Lord Halifax on a Horse

BY CARL SANDBURG

MAN, according to one philosopher, is a forked radish in bifurcated garments. To a child asking what this means we might answer, "Man is a vegetable who walks around, wears pants, and tries to look important." This of course would not cover the case of the British Ambassador, Lord Halifax, riding in a private car with his entourage from Washington to Philadelphia. Then, as though it might help win the war, Lord Halifax gets up on a horse and rides in a fox hunt, and is photographed for the press, and gives out the word that he is fox-hunting in the United States about the same as he fox-hunts in England.

All this is the right and prerogative of His Lordship. But I wish he wouldn't mix up fox-hunting with his talk about fighting the war for democracy and freedom. This Anglican scholar is lean, earnest, serious, even solemn, having an ascetic face. He means well now, just as he meant well when he lifted no finger to avert the four-power Munich Pact of 1938. He is in a class now that believes we can have democracy and fox hunts on horseback while fighting a desperate war with an incalculable adversary. Lord Halifax climbed aboard the hurricane deck of his fox-hunting horse and rode as blandly as though it were not happening over a wide region of Europe and Asia that horse meat has become precious and large populations on meatless days wish

they could have horse steak, horse pot roast, or soup with rich horse stock as the basis. I am not sure at all that Lord Halifax has for a moment contemplated the possibility that before Britain's ordeal is over, the population, as at Vicksburg in 1863, may have slaughtered its last horse for food. I hope and pray this will not happen. Also I hope and pray that the fox-hunting class of Britain will have less and less to say about the future of England.

Some of us are trying to get a national-defense apparatus going in this country. Some of us are taking chances in the hope that national unity may be perfected and the word democracy given deeper and surer meanings in human opportunity and security. It will help a little if the British Ambassador will enjoy horses but keep away from fox hunts, a leisure-class sport that arose out of the need for what Veblen termed "conspicuous waste" and "conspicuous leisure." Lord Lothian, his predecessor, wouldn't have done it. Also Lothian would have ridden in a Pullman compartment, knowing that a private car would not frame him right.

We well understand, in degree, Lord Halifax's reasons for giving no statement as to British war aims. While doing so we wish His Lordship could in return understand that there are American workingmen who ask, "Are we going to war again for the sake of a lot of English fox-hunters?"

I stood the other night at the highlighted big gates of the United States Steel works in Gary. Long lines of men on the night shifts were coming to work. Each had a paper sack in one hand—the snack of food he would eat near daylight to carry him through till past sunrise, when he would go to a house or a furnished room to sleep and prepare for the next night, when again he would become one of the hundreds of silhouettes winding toward the steel-mill gates with a paper sack in his hand. I thought for a moment of how Lord Halifax would have considered it ridiculous for him to ride up to those mill gates and be seen by those steel hands as he sat astraddle the fox-hunting horse near midnight. Yet many of those men had seen the pictures and news stories about him. He is to them just another English lord. He does not know that with the national-defense effort now making, it is important for him to try to understand the night-shift Man with the Paper Sack. He will find that the Man with the Paper Sack likes horses, enjoys pitching horse-shoes, bets on horse races, loves Man o' War, adores the cowboy on a wild broncho, and slants a suspicious cocked eye at any English gentleman in a scarlet coat riding with other gentlemen on a Sunday morning, all on horseback, hell-bent after one little fox born and bred to be hunted. It's not un-American or subversive. It is merely indicative of the fraction of the British embassy which lives in the past and hopes the future will be the same.

In the Wind

A SENATE COMMITTEE recently learned that Standard Oil tankers were delivering oil to Tenerife Island for German and Italian use. Asked about this policy, E. B. Lyman, Standard Oil publicity director, replied: "First of all you must understand that we are an international company and we must keep an international viewpoint. . . . As a general rule we sell to anyone who wants to buy and can pay for it."

THE MAKERS of Absorbine, Jr., the liniment that made a fortune as a nostrum for "athlete's foot," will no longer advertise their product as a complete cure for that ailment. The Federal Trade Commission secured a stipulation to that effect from the company after pointing out that Absorbine, Jr., rarely reaches the infected tissues.

A JEW reading the *Völkischer Beobachter* on a park bench in Berlin had the paper torn from his hands by a Nazi policeman. The Jew was asked why he read a German paper and not a Jewish one. "My own paper," he replied, "tells such gloomy stories about the Jews—thousands penniless and hopeless everywhere—that I like to read Herr Hitler's paper, which tells of rich and powerful international Jewish bankers, great Jewish scientists whose books are burned, and famous Jewish politicians. Their names cannot be mentioned in my paper, and to get news of my people I must read the Nazi papers."

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE was invited by a group of liberals to join them in asking the President to intervene in behalf of the striking Ford workers. In his telegram of acceptance White suggested that the groups go after conservatives instead of appealing only to "left-wingers like myself."

CLEMENT ATTLEE recently proposed to the Executive Committee of the British Labor Party that no Labor M. P.'s be allowed to vote against or criticize government measures. The committee voted down the proposal but passed a resolution that Labor representatives, while allowed to criticize any government measure, may be called to account before party chiefs if they vote against the party's stand.

CLASS ANGLES, from the *Daily Worker* of April 15: "Most of the pap that comes over the radio is a far cry from Bach and Beethoven. In fact, the monopolists who rule the ether waves only sandwich in the classics to draw attention to the rabid warmongering which assails the listeners' eardrums." . . . "President Roosevelt [at the opening of the baseball season in Washington] took time off from hurling the country into war to throw out the first ball."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Defense Problem No. 1

THOSE Southern Governors who went to the White House recently asking for defense contracts for the South somehow succeeded in making themselves seem like salesmen seeking their share. They should not have seemed so. What they put before the President when they came up from the land which he lovingly described as Economic Problem No. 1 was the same South. Now that South is becoming increasingly Defense Problem No. 1 in the democratic defense of a land which must be strong altogether if it is to be as strong as it should be anywhere.

The South is where the people are increasing—particularly the young people, whom the President called the keystone of the arch of defense. Indeed, in the same week in which he called them that in connection with draft-registration day, census figures were announced which showed that there were fewer young people in America than there had been ten years before. Only in the South was there more of the youth essential to defense. The democracy they defend will be behind them there.

Consider it. Their agriculture is declining. Three-fourths of the exports of the cotton from which 60 per cent of the Southern people derive their living has been cut off by the war. The big British buyers have neither the money nor the ships with which to take American tobacco. But there were, according to Milo Perkins, a million more people on the cotton farms of the South at the beginning of this war in Europe than there were when the first World War began. In addition, the decline in the number of tenants—due to more machines and bigger farms—means that in the Southern states at least 200,000 ex-tenant families now lack even that precarious relationship with the land. The greatest labor pool in America waits and hopes for work in the South. Much of it is good labor, strong labor, capable of acquiring any skills. It is ready for any kind of work; minimum wages sound silly in a country where 11,000,000 people are members of families with cash incomes of around \$250 a year.

But defense spending has not stirred the creation of industrial jobs in the South, where so many jobs are needed by people pushed from the crowded land. Not many people outside the South paid much attention to Chester Davis when, as a member of the Defense Ad-

visory Commission, he spoke about it. Davis said that of the total defense contracts let between June 1, 1940, and January 31, 1941, only 7 per cent went to eleven Southern states which in 1937 produced 11 per cent of the total value of the nation's manufactures. More important, perhaps, he said that of orders let between June 13, 1940, and February 15, 1941, 80 per cent had gone to sixty-two companies of interrelated groups of companies. Not many of them were in the South.

The country which produces the country's youth, as the census showed, is caught between the pressures of an agriculture declining in terms of the people it requires and can (or will) feed, and an industry which Mr. Davis declared was not receiving its share of the defense spending. Undoubtedly, the spending as placed may make possible the quickest deliveries. It may put the work into the hands of people who already possess the skills—though training schools are working all night long in the most crowded industrial cities. Generals and admirals and dollar-a-year men may question Mr. Davis's feeling that such concentrated spending creates a "serious bottleneck in the full use of our industrial and human resources." What cannot be doubted is that, between the two pressures in a defended democracy, what the President once called Economic Problem No. 1 is becoming an even more difficult regional problem as defense spending proceeds.

I am a Southerner and perhaps, therefore, prejudiced. I definitely am not trying to make any secret about the fact that as Southerner I am disturbed. But I am not sure that this Southern situation is Southern. It means at the very least the acceleration of the migrant story in the whole country. It means the continuation of poor nutrition, poor schools, poor housing now in the region from which the largest part of the youth of the nation will come later. It might mean now not only an industry concentrated in contracts to big companies but an industry concentrated under the possibility of bomb attack. It means an almost calculated halt to the decentralization of industry south and west. It certainly means the old crowded, stagnant starving which has so long lain at the root of evils which richer regions have so loudly lamented in the South. It is even more certain that pressures which attend the spending of billions for the defense of democracy in the world seem to make even more difficult the hope of decency in democracy in the South.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE YOUNG WRITERS OF AMERICA HISPANA*

BY EDUARDO MALLEA

Eduardo Mallea has succeeded in the difficult task of leading an active life in the journalism of his country without detriment to his growth as a profound proseman and novelist. In the complexity of his labors he resembles the first two contributors to this series—and many another important writer of a continent which, unlike ours, does not appear to sap the energies of its artists. Mallea was born in 1903 in Bahía Blanca, a town hundreds of miles south of Buenos Aires. He has been for years literary editor of the Sunday edition of *La Nación*; and, since its founding in 1931, the chief editorial lieutenant of Victoria Ocampo on *Sur*, the monthly literary journal which in the judgment of many is the finest published in the Western Hemisphere, if not—now that Europe has fallen—in the world.

Mallea's early stories ("La Ciudad Junto al Río Inmóvil") revealed an extraordinary temperament in despair before the vast inchoate world of Argentina; but already this mood creates an aesthetic form from the formlessness of the pampa. "Nocturno Europeo," "Historia de Una Pasión Argentina" indicate the artist's search for a forming principle in Argentinian life. The nationalism of these powerful essays must not be confused with that of the fascists—who did their best to win Mallea; or with the vague universalist nationalism of Walt Whitman. It is sharpened by social inquiry and by insistence upon a disciplined, differentiated vision of the individual. "Fiesta de Noviembre" (1938) is an extraordinary lyrical novel, revolutionary in its implications, in form a densely knit fugue.

Mallea's most recent book is a vast story of Buenos Aires, "La Bahía de Silencio" (1940). It is a sort of "Education sentimentale" that adapts technical innovations of Gide and Proust to the depiction of souls voided of even the refrains of European culture, souls at the dead end of the bourgeois process, desperately, passionately seeking to infuse the vast somnolent South American land with a new heroic spirit. Despite its magnificent prose and its superb character delineation, it is not in my judgment an aesthetic success—and could have been written only by a genius.—W. F.

THE most important and the gravest truth to emerge from a study of the panorama of Hispano-American literature is the lack of harmony within the literature itself. There is no unique Hispano-American mode, no unity of style or thought: diversity clutters the continental scene. A poet of Argentina appears as remote from a poet of Chile across the Andes as might a mind

of Chinese inspiration from a mind formed in Norway. This is not surprising to us who daily experience the divergences, spiritual and sociological, within the nations of the Hispano-American complex; but it is good to begin by stressing this very sharply before a reading public that has got in the habit of throwing all the lands from the Mexican Gulf to the Horn into one confused, agglutinated, undifferentiated lump.

America Hispana, first of all, is rich in differences. It is a body, and the organs of a body differ. It is a continent and a half that has been richer until now in distinctions than in integrations; and the reason is the definite tendency of its peoples to neglect the mutual exchange of common traits. We have ignored one another coldly—deliberately. Our sparse intellectual intercommunication has, until the present, confined itself largely to vague and courteous salutes about the most crudely visible values. What lives beneath these values, the essential ferments, the germination of the cells, we have passed over—with drums beating. Which is to say that we lack in the intellectual elements of our life the abundance and the particularity of data that we must have in order to form, of our artistic voices and of the latent directives in our ethic and aesthetic, the vast symphonic consciousness of our world.

The idea of difference comes not only from diversity, but even more from ignorance and non-knowledge. Nothing is more potentially different from me than an unknown person; yet nothing may be potentially more like me than an unknown person. Our mutual ignorance in America Hispana has been a guilty ignorance: a *privation* of unity and of the will and destiny of unity; a sin against the possibility of greatness in those diverse living integers of our organism which, if they become conscious of the whole, are capable of functioning as a whole.

Therefore it will be clear that it is no simple adventure to classify and discuss the newest talents in countries lost to one another within our global America. Those very values of youth which are richest in potential may be the ones we do not know. Nevertheless, let us try to make some order, in speaking of the youngest writers of America Hispana.

Generally speaking, no art is chemically pure. All great art is a call. All authentic art has within it a message, be

* This is the third of a series of articles on A New World Literature. The fourth and last, by Waldo Frank, will appear in an early issue.

that message a historical movement, a confession, or a prophecy. The great artist is the great witness: the relator, the accuser. If art is disconformity, if the life of artists is the endless history of inadaptability, this seeming negative is fecund because it mothers the will toward perfection. Let us confine ourselves therefore to the routes of some of the most significant messengers of artistic thought in these regions of America; omitting the names of many creators whose work, although objectively excellent, is fortuitous in character. America Hispana has large numbers of isolated poems, novels, tales, whose texture is fine, but whose accidental nature makes them unimportant to the organic action within the panorama, and it is this we wish to reveal. Avoiding both the static and the ecstatic movements of the Hispano American soul, let us try to trace its dynamic movement.

A great new expression of poetry and a vigorous will for self-definition are the fertile currents upon which, like the woman swimmer of Propertius, the young soul of America Hispana is embarked. This fresh humanity sings intensely, and intensely declares unto itself its traits and its high destiny. Moved by the two deep passions of lyricism and intelligence, it does not find itself, does not care to relate itself, in the novel. Its truth means more to it than its fiction. And the novel of America Hispana remains inferior to the poem and the essay.

The great pride of the new America Hispana is its young poets. Their youth is not prematurity. Two Chileans, Pablo Neruda and Vicente Huidobro; three Argentinians, Francisco Luis Bernárdez, Jorge Luis Borges, and Leopoldo Marechal; the Mexicans Xavier Villaurrutia and Bernardo Ortiz de Montellano, are voices as vigorous and as definitive as can be found at the head of any literature today. I name only the chiefs of a vast movement integrated by many excellent minor figures. The Spanish philologist, Amado Alonso, has just published a keen book on the poetry and style of Neruda, in which he extracts the deep and generous substance within the hermetic form of this great poet. Neruda of Chile is very distinct from Bernárdez or Marechal of Argentina; even as the inward life of the Chileans, imprisoned upon their narrow fringe of land between the Andes and the Pacific, is more poignant and desperately nostalgic than that of their neighbors. The Argentine is more solid and joyous by nature. Dweller on a soil which, with Brazil, constitutes the vastest and richest earth of all America Hispana, his song is more measured and more full. (I speak not of quality but of nature.) Yet the two voices—the one of Argentina serene and self-mastered, the one of Chile dolorous and tortured, compose a dense poetic concert which rises and floods the whole south continent from Magelanes to Uruguay and Peru, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Huidobro and Neruda are tragic, nostalgic songs. Bernárdez

is all method, tradition, and geometry. His poem "El Buque" forms by itself a true province of Castilian poetry, a region of limpid airs, grave flora, godly soil, and severe, stripped horizons. In Jorge Luis Borges, the Creole strain achieves virile and poignant breadths. His song is noble, rich in the conquest of essences and forms, a new music of the most lordly colonial tradition and of the very substances of the Creoles. Utterly without emphasis or grandiloquence, it is the natural modern breath of seigniorial recollection. Leopoldo Marechal, like Bernárdez a Catholic and a religious poet, is more sensual, far more luxuriant in form; indeed, his first poems were daring odes inspired by Pan. As to the young Mexican poets, their afflatus appears to me to be more abstract, more poetically pure and less gravid of substance, as if they had been cultivated by culture itself; their anxieties are less Mexican than universal. They are superb translators: witness their fine renderings of T. S. Eliot and of other English poets; and they reach their most original heights perhaps in Villaurrutia and Ortiz de Montellano. An adolescent—scarcely more than a boy—heralds the dawn of a new, more humane poetry in Mexico: Octavio Paz. And among its leaders two Cuban poets must be named: Nicolas Guillén and Ballagas.

The joy and sorrow implicit in the real nature of the song of all these young men is not romantic. These are not mere lyric ecstasies, not the involved intonings of gratuitous and subjective states, as was so often the case—especially in Argentina and Chile—with these poets' immediate predecessors. The new song has the lyricism of an intensely serious preoccupation. It is not the first cry of a new world, not the free joyousness of birth and life; it is the discovery of the image of a mission and a fate. No, the new poetry is no intoxication timeless and unconditioned; it is the burdened, profound thinking of a vigil, the manly moderation of a dawn, the going forth to labor on a new day. It is the art of men who have already taken their destiny in their hands, to master it and to make it prevail.

Nor have we here, in consequence, a poetry after the manner of Walt Whitman. The new Hispano-American poetry is something far closer to its ideal; its future is no mere aspiration. Its future is already *today*—today pregnant. And therefore this song has a certain dominant severity. It is a poetry of the spirit, since it is a poetry of knowledge.

A similar preoccupation informs the new Hispano-American essay. To know and to define one's land and its men and women crowds out all other appetites. The language itself grows more pure, deprives itself, becomes almost white by force of will to be solely the instrument for a new intelligence of our own nature. There is a new man, a new natural creature, ethically and spiritually distinct: there is a new proportion between man and earth, capable of creating the style of an unknown culture.

America Hispana sets soberly to work to know what it is, and to say what it is.

One of the most revealing books of this modality, this new cognitive prose, is "Radiografía de la Pampa" by the Argentine Ezequiel Martínez Estrada. With Borges and Carlos Alberto Erro, Martínez Estrada heads in Argentina the new Hispano-American will of radical interpellation of the land. Four admirable young essayists of Cuba are, in a certain sense, despite their youth, the precursors of the entire movement: Juan Marinello, Jorge Mañach, Félix Lizaso, Jorge Ichaso. They are all continuators of José Martí, and have richly nourished with their discoveries and reflections the essential image of the Hispano-American peoples. (And the influence of the North American Waldo Frank upon all these consciences and intelligences will some day be extensively studied.)

What we have, then, in both the young essay and the young poem of America Hispana is *an inventory of consciousness*: the lucid and sometimes sullen act of a fresh generation which permits itself no rhetorical license, no literary adornments; which makes of its inspiration not a verbal parade but a deed. The essay, more and more, becomes testimony; more and more purifies itself of the romantic; grows less *virtuosic* and more *virtuous*, in the classic sense of this word, which includes also *valor*.

In his historical and spiritual vision, his command of events and lives, the mind of Martínez Estrada impresses me as the most mature among the essayists and critics of our America. (I exclude the more purely imaginative writers.) "Radiografía de la Pampa" is not an optimistic book. It is prolix, destructive, cold, and arid. Knowledge in it becomes a force leading to sterility, so pitilessly does it tear to shreds the body of the nation. It is an X-ray picture; and X-rays lend themselves to diagnosis rather than to love. But the pessimism of this remarkable book is really nothing but a gravity of conscience, a gravity neither ceremonial nor solemn, the gravity of a man who has been invaded by the life-breath of his people, sweeping away the gratuity, the cleverness, even the amenity, that belong only to individual souls with no work to do.

Thus, vastly swelling like a new-born river, a preoccupation that is neither morose nor inhibiting, a preoccupation fluid, swift, and fertile, sweeps in its course the soul of young America Hispana. Having already moved the essay and the poem, it begins, more tardily, to stir the novel. The novel is a culture form of maturity; therefore it has lingered in the subterranean sources of our world, requiring a germinal period far more prolonged than the essay and poem. But already here and there we see geysers of these underground currents; and in the past fifteen years a number of new, isolated, robust works of fiction have come up, all by young men.

Many of them reveal a deep social-revolutionary will.

There is, for instance, "Huasipungo," by Jorge Icaza, young and eminent novelist of Ecuador. The Chaco war has sown novelistic seed; novels of caliber have risen, like "El Infierno Verde" of the Central American, Marín Cañas, and "Sangre de Mestizos." The Venezuelan Uslar Pietri drinks at the epic source of his country's war of independence in "Las Lanzas Coloradas." The life of the boatmen of Peru inspired Ciro Alegría's "La Serpiente de Oro"; and the underworlds of Cuba are subjects of the vigorous short novels of Novas Calvo, and of "Contrabanda" by Enrique Sierpa, also a Cuban. The Mexican Mauricio Magdaleno, the Chilean Rubén Azócar are excellent new novelists; and María Luisa Bombal of Chile is mistress of a tragic and poetic vein which might be compared (there is no question of direct influence) with the brutal, delicious art of William Faulkner. In the young Argentine novel, I shall name only "El Juguete Rabioso" and "Los Siete Locos" of Roberto Arlt, the tales of Borges, and "La Invención de Morel," in which Adolfo Bioy Cesares has made a little fantastic masterpiece in the field of the Stevensonian mystery story.

But consider the storehouse of virgin themes which is America—particularly America Hispana. Europe has exhausted the novelistic matter of every one of its geographic regions; perhaps also of every inward region of its men and women. Our continental world, on the contrary, is an immense state of mind and soul that still awaits its voice. Nevertheless, in power and breed the few novelists we have in America Hispana are not excelled anywhere in the world. A combination of the elemental with technical maturity makes the young novel of the United States—the narrative prose of a Faulkner, a Caldwell, a Hemingway—superior to the work of contemporary Europe. By the same token, there is something unique in the complex of an untouched nature and of an original human tone in the young fiction of America Hispana. A Mariano Azuela (of Mexico), a Jorge Icaza (of Ecuador) are worthy of the best secular literature.

What is needed in this young potent orchestration, today so expertly tuning up its excellent instruments? It must declare itself to be one; it must strike at one time into its authentic, implicit symphony. The notes are indeed beautiful. All that is required is that each shall know its neighbors and attune its sonority with the others so as to render and uphold the totality of voices. What is today anarchic song must impose upon itself a choral order. Pushkin and Dostoevski are a collaborated music; Dryden and Pope are a collaborated music. The essay of Martínez Estrada, the novel of Jorge Icaza are voices which, if modulated to the poems of Neruda and Borges and Bernárdez, will configure into the amazing, already wise will of a new world. There must come to the young inspiration of America Hispana the purpose to forge its future into an unprecedented day, against already twilight worlds.

A New Theory of Revolution

THE MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION. By James Burnham.
The John Day Company. \$2.50.

FOR some years now a theory has been growing, influenced by the increasing similarity of the communist and fascist states, of a new social order that is neither capitalism nor socialism, with a ruling class that is neither capitalist nor proletarian. A number of writers have helped to shape the theory. Among the radicals Max Nomad formulated it in a general way; he called the new rulers "intellectuals." Alfred Bingham made it more specific when he wrote that "the technical and managerial middle classes are slated to be next in the sequence of ruling classes." In my *Nation* articles on Marxism (February, 1940) I emphasized that the transformation of capitalism, so far, was bringing a new totalitarian order with a ruling class composed of "the technical, administrative, and managerial" groups in the new middle class who "perform the job of organizing and directing industry, which was the capitalist's job." Last fall a book appeared in England, "Marxism and Democracy," in which Lucien Laurat, a French Marxist, argued that all nations are moving beyond capitalism to a "controlled economy" with the new class of "bureau technicians" as rulers.

The first effort at a systematic elaboration of the theory, as far as I know, is James Burnham's book. It adds nothing new to the general theory, although he offers some interesting amplifications and confirmations. What Burnham has added, besides the name "managerial revolution," is two specific and related ideas: (1) Socialism is impossible; while capitalism is doomed, a "managerial society" will be its successor. (2) The "managers" who replace capitalists in the organization and direction of production *must* come to power in a totalitarian order that destroys democracy.

Burnham insists that "socialism is not possible of achievement or even of approximation." But "the results of the Russian experiment" he cites as proof simply prove misunderstanding and distortion of socialism. That "workers' committee control" of industry broke down does not mean, as Burnham contends, that socialism is impossible. It means that the Bolshevik idea was primitive and fantastic, for management is a functional job that must be performed by special functional groups; what is wrong in Russia is not that managers manage but that there is no economic or political democracy—including no free labor unions. Burnham, moreover, rules socialism impossible by defining its central feature as an absolute equality of income; any economic set-up, he argues, is not socialism but a system of exploitation "if one group receives a relatively larger share of the economy than another." But that definition fits only what Marx called "the higher stage of communism," of which Lenin wrote in 1917 that "it has never entered the head of any socialist 'to promise' that the higher stage of communism will actually arrive." If socialism means no economic inequality at all, in the sense of differences in functional powers and income, I agree it is impossible. But, millennial conceptions aside, socialism ("the lower stage of communism") never meant more than a new order in which there is an end of capitalist privilege, planning of production for balance and plenty, and greater democracy.

But Burnham argues, and this is his most original idea, that the "managers" can come to power only in a totalitarian society, that this *may* "change into a democratic phase," but that "it would be an error for those who like democracy to be over-optimistic about it." What he does is simple: he projects the final "managerial" result of communism and fascism into all nations and into the future. The totalitarian tendency is converted into an absolute; a possibility becomes inevitable. Burnham is a determinist who makes the "managerial" theory a schematic, logical abstraction. But in society, as in nature, the same elements may combine in different ways to produce different results. Three major institutional elements are transforming capitalism: management, labor unions, and the state. Totalitarianism consists in the state seizing control of management and unions in a new combination of all economic and political power in the state. It is possible, however, for the three elements to combine in a different way: a constitutional set-up in which management, labor unions, and the state get definite but limited rights and powers over production in a democratic balance.

It is clear that we are moving beyond capitalism to a new economy: call it managerial, controlled, socialist. What is decisive is whether it is democratic or not. But for Burnham democracy is simply an ideology that rationalizes capitalist interests and power; the democratic principles of the Declaration of Independence, he says, are as much an ideology as Nazi racial doctrines. That is economic determinism gone mad. It forgets that an ideology may be judged by its social works: compare the works of a bestial racial doctrine with those of the Declaration! Medieval Christianity rationalized the feudal order, but its ideas helped to shape the democratic humanist values of the civilization that came after feudalism; the democratic procedures and values of capitalism go beyond capitalism to any desirable new order.

So Burnham concludes that the British workers are fighting for "democracy, that is, capitalism," and that growing Labor Party influence is meaningless because the unions are "capitalist." The New Deal is a "primitive" communism and fascism; according to Burnham, it must go totalitarian. He is blind to at least the possibility of an alternative development in the encouragingly suggestive upsurge of democracy and labor unionism under the New Deal. Since democracy cannot wage efficient war, says Burnham, a German victory is inevitable, with the emergence of three totalitarian powers: Germany, the United States, Japan. But if Germany is beaten, forces will be set in motion that offer a democratic alternative to totalitarian social change.

For there is an alternative, which Burnham nowhere explores, that allows for democratic "managerial" functional dominance. While there are totalitarian elements in the new middle class, the functional characteristics of its technical, managerial, and professional groups do not equal totalitarianism. Those characteristics include an interest in production, not in ownership and profit; the urge for workmanship evident in our technical-economic marvels and in the new art of industrial design; the scientific rational approach. The dominance of functional groups with such constructive characteristics is compatible with democracy; the characteristics are distorted or frustrated under totalitarianism. Technical-managerial groups are not truly in power in the totalitarian

order but are a subordinate, if privileged, caste under control of "political élites" who want Caesarian adventures; worse off are the professional, educational, and other functional groups who are deprived of freedom. Totalitarianism is not a direct result of managerial dominance, as Burnham argues, but of a misunderstanding of the relation of middle class and workers, including management and labor unions, to a new order that makes social change an expression of mechanical pressures. Understanding and cooperation may bring democratic change.

Burnham insists he offers no program, no moral judgments. But his analyses and conclusions are a program of submission to a totalitarian doom against which man can do nothing. Burnham, formerly a Trotskyite, retains the determinist absolutism that imprisons life in doctrinaire abstractions. The schematic Trotskyite revolution is replaced with an equally schematic "managerial revolution" that tells the totalitarian élites, with "scientific objectivity," that their triumph is inevitable. It is the Olympian defeatism of a doctrinaire radical gone sour.

LEWIS COREY

Essays by MacLeish

THE AMERICAN CAUSE. By Archibald MacLeish, Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$1.

A TIME TO SPEAK: THE SELECTED PROSE OF ARCHIBALD MACLEISH. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.75.

THE smaller of these two collections of MacLeish's essays contains but two pieces. The first is a lyrical appreciation of America which seems slightly extravagant. "Americans . . . were the first self-constituted, self-declared, self-created people in the history of the world." They had the luck to be born "on this continent, where the heat was hotter and the cold was colder, and the sun was brighter and the nights were blacker, and the distances were farther and the faces were nearer, and the rain was more like rain than anywhere else on earth." The second essay, on American Mobilization, is a wholly admirable plea for an affirmative rather than defensive attitude toward the democratic cause, for a "mobilization of a people to defend themselves against attack not by interrupting their life as a people but by fulfilling their life as a people."

The second collection covers the whole range of MacLeish's interests. His preoccupations as poet and artist are represented by several essays in which he defines his conception of the relation of art to life. For him "poetry is not ornament, is not flowers, is not pumping up of language with metaphors . . . is not a paint, an enamel, a veneer. Poetry . . . is revelation, is discovery. Its essence is precision, but precision of the emotions not of the mind. Its quality is to illuminate from within, not from without." The first essay in the larger volume is an eloquent attack upon those "who tell us poetry is 'pure.'" He wants to "bury those with High Standards. (The impotent have High Standards; the beggetters beget.)" There seems to be a shift in emphasis, though not necessarily an inconsistency, between his position in 1934, when he draws a sharp distinction between the man "who serves an art and the man who serves a cause" and criticizes those who "escape into the security of a movement"

from the "lonely and difficult" practice of an art, and the position he takes in the now famous essay on "the Irresponsibles." Here he inveighs against those who "emerged free, pure, and single into the antiseptic air of objectivity."

It is probably too late either to praise the general purpose of this much-debated essay or to criticize incidental details. He is certainly right in his general attack upon the cult of objectivity, impartiality, and neutrality in our liberal culture which helped to bring the democratic cause so close to disaster. But the cause to which he attributes this false idea of impartiality is hardly convincing. He ascribes it to "the division and therefore the destruction of intellectual responsibility. The men of intellectual duty, those who should have been responsible for action, have divided themselves into two castes, two cults, the scholars and the writers. Neither accepts responsibility for the common culture or its defense." The hope of achieving scientific and rational objectivity in the field of social thought has profounder roots than any real or fancied specialization of function among intellectuals. The fact is that the whole structure of modern culture is reared upon the false assumption that such dispassionate objectivity is either possible or desirable.

Perhaps MacLeish's most significant contribution to the thought of our time lies in his stout defense of the democratic cause. To this task he brings not only his gifts as a poet but the not inconsiderable equipment of a social philosopher. He understands the spiritual weapons of fascism and the spiritual weaknesses of our culture which these weapons penetrate. He knows that the defense of democracy cannot be a defense of the status quo if the fight is to be successful. He pays his respect to "the diplomat who tells us that democracy is dead in England, meaning by democracy . . . a chance to make ten millions in the market." He scorns a united front against fascism which includes "the *Chicago Tribune* and Mr. Ickes . . . the people who pay income taxes and the people who don't pay income taxes." All this is sound doctrine, derived from a genuine passion for democracy and understanding of its essence.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Mountain Farm

I BOUGHT A MOUNTAIN. By Thomas Firbank. Guilford, Vermont: The Countryman Press. \$2.75.

WE HAVE recently had plenty of professional writers who have become amateur farmers and succeeded in reaping at least a literary harvest. But here we have a young man who, after a brief experience of urban industry, decided to make a career on the land. He put all his capital into a sheep farm on a Welsh mountain and sweated for seven years until he had learned his job and had every right to call himself a professional farmer. Then, somehow, in the intervals of lambing, dipping, shearing, hay-making, and gathering the flocks he managed to distill his experiences into a book about which there is nothing amateurish. Mr. Firbank's pictures of his grim yet glorious Welsh hills will arouse the nostalgia of any mountain addict. But still better are his accounts of the lives, characters, and conversations of his Welsh neighbors. They are grand, genuine folk, though more than a little suspicious of "foreigners," and it speaks

volumes for the author as a man that despite his totally different background he has been so fully accepted into their community. Mr. Firbank at times grows eloquent about his bucolic life, but he does not gloss over its risks and hardships. Always he writes with gusto and humor, and there is about his book an earthy smell that any reader with a rural upbringing will recognize as the real thing.

KEITH HUTCHISON

From Allah to Ataturk

TURKEY. By Emil Lengyel. Random House. \$3.75.

PERHAPS never since the walls of Vienna resisted Suleiman the Magnificent has general interest been so intensely focused on Turkey as now. The general public is interested in knowing what resistance Turkey may offer to the onslaught of the ruthless heathens, this time coming from the West; the sociologist seeks the causes underlying what seems the miraculously sudden transformation of a religious community into a modern national state.

In spite of its manifold merits Emil Lengyel's work does not give a clear-cut answer to these questions. It is, however, extremely comprehensive, offering an ethnographic survey of the Turks, an analysis of Mohammedanism, and a history of the Ottoman Empire and of the birth throes of the Turkish Republic.

Attempts to modernize Turkey preceded the post-war metamorphosis of an ultra-conservative, religious despotism into a "streamlined" modern country. Midhat Pasha, the originator of the short-lived constitution, bitterly complained: "*Nous envoyons nos jeunes gens à Paris pour être civilisé et ils retournent syphilités.*" Some forty years ago an *Osmanli*, or citizen of the Ottoman Empire, considered it an insult to be called Turk, and even when the so-called revolution of the Young Turks in 1908 provoked, as Lengyel calls it, "the *Turculuc* movement of delirious nationalism," its utopian expectations did not materialize. During World War I a Turkish friend with whom I was walking in Stamboul pointed to two buildings, one of which was the tomb of Sultan Ahmed, the other the Ministry of Public Instruction, and remarked: "These are both tombs: in one a Sultan, in the other education, is buried."

All the more astonishing is the almost unanimous recognition of the value of the reforms with which Ataturk Kemal must be credited. Lengyel gives a vivid description of the energy with which "the Father of the Turks" discarded the fez and the veil, changed the alphabet, organized education, started the breaking up of large estates, set up basic production industries, and substituted a modern judicial system for religious jurisdiction. "Few revolutions," says Mr. Lengyel, "have done away with as many old taboos or have created as many new values." However, Lengyel succeeds no better in explaining this "great miracle of the East" than did Donald Webster or Jarman Leckie or John Parker. Not even Hans Kohn's answer, that Kemal knew "how to give constructive direction to progressive forces," is entirely satisfactory.

No matter how and why the new Turkey was born, there is a more alarming question: How is it going to stand the

test of the new world conflagration? In the maze of this problem Lengyel's work will prove a most useful guide-book. It offers not merely bountiful factual information but an illuminating insight into the Oriental mind. We may disagree with some of the author's statements, for instance, his description of the Turk as an "eternal nomad"—the land-owning Anatolian peasant is no more nomad than his Bulgarian and Hungarian racial brother; we may object to inaccuracies, as for example, the statement that the Turk built nothing, no churches, no public baths, though the author himself has probably used the Budapest Rudasfueroe built by the Turks four hundred years ago; but his book reflects assiduous research and his colorful language matches the subject matter.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Published This Week

UNITED WE STAND! DEFENSE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. By Hanson W. Baldwin. Whittlesey House. \$3.

A GREAT EXPERIMENT. An Autobiography by Viscount Cecil. Oxford. \$3.50.

FRANCE SPEAKING. By Robert de Saint Jean. Dutton. \$2.50.

THE TELEPHONE IN A CHANGING WORLD. By Marion May Diltz. Longmans, Green. \$2.50.

TOUGHEN UP, AMERICA! By Victor G. Heiser, M. D. Whittlesey House. \$2.

A SHORT HISTORY OF PSYCHIATRIC ACHIEVEMENT, WITH A FORECAST FOR THE FUTURE. By Nolan D. C. Lewis, M. D. Norton. \$3.

THE WILD SEVENTIES. By Denis Tilden Lynch. Appleton-Century. \$5.

THE SHADOW OF THE HAWK. By Evelyn Scott. Scribner's. \$2.75.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MANUAL. United States Information Service. 75 cents.

THE WRITINGS OF MARGARET FULLER. Selected and Edited by Mason Wade. Viking. \$5.

SEMANTICS. By Hugh Walpole. Norton. \$2.50.

BATTLE FOR THE WORLD. The Strategy and Diplomacy of the Second World War. Modern Age Books. \$3.

EVERYONE'S CHILDREN, NOBODY'S CHILD. A Judge Looks at Underprivileged Children in the United States. By Justine Wise Polier. Scribner's. \$2.75.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCIENCES. Second Series. Edited by L. L. Woodruff. Yale. \$3.

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IN BRIEF

A CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO PUBLIC HOUSING. By Catherine Bauer. Vassar College. 60 cents.

This is a first-rate presentation of the housing picture, both generally accepted facts and pertinent questions, as it looks to an experienced worker in the field. The illustrations, too, are excellent.

MY COUNTRY 'TIS OF THEE. By Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Eleanor Bowman, and Mary Phelps. The Macmillan Company. \$3.50.

It is hard to see how these three women could have done a better job. In telling the story of the use and abuse of our natural resources they combine broad knowledge and clear thinking with vivid presentation. They aren't afraid to take any bull by the horns, even though he is very much alive and an honorable member of the board of the Metropolitan Opera. Some readers might find this book rather on the primer side. But most people can learn a great deal from it and will have fun doing so.

MEN OF THE MOUNTAINS. By Jesse Stuart. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$2.50.

A collection of twenty-one corking good stories about the reckless mountain boys and girls and their old folks: working, loving, feuding, electioneering, "shouting" at camp meeting. Fresh and breezy, chockful of Kentucky hill-folk's lore and good humor, they are among Mr. Stuart's best creations, and he is at his best in the short story.

FILMS

Iconoclast in Hollywood

Hollywood, April 18

"CITIZEN KANE" has probably had more advance publicity of one kind or another than any other picture yet produced. Practically everybody connected with the production has been reported on the verge of a lawsuit. Some have said that all this uproar was nothing but exceptionally well-handled publicity, while others have sworn that William Randolph Hearst was determined to prevent the picture's release. Finally it was announced that the picture would definitely be released in the near future, and the press assembled at last week's preview in a state of great expectancy.

Many would probably have rejoiced to find producer, director, actor, and part-author Orson Welles's ambitious first effort in Hollywood not an unqualified success: after all, the man had had no previous cinema experience, and if reports were true he had walked into the studio and produced on a very low budget a film which was a masterpiece.

It must be stated here that no amount of advance publicity or ballyhoo could possibly ruin the effect of this remarkable picture. It is probably the most original, exciting, and entertaining picture that has yet been produced in this country, and although it may lack their subtlety it can certainly be placed in the same bracket as the very best pre-war French productions.

The film may not have been inspired by the life of William Randolph Hearst, but the story of Charles Foster Kane, as unfolded in the picture, certainly bears a remarkable resemblance to Hearst's career. The incident concerning the Spanish-American War, the vast collection of useless antiques acquired by Kane, and certain details such as the picnic, with the guests compelled to spend the night under canvas, are familiar parts of the Hearst legend; and the castle of Xanadu, Kane's retreat from the world, with its endless acres and private zoo, is more than reminiscent of San Simeon. If Mr. Hearst decides, as many others undoubtedly will, that the film is only the most thinly disguised version of his life story, he will perhaps be favorably impressed with the sympathy and understanding with which the subject has been treated, and may even be delighted to have provided material for a drama of almost classical proportions.

The film opens with the death of Kane, a very old man, alone in the colossal, ugly monument to his wealth and power—Xanadu. A sort of March of Time dealing with Kane's life is then presented. The producers of this short are dissatisfied, finding it too superficial and impersonal, and are determined to obtain more intimate details of the man's personal history. The remainder of the picture deals with the information on Kane's life and character obtained respectively from his guardian, his chief assistant, a dramatic critic who was once his best friend, his second wife, and his butler. This technique of unfolding the story necessitates five separate flashbacks and creates a certain amount of confusion which is more than compensated for by the powerful effect obtained by the gradual illumination of

character, until with the click of the final switch he is fully revealed—empty, lonely, and unhappy, a victim of his own personal power.

This excellent cinematic material Welles has embellished with brilliant directorial, pictorial, and dramatic touches. He breaks, with the greatest effect, practically every photographic rule in the business, employing very few close-ups, playing whole scenes with the faces of the performers in shadow, using lighting to enhance the dramatic value of the scene rather than the personal appearance of the actor. He is, in fact, one of the first Hollywood directors really to exploit the screen as a medium, and it is interesting to note that in doing this he has used an entire cast with no previous screen experience.

The acting both of Welles and of the rest of the Mercury Theater cast is excellent. Dorothy Comingore as Kane's second wife, whom he forces to sing in opera to gratify his ego, is particularly effective; so is Joseph Cotten as the dramatic critic. Welles himself gives an amazing performance as Kane, equally convincing in youth, middle age, and senility. The photographer, Gregg Toland, has achieved some wonderful effects, particularly the scene in the projection room of the newsreel company.

The picture has made a tremendous impression in Hollywood. Charlie Chaplin is reported to be prepared to back any venture that Welles may have in mind. Perhaps when the uproar has died down it will be discovered that the film is not quite so good as it is considered now, but nevertheless Hollywood will for a long time be in debt to Mr. Welles.

OTHER FILMS

"The Great Lie" is one of those exasperating pictures which a few moments of sensible conversation between the chief characters would bring to a hasty stop, almost before it started. Even Bette Davis is unable to carry off with conviction the part of Maggie, a Southern belle of the modern era. Mary Astor walks away with the histrionic honors as a pianist with style and a sharp tongue, and the picture is really quite lively when she is around.

To criticize "Men of Boys' Town" seems almost churlish when it is a picture of such excellent intentions. A sequel to "Boys' Town," it gives further publicity to Father Flanagan, whose work with juvenile delinquents is well known, and throws in an exposure of the brutal conditions in a reform school highly reminiscent of the unsavory ex-

posures at the recent Whittier School investigations. Nevertheless, it must be said that the creators of this picture have gone a little too far in their employment of sentimental devices. Nothing is spared—the death and burial of a little dog, at least three agonized partings, gobs of human kindness, and a minor miracle. Spencer Tracy as Father Flanagan wears his halo with some skill, and Mickey Rooney makes another contribution to Americana with his performance as the mayor of Boys' Town.

The screen play of "Ziegfeld Girl" appears somewhat dusty with age. Nearly everything that has ever been said before about life behind the footlights and the dangers of the dressing-room is said again with the monotony born of repetition. The impressive array of stars featured in this picture are helpless against the odds, and Lana Turner, Hedy Lamarr, and Judy Garland wander around like lost souls on the gigantic Ziegfeld staircases. James Stewart makes a half-hearted appearance as a truck driver, a number of pretty girls parade in hideous costumes, and the only spark of life is kindled by two brilliant Spanish dancers called Rosario and Antonio. The film should make Ziegfeld turn in his grave.

ANTHONY BOWER

RECORDS

A GERMAN musician I know who in true German fashion cannot discuss a mere performance without tying it up with vast historico-philosophical notions, sometimes with interesting results, sometimes with preposterous ones, made one of his less pretentious and more penetrating—that is to say, less speculative and more factual—observations recently when I spoke of the excellence of Bruno Walter's performances of "Fidelio" and "Don Giovanni." "That," he explained, "is because Walter is a rhetorical nature." And it is true that the difference between Toscanini's performance of Beethoven's "Eroica" with the N. B. C. Symphony (Victor Set 765, \$7) and Walter's with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Columbia Set 449, \$6.50) is the difference between fierce, concentrated intensity and expansive rhetoric. For a while I followed and accepted appreciatively the different shapes in sound, the different effects, which the different personal and musical natures of the two conductors were giving to the work; but at the beginning of the third side Walter's treatment of the passage for solo horn

and then for solo flute caused me to think of a remark ascribed to Toscanini himself a few years ago: "At something beautiful Walter melts. I suffer." Walter's melting over that passage for solo horn and solo flute was the first of the details that I found too expansively rhetorical for my own nature and my own feeling about this work.

After the thin, dry, hard Studio 8H sound of the Toscanini recording the sonority and depth and voluminousness of the Walter recording were even more impressive than they would have been merely after some of Columbia's previous recordings of orchestra. Noting this vast improvement I was aware, after a minute or two, that the sound did not have the beautiful warmth and clean transparency and clarity of definition of Columbia's imported Beecham recordings; and after a while the cleanness and sharpness of the Victor Studio 8H recording were as much a relief after the amorphous voluminousness of the Columbia recording as the cleanness and sharpness of Toscanini's performance itself were after the amorphous voluminousness of Walter's. All this, moreover, was when I played the Walter recording with only a little less than the widest frequency-range of my Scott; and when I reduced the range to what I used for the Toscanini recording—which is what I use for the Columbia Beechams, the Victor Stokowskis, and what one is likely to have on a good machine—the recording lost brilliance on top and became muffled and hollow in the middle; whereas the Toscanini recording retained its balance and clarity even on an eight-tube Lafayette of limited frequency-range, on which the Walter recording sounded muffled throughout.

As for Victor's other orchestral releases, the unfamiliar Mozart Sinfonia Concertante K. App. No. 9 recorded by Stokowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set 760, \$4.50) turns out to be—for my ears, at any rate—one of the duller exercises of Mozart's willing craftsmanship. The beautiful playing of the soloists is recorded with marvelous fidelity; but Stokowski's delicately perfumed phrasing of Mozart is—to my ears, again—as unacceptable as his more violently luxuriant treatment of Bach and Mussorgsky; and from a man who has consistently given us astoundingly beautiful orchestral recording it is a surprise to get the piercingly harsh sound of the violins, the occasional wooden sound of the entire orchestra on these records. A single disc (17731, \$1) offers harsh recording of harsh perform-

ances of Rimsky-Korsakov's "Dubnushka" and Glinka's Overture to "Ruslan and Ludmilla" by Sevitzyky and the Indianapolis Symphony; and on another single (13590, \$1) Sevitzyky conducts the Philadelphia Chamber String Sinfonietta in more sensitive and more agreeably recorded performances of some not too interesting music by Grétry—a Pantomime, and two pieces from the opera "Denys le tyran."

The New Friends of Music concert at which Striedry conducted his own orchestral version of Bach's "Art of Fugue" offered the deeply satisfying experience of magnificent music well performed—so satisfying as to cause the audience to cheer at the end. There were satisfying experiences at some of the other concerts—the old music sung by Tinayre, the performance of the delightful Haydn Symphony No. 67; and on the other hand there was Serkin's mediocre playing in Mozart's Concerto K. 453. This rarely heard work is a masterpiece; the three unfamiliar pieces that Milstein played were a bore—instead of which he might have played the neglected Concerto K. 216, which is delightful; and this was only one of several instances of the tendency I have pointed out occasionally in New Friends program-making. As for the performances, Striedry is evidently a musically and technically accomplished conductor, but also a somewhat tense one who at times—to judge from the wiry sound—imparts his tenseness to the orchestra, instead of creating the relaxed ease that shows itself, in things like silken, luminous string tone. The wiry sound is noticeable also when he pulls the orchestra up short in the way a rider does with a horse, and with a similar result—a breaking of the easy flow in the music and in the playing, which it is the conductor's job to create and maintain.

This flow is something that Beecham—whom some of the thoroughly trained Germans are inclined to dismiss as a mere dilettante—achieves; it is the thing which caused the New York City Symphony to play with fine sonority at his first concert and with almost perfect precision at his second; it is one of the things that make him one of the world's great conductors. And the man who phrased Mozart's Symphony K. 297 so powerfully, who lifted the long opening melody of the slow movement of Haydn's Symphony No. 102 from point to point of increasing tension so excitingly, is one of the world's great musicians.

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Blackmail by Business

Dear Sirs: We can't keep our democracy by creating an anti-labor attitude. An anti-labor attitude is anti-democracy and the surest way to destroy the democracy everyone seems so bent on saving today.

Many harsh words are being spoken about labor in defense industries. Why is so little said about the reasons for these strikes? The press often gives the impression that the whole fault lies with the workmen, and I am sure this is not true. We need honest and full reporting today more than ever, and we don't get it when facts on labor's side of the story are omitted.

A recent Town Hall radio program in New York brought out the fact that in the Allis-Chalmers strike workers were ready to accept the terms of the government board but the management of Allis-Chalmers refused. Because of this refusal on the part of management the strike was continued. Yet nothing of this was told in the news reports on the strike. Is the press carrying on a campaign to influence the public against labor?

The April, 1941, issue of *Economic Notes* quotes from "Economic Power and Political Pressures" released by the Temporary National Economic Committee on March 15, as follows:

Speaking bluntly, the government and the public are "over the barrel" when it comes to dealing with business in time of war or other crisis. Business refuses to work except on terms which it dictates. It controls the natural resources, the liquid assets, the strategic position in the country's economic structure, and its technical equipment and knowledge of processes. The experience of the World War, now apparently being repeated, indicates that business will use this control only if it is "paid properly." In effect, this is blackmail, not too fully disguised.

This shows us plainly enough that industry rather than labor deserves public censure.

RUTH E. HILL

Jamesville, N. Y., April 16

Tom Wintringham Writes

Dear Sirs: The following is an excerpt from a letter from Tom Wintringham, who, as many *Nation* readers know, fought with the Loyalists in Spain and, more recently, helped train the British Home Guard. It gives, I feel, a glimpse

of what is going on in the minds of some Englishmen:

... The main line we are taking is this: that this war is not yet an anti-fascist war but can be made so if anti-fascists will show that they are better at all necessary jobs than the imperialists. Also because the imperialists are losing the war and plenty of people want to win it. Let us know whether there are any signs of a similar line in the United States. Over here we only hear of the Wall Street imperialist line and some plain pacifist isolationism—nothing that sounds like the real democracy we fought for in Spain with the possible exception of this man Reuther and the C. I. O. plan for airplanes. We should be grateful for any stuff on these lines which you could send us.

MILLY BENNETT

Yuba City, Cal., April 15

Workers' Democracy

Dear Sirs: You and your writers seem to have an uneasy conviction that all is not well with the sentiments of the worker, with the feeling for "democracy" of the vast, inarticulate, producing mass of the population. You seem to be trying to convince them that your interests are also their interests, that it would be well for them to fight and die for the concepts that you and your kind hold most dear.

I should think that the very fact that you feel it necessary to convince people that they should defend your concept of democracy is sufficient proof that all is by no means well with the state of that democracy. I will agree that your fears are well founded. The sentiments that I hear expressed among the men I work with would give you much more cause for fear.

The bitter struggle for existence over the past ten years has not convinced us that a future of the same essential difficulty and even despair is at all worth the terrific battle that you seem to feel is needful to maintain it. Those of us who have lost our homes, who have been forced to fight for poor relief, who have been and still are forced to fight for the recognition of our unions, and for the few pennies that keep us alive, do not feel that we can be much worse under any particular system of society. When houses are needed, we shall still have to build them, and we shall have to be fed and clothed while we produce them. Even fascism must feed us, for after all

is said and done, we are indispensable under capitalism, fascism, or communism. We get no more than a living now; no one can give us less, and under our present system no one wants to give us more.

I think therefore that it behooves us to fight for what we know to be our own interest, and to take every opportunity to advance that interest, no matter what the international situation may be. That interest would seem to dictate that we should be prepared to fight to keep fascism, both native and foreign, from dominating our country; it does not mean that we must fight to defend the British Empire. That interest seems to demand that we must beware of all who have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo in these United States and in the world in general.

Harold Laski is probably the only man among you who sees fairly clearly the imperatives of the new order from the workers' point of view. History will be written in blood and fire by those who are able to understand that the common people of every country today demand more than promises. They demand security, decent living, a voice in their own affairs, and at least a prospect of a more generous future, and they don't particularly care whether you would call it democracy or not.

W. L. ROSS, Bricklayer

Whitestone, N. Y., April 17

Puzzled by America

Dear Sirs: Old World professors whom Hitler & Co. dislodged sometimes want to teach *Kultur* to the backward natives of this country. Although I am a teacher, I, like all unprejudiced professors, would rather learn myself. Before all, I would attempt to understand the American background. Yet I confess I am often puzzled at things I read or hear.

I suppose most citizens of the United States are good Americans. This implies respect for valuable traditions which are part of the national inheritance. Not long ago I saw a full-page advertisement reproducing the Gettysburg Address captioned, "What can a man believe in?" Next to it was the picture of a commercial product "you can believe in." Does it not hurt American taste to see one of the finest speeches of mankind so desecrated?

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STRATEGY IN TWO WARS

Is the Blitzkrieg of today a new and revolutionary kind of war, or is it just a projection of the military dreams of the Junker strategists of 1914? How do Hitler's political objectives differ from the Kaiser's? Were not his military aims—Drang nach Osten and the ruin of Britain—an integral part of the schemes of von Schlieffen, Ludendorff, and Wilhelm II? Alfred Vagts, historian and military analyst, discusses 1941 in the perspective of German military history.

OF COCA COLA AND THE LAW

Sixty years ago a pharmacist in Atlanta, Georgia, discovered that by blending the extracts of several herbs he could produce a soft drink with a mild punch. Since then Coca Cola has become the poor man's cocktail and a huge business. Today it is struggling hard to maintain its preeminence at the nation's soda fountains. Jerome Spingarn has gone deeply into the legal, philosophical, and humorous aspects of the case and written an article that is at once a picture of big-business methods and an entertaining piece of Americana.

HOMES FOR AMERICANS

The defense program has caused tens of thousands of American workers to leave home and move to the boom towns of defense. That many of them are living in huts, tents, and trailers everyone knows. But just how bad the housing problem is, and what can and what will be done about it, is still a matter of speculation. Jonathan Daniels, *The Nation's* "native at large" has made a first-hand investigation of living conditions among defense workers. He will present a vivid description of them and discuss the economic and social aspects of the problem.

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Apparently even less reverence is due to live Presidents than to the dead ones. Almost two years ago I saw a cartoon in one of the leading dailies picturing dead American soldiers on a European battlefield. It was captioned "The Price of a Third Term."

I read and hear every day that in order to attain his aims Mr. Roosevelt wants to establish a dictatorship. Do these accusers pretend to say that Stalin, Mussolini, and Hitler were elected by overwhelming majorities? Were the March on Rome and the Reichstag fire equivalents of the free discussion by which the Congress decides questions of foreign policy? Or is this charge perhaps a hint that neither the Congress nor the electorate is competent?

Democracy means, among other things, that all men are born free and equal. There are no dukes and counts, no barons and lords in this country. Why then this fuss in the newspapers about princes and other aristocrats? Some time ago I read a newspaper report of the views of a young American student on foreign policy. Young men may be extremely gifted, but they are often lacking in the knowledge and experience which would make their opinion on foreign policy worth quoting. This particular young man happened to be the son of an American ex-ambassador. But if the sons of ambassadors inherit the abilities of their progenitors, why should this country not have dukes and counts?

Recently people were insisting in the press and in public addresses on being told how many guns, planes, tanks, etc., the United States has. You cannot catch a sparrow with a drum, as the Hungarian proverb has it. Democracy or dictatorship, there is no country which does not keep its armaments as secret as possible. These indiscreet inquirers may be bona fide Americans who dislike the ways and means of the "totalitarian" countries. But if so, why do they use their idiom? Why do journalists and radio commentators call a lightning war a

Blitzkrieg and the air force, if it happens to be German, *Luftwaffe*? Foreign terms are acceptable only if they cannot be translated. And it is absurd to refer to Virginio Gayda as the "mouthpiece" of Il Duce or to the *Völkischer Beobachter* as the semi-official paper of the Führer—as if any paper in Germany or Italy could be anything but a mouthpiece.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

New York, April 4

Summer School in Chile

Dear Sirs: On June 28 a group of students and teachers under the auspices of the Institute of International Education will sail for Chile to attend a four weeks' summer school in Santiago. This trip will offer not only fine courses, opportunities to make friends with Chileans, and skiing excursions in the Andes, but also a chance to observe special festivals celebrating the 400th anniversary of the founding of Santiago.

The Institute of International Education is developing a program to permit groups of North Americans and Latin Americans to visit each other's countries and take special brief courses. Last year fifty-four North Americans attended summer school at the University of San Marcos, in Lima, Peru; the school will be repeated this year. From January to March, 1941, a group of 110 Latin Americans from seven different countries took special courses at the University of North Carolina, and twenty-five Chileans were enrolled in brief courses at Columbia University. It is hoped that next year still more groups will be organized for study in the States and Latin America.

The all-expense tour, including passage on the Chilean Line and the four weeks' stay in Santiago, will amount to only \$400. For those who would like to make a circle tour of South America, sailing from New York on June 6 or from New Orleans on June 13 and visiting the east coast of South America be-

fore commencing courses in Santiago, the price will be about \$200 additional. For further information, write to the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York City.

DOROTHY M. FIELD,

Assistant Secretary,

Latin American Division

New York, April 15

CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT W. BARNETT has just returned from a six months' trip of observation in Central China. He is a member of the research staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations and is the author of a forthcoming book, "Economic Shanghai: Hostage to Politics."

W. E. LUCAS, until recently, was correspondent for the London *Times* in Portugal. Before the war he issued in England a weekly news letter called "Fleet Street Letter."

DALE KRAMER has contributed to *Harper's*, *Survey Graphic*, and other magazines. He is now completing a novel, to be called "The Pitchfork Rebellion," dealing with the farm rising in the early 1930's.

LEWIS COREY is the author of "The Decline of American Capitalism" and "The Crisis of the Middle Class."

REINHOLD NIEBUHR is professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary and author of "The Nature and Destiny of Man."

RUSTEM VAMBERY, Hungarian criminologist and sociologist, has written extensively on Balkan problems.

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Washington Editor
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The Shape of Things

WITH THE CONQUEST OF GREECE HITLER has achieved three objectives. He has ousted Britain from its last toehold on the mainland of Europe, excluding Gibraltar; he has rescued his Italian partner from an extremely embarrassing situation; and he has considerably improved the strategic position of the Axis in relation to the vital British base in Egypt. There are, of course, several major obstacles to be overcome before the Germans can strike at Suez with any assurance of success. Between Greece and Alexandria there is a wide stretch of water where the British navy remains dominant, even though its advanced base in Crete is now exposed to bombing attacks. With only the weakened and dispirited Italian navy available for operations, a frontal assault on Egypt is out of the question. The same weakness militates against the successful invasion of Egypt from Libya. While the British fleet patrols the North African coast, the long line of Axis communications from Tripoli to Sollum remains dangerously exposed. The impetus imparted by the German mechanized reinforcements carried the Axis forces through Libya with amazing speed, but their momentum was lost at the Egyptian frontier. The British forces opposing them are still in a somewhat dangerous position, but General Wavell is now receiving reinforcements from Greece and Ethiopia. He has a strong base at Marsa Matruh, his own lines of communication are short and well secured, and he may find an ally in the fierce heat of the African summer.

✱

IN PROSECUTING ITS CAMPAIGN AGAINST Egypt, therefore, the German High Command must either find a safer means than now exists of reinforcing and supplying the Libyan army or it must find another route. The second alternative implies the capture of the Dardanelles and a march through Turkey and Syria. Obviously conquest of the Balkans has put Germany in a strong position to exert pressure against Ankara. Its armies now press closely on the narrow strip of European Turkey, and its seizure of Lemnos, Samothrace, and other islands gives it bases in threatening proximity to the Straits. More important still, the devastating rush of the

Nazi armies through the Balkans has demonstrated again that even the bravest and best-trained troops stand little chance against an opponent enjoying marked aerial and mechanical superiority. Turkish officials are doing very little talking at present, but the closely controlled press still maintains a bold front, declaring that Turkey will fight rather than make concessions. Perhaps it will, but even so its prospects of standing off the Nazi war machine cannot be regarded very optimistically unless it receives strong support from the only state in a position to offer it—Russia.

✱

THE MOSCOW PRESS, JEERING AT ANGLO-American reactions to the Soviet-Japanese pact, recently asserted that London and Washington had conspired unsuccessfully to draw Russia into war with Germany or Japan. It is no British conspiracy, however, that has brought the Nazis to the threshold of the Straits but German aggressive moves which the Soviet government has unmistakably, if feebly, condemned. Under czar and commissar alike it has always been an axiom of Russian policy to prevent the Straits from falling under the domination of any major power. A German effort to wrest control of that vital link between Europe and Asia, and Russia and the West, would be a direct challenge to the Soviet government. Will that challenge be accepted? Will Russia offer Turkey something stronger than moral support when von Papen lays Hitler's demands before the Ankara government? As to that, no one can prophesy. It may well turn out that Stalin still feels too weak to risk a trial of strength with Germany and will abandon even this position in return for compensation in the Balkans or on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Or Hitler may prefer to postpone a showdown on this question for the time being and attempt to open the way to Suez by gaining control of the western Mediterranean.

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TO OBTAIN THE PARTICIPATION OF SPAIN in an attack on Gibraltar, Berlin has but to give the signal, as Mr. del Vayo points out on another page. But the assistance of Vichy is also required, and it is to secure this that the screws are now being tightened on Marshal Pétain's government. Serious negotiations on the question of "collaboration" are about to be opened between Admiral Darlan and Herr Abetz, and the Nazis no longer pretend that their demands cover only economic relations. *Les Nouveaux Temps*, the chief Nazi-controlled newspaper in Paris, has declared bluntly that France must accept Hitler's proposals since it has no force to resist them. Vichy's only weapon, this paper declares, is the French fleet, use of which against Britain would "hasten the British defeat in the Mediterranean," while against the Axis, French warships "could do nothing decisive." This argument leads to the flat statement that "collaboration must be expanded from the economic to the political

plane to be really productive. It can be accomplished only by Laval." This revealing editorial, coupled with other German diplomatic moves, suggests that Hitler's purpose may be to close the western end of the Mediterranean by an attack on Gibraltar as soon as he obtains the use of the French fleet. That, together with the remains of the Italian navy, might enable him to control the narrow waters between Italy and Libya and thus provide effective reinforcements for the army attacking Egypt. If, at the same time, he could force Vichy to allow him the use of Syria as an air base, he would be able to threaten the Mosul oil field as well as the British flank in Palestine. By this means Turkey could be by-passed, and the risks of a clash with Russia over the Dardanelles avoided.

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JAPAN'S SPRING OFFENSIVE HAS BEEN directed at the "forgotten" coast line of China. The important city of Foochow has been captured, and substantial gains have been made in the province of Chekiang, just south of Shanghai, where the Japanese had been held at bay since the latter part of 1937. These victories, however, have little military significance since this coastal area has long been under Japanese blockade. While large quantities of supplies have passed through the blockade after the payment of "squeeze" to the Japanese naval commanders, it is not to be supposed that this remunerative practice will be discontinued as a result of the recent conquests. The offensive is more likely to represent an effort on the part of the army to gain a share in the graft. It will, however, aggravate the supply situation in free China, and it might have further undermined the Chinese dollar had not the United States Treasury finally released the \$50,000,000 promised last year for the stabilization of Chinese currency. Militarily the Chinese remain strong, but they are in desperate need of supplies. There have been rumors that the United States was soon to aid China in a big way. But the time for words has passed. China must have food, medical supplies, guns, airplanes, and transport equipment, and have them soon, if it is to hold out against the invader.

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A ROSY PICTURE OF THE EFFECT A NAZI victory would have on American trade and world prosperity is painted by John Cudahy in an article released last week by the North American Newspaper Alliance. The dispatch obviously reported what the Nazis want Americans to believe. Mr. Cudahy's informants adopt the orthodox economic doctrine of triangular trade to allay American fears of a German victory. It is admitted that the Nazis will conduct a vigorous drive to expand their trade in South America after the war, but their purchases of South American copper, hides, cotton, meat, and wool will, it is argued, greatly increase the

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purchasing power of that section of the world and thus enable it to buy more manufactured goods from the United States. Abandoning, for tactical purposes, the theory of rigid bilateral arrangements which has formed the basis of Nazi trade from the start, the officials with whom Mr. Cudahy talked insisted that "trade will be free, but not with unbridled freedom." In reply to Cudahy's article, Professor O. M. W. Sprague, of Harvard, has pointed out very aptly that trade apart from politics simply does not exist for the Nazis, and that their trade arrangements with foreign countries would be for the exclusive advantage of the German war machine. He might also have pointed to the record of European countries recently conquered by Germany. In each case the pattern of conquest has been as follows: (1) inspired statements regarding the benefits of cooperation with the "new Germany"; (2) a trade agreement; (3) invasion.

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THE COAL STRIKE HAS BEEN SETTLED, BUT not before industrial stocks had run dangerously low and operations of many steel mills had been curtailed at a time when every ton of steel counts. Responsibility for the way the dispute has dragged on rests squarely on the shoulders of the Southern operators, who broke away from the Appalachian conference in order to fight for the maintenance of a 40-cent-a-day differential between Northern and Southern wage rates. Now they have accepted President Roosevelt's proposal to reopen the mines while negotiations go forward, with the terms finally agreed upon applying retroactively. This is exactly the offer made by the union again and again and indorsed by the Mediation Commission. Indeed, it parallels the first proposal put forward by the union and rejected by the operators when negotiations for a new contract began in March. In view of these facts there can be no doubt which side precipitated and prolonged this dangerous dispute.

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BARELY TWO MONTHS AGO GANO DUNN, engineering consultant to the Office of Production Management, turned in a report to the President estimating steel consumption in 1942 at 89,000,000 tons. The industry, he declared, would be in a position to deliver this quantity from existing plants and extensions due to be completed this year. Other forecasts placing next year's consumption at a much higher figure had been frowned on by the industry, which was reluctant to undertake a really large-scale expansion program. However, it seems likely that both the steel magnates and Mr. Dunn are about to eat crow, for Washington reports that the latter is now revising his estimate for 1942 consumption and is expected to raise it to 100,000,000 tons or more. As this figure far exceeds Mr. Dunn's own estimate of rated steel capacity next year, severe restrictions in non-defense uses of steel seem probable. Nevertheless, a proposal by

Henry J. Kaiser, one of the most energetic industrialists in the country, to build on the West Coast a completely integrated steel plant with an annual output of 1,250,000 tons of steel ingots has been received unenthusiastically in the industry. Mr. Kaiser is the contractor who built Boulder Dam and is building Grand Coulee. He won the Shasta Dam cement contract with a low bid and erected a huge plant which has served to bring down cement prices on the Coast. More recently he has entered the magnesium and shipbuilding industries. On his record there is good reason to suppose that his plans for a steel plant in a growing industrial area are sound. However, we learn from the *Wall Street Journal* that although pressure is being put on Mr. Knudsen to clear this project, "OPM business men are trying to stall action for a month awaiting return of a steel expert they sent to the West Coast."

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WE HOPE THAT JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., will not be content merely to announce his opposition to Hitlerism. We welcome his vigorous letter to Arthur Hays Sulzberger advocating the use of convoys, but we have a right to expect more than an expression of opinion from a figure so powerful in American industry and finance. If Rockefeller wants to help the fight against the "brutal, barbarous, inhuman force represented by Hitlerism," he can use his great influence in the oil business to shut off any further shipments of oil to Hitler's ally and our enemy in the Pacific, Japan. He can investigate the extent of recently reported transshipments of oil from this hemisphere to the Axis via Teneriffe in the Canary Islands. He can help win for us the friendship of the Latin American peoples by making it clear that the oil companies in which he is a dominant influence and the Chase National Bank, which is a Rockefeller bank, will give up the practices and privileges that have associated the good name of the American people with Yankee imperialism. And if he really believes, as he says, that the number of strikes should be cut down in the interest of defense, he can induce his own companies to obey the Wagner Act and deal with organized labor. Rockefeller says he would "die fighting" rather than submit to Hitlerism. We offer him some less dramatic but more effective sacrifices. Is he prepared to make them?

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THE NATION BELIEVES THAT THE FACTS disclosed by its Washington editor in his letter this week, "Why Knudsen Should Go," call for investigation by the Truman committee. Sloan, Ford, Knudsen, and other leading figures in the automobile industry and the OPM ought to be required to take the witness stand and explain why they have not mobilized Detroit's resources in an "all-out" effort for defense, why they have subordinated national needs to profit opportunities. We

believe that those conservatives who stress the need for all-out aid to Britain and the defense program should join us in asking for an inquiry. "It Must Be All or Nothing" was the caption of a recent New York *Herald Tribune* editorial on defense. Alsop and Kintner write, "The result may be tragedy if the all-out American effort is put off much longer." Mark Sullivan says that the maintenance of British resistance depends on our ability to speed plane production. We do not doubt their sincerity, but we wonder whether their desire for full mobilization of our industrial resources is sturdy enough to permit them to step on the toes of the automobile industry and Knudsen. We are putting the question to them directly, along with copies of I. F. Stone's article, and we await their answer.

Croaking Chorus

LET the men and women of London and Plymouth Land and Canterbury bow down and admit defeat; Colonel Lindbergh has had enough. Let the British soldiers who endured the agony of Thermopylae go home and raise the white flag over Westminster; Captain Patterson has raised it over the New York *Daily News*. Let the good citizens of Prague, Warsaw, and Paris; of Oslo, Copenhagen, and Brussels; of Madrid, Vienna, and Amsterdam; of Budapest, Belgrade, and Peiping—let them all resign themselves to slavery and degradation; Dr. Morley and Senator Wheeler are weary and have abandoned hope. Let all Americans who think they can resist the Wave of the Future come to their senses; let them allow hell to break loose if it chooses. One can always make deals with the devil.

So fades the morale of the American people, if we are to judge by those who in the week of Greece's tragedy presumed to speak in their name. "It is now obvious," said Colonel Lindbergh, "that England is losing the war . . . and I have been forced to the conclusion that we cannot win this war for England, regardless of how much assistance we send." Four-fifths of the people, the Colonel announced, share his belief, but they have been cried down by a minority that controls the press, the newsreels, and the radio (over which the Colonel spoke). The New York *Daily News*, which Colonel Lindbergh forgot about, though it has the largest circulation of any paper in the country, published a "Last Call" to Britons and Americans—to make peace with Adolf Hitler now, when they conceivably could get terms that would "leave Hitler first power in Europe, Stalin and Japan sharing control of most of Asia, the United States supreme in the Western Hemisphere, and Great Britain holding most or all of its present empire." And the *Wall Street Journal*, likewise taking up the cudgels for Colonel Lindbergh's underprivileged majority, threw open its col-

umns to a "realistic" plea by Dr. Felix Morley, president of Haverford College, that we accept "the fact of German supremacy on the Continent of Europe" and work for a negotiated peace.

It is only natural that every setback for the English should bring the defeatists out in full cry, but anti-interventionists who are not at the same time pro-Nazi have cause to be dismayed; because every reverse that England suffers brings this country nearer to the brink of war. Lindbergh is completely wrong in assuming that the loss of the Balkan campaign has bred a mood of surrender in this country—and he was patently dishonest when he said that "if we are forced into a war, against the wishes of an overwhelming majority of our people, we will have proved democracy such a failure at home that there will be little use fighting for it abroad." His statistics are as accurate as the Gallup poll, which did in fact show that 83 per cent of the country would at this moment vote against a declaration of war. But what he failed to state and what gives the lie to his stuffy pretension of wanting only to "clarify the issues" is the result of another survey by the same Dr. Gallup. The question was: "Which of these two things do you think is the more important for the United States to do—to keep out of war ourselves, or to help England win, even at the risk of getting into the war?" The results were 67 per cent in favor of taking the risks which Lindbergh considers certain to involve us, 33 per cent in favor of keeping out at all costs. These figures may reveal confusion in the public mind, but they show also that a great and growing majority *are* willing to risk war. If the consequence of that risk is our participation, it will still have been their decision and not the maneuvering of a conspirative minority, as the Lindberghs and Wheelers ominously pretend.

Confirming the Gallup figures, the response of the country to the barnstorming of key isolationists has not been impressive. The crowd of 10,000 which Lindbergh drew in New York is insignificant in a city of seven million. Even Communist Party mass-meetings draw 20,000 as a rule. When due allowance is made for the Bundists, the McWilliams gang, and other organized fascist bodies that were instructed to attend the affair en masse, the Lindbergh rally is reduced to extremely unimpressive proportions. According to *Time*, the same thing has been true in the Middle West. In Chicago, capital of the isolation belt, the Colonel recently drew a crowd of 10,000, while 75,000 flocked to Soldier Field to hear General Sikorsky, premier of the Polish government in exile, plead for aid to Britain. And Senator Wheeler's largest audience in his swing through the West was the 4,000 that turned out to hear him at Denver.

The attitude of the people of this country toward the regime of Adolf Hitler and toward the war has been slow in maturing. It is compounded of the horror with

which they watched the successive defeats of all those countries that hoped to let another nation fight their battles while they remained "neutral"; of appreciation for Hitler's surpassing ability to divide his enemies and handle them in turn, each in his own good time; of the sure knowledge that if England goes down, not only will its Quislings and Laval be our enemies but also the plain people of Britain, who will rightly feel themselves betrayed by an America that was ready to fight to the last Englishman; and of the even surer knowledge that unless we help Britain now our turn will come to face alone a world-dominating Germany. These are the ingredients of American "interventionism," and they make a compound too powerful to be dissolved by the sound-waves of a croaking chorus.

The Tax Proposals

AFTER many weeks of delay the House Ways and Means Committee has got down to the all-important job of determining how defense and aid to Britain are to be financed. The lines of battle in what may prove the bitterest conflict in this session of Congress are being drawn. But in contrast to the struggle over the Lease-Lend bill and the coming struggle over convoys, the chances are that the fight will not take place primarily on the floor of Congress. The issues are technical and complex, and if we are to judge by past experience, the most important decisions will be made in committee and in the final Senate-House conference.

The basic issue is who is to pay the major share of the cost of the defense program. Republicans and conservative Democrats are determined to place as much of the burden as possible on the low-income groups. To this end they are working for a manufacturers' sales tax, a tax on wages, and a substantial reduction in the income-tax exemption. It is encouraging to note that neither the Treasury proposals nor those advanced by the Joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue incorporate any of these suggestions. But this does not mean that an effort, and probably a very determined effort, will not be made to incorporate one or more of them in the final tax bill. The barrage of opposition to the Treasury plan from the press and from supposedly impartial radio commentators suggests a campaign comparable to that carried on for restrictive legislation against strikes.

Although the Treasury plan does not go as far in the direction of a pay-as-you-go policy as we should like, the proposal to collect \$3,600,000,000 in additional taxes is audacious enough to awaken the public to the gravity of the situation. From the standpoint of practical politics, this may be all that can be hoped for this year. We should be on guard against efforts to whittle it down. The opponents to the Treasury plan center their fire on

the proposed 11 per cent surtax on all taxable income above the personal exemptions and deductions. Admittedly the new rates are pretty stiff, although they would seem an easy load to Britons in the equivalent tax brackets. The increases would particularly affect families with incomes between \$2,500—or \$3,000, depending on the size of the family—and \$25,000. Above this level the increase is not so great as that proposed by the Joint Congressional Committee.

At first sight it may seem unfair to make one section of the population bear such a heavy share of the burden. But it must be remembered that it is not the poor or even the lower middle class that would make the sacrifice. Only the upper 15 per cent of the population would be affected, and most of them to a relatively slight extent. No family of five is going to face malnutrition or suffer a serious decrease in its standard of living for taxes paid on that proportion of its income above \$3,200. The same could not be said of levies which fall—as sales taxes or wage taxes would—on families with incomes of less than \$1,500. For years the American tax system, as compared with that of any other country in the world, has undertaxed the middle brackets. The shock that the Treasury proposals have administered to these groups is a measure of their past good fortune.

There is no good reason why the higher surtax rates on incomes between \$25,000 and \$100,000 proposed by the Joint Congressional Committee should not also be adopted. But the program as a whole is not as satisfactory as that drafted by the Treasury. Its chief weakness is that it falls \$400,000,000 short of the Treasury's plan in its levy on incomes. While part of this would be made up by increased excess-profits levies—to which no exception can be taken—the remainder would be obtained by new or increased luxury and consumption taxes. Some increase in these taxes may be justified as a means of curtailing consumer expenditures that divert materials from the defense effort. But if the taxes are high enough to curtail consumer purchases, they cannot be expected to yield much additional revenue. The levies proposed by the Treasury on such items as candy, chewing gum, tobacco, matches, passenger transportation, telephones, ten-cent admissions, and soft drinks are essentially regressive taxes. They would fall much more heavily, proportionately, upon the lower-income groups than upon the well-to-do. The Treasury would depend on these taxes for more than a quarter of the new revenue. To this the Joint Congressional Committee would add levies on such necessities as tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, electric-light bulbs, and natural gas. *The Nation* is glad that Secretary Morgenthau has entered a strong protest against these proposals to tax "the poor man's table." We shall only weaken our defense effort if we attempt to finance it by undermining standards of living already too low for safety.

War Is Not the Issue

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

TODAY we know how the majority of the American people feel about the war. We need no polls to tell us, though the polls have clearly registered the facts to which we all can testify. Even Lindbergh must know it, however unscrupulously he may juggle the returns to support his counsel of defeat. As a people we are committed, irrevocably and without qualification, to the struggle against Nazi-Fascist domination of the world. To this struggle we have pledged our full support, even at the risk of war. Our stupendous program of arming ourselves and the nations directly engaged in the war has been fully indorsed by the Congress and the people. There will be no turning back. In the face of this determination the noisy protests of the isolationists are essentially insignificant. Perhaps their chief importance is as testimonials to the strength and integrity of American democratic principles.

But they do have a secondary importance, a nuisance value which cannot be ignored in an hour when swift decision and action must control our national policy. Not only Lindbergh, who has already accommodated himself to defeat, but the isolationist press and the entire high command of the America First committee have centered their fire on the one vulnerable point in the Administration's political defenses. They proclaim unceasingly that every new step taken in support of our avowed policy is certain to involve us in war and should therefore be repudiated by the people. The time has come when we can no longer allow this tactic to hamper our efforts and confuse our counsels. Today we must insist that war is not the primary issue; the defeat of Hitler is the issue. If we can encompass his defeat without fighting, we shall be fortunate. No nation, not even Germany, fights for the fun of it. War is a costly and inefficient way to win victories; a way to be avoided as long as other methods work. But whether we should fight or not is now a question of strategy. It would be a question of major policy only if we were willing, assuming war to be the alternative, to see Hitler win. Since we have said that we are not willing to see Hitler win, let us equally plainly refuse to measure every proposed policy by the single criterion set up by the opposition—whether or not it may involve us in military or naval action.

The pressing issue of convoys and naval patrols must be rescued from the isolationists, who will, if they are allowed, reduce it to a choice between committing acts of war or avoiding them. The central problem is to get sufficient supplies to Britain fast enough to prevent its defeat in the Battle of the Atlantic, which, by Winston Churchill's own eloquent testimony last Sunday, is likely

to be the crucial battle of the war. I needn't repeat the figures which prove how rapidly Britain's losses at sea have overtaken and outstripped its capacity to replace them, or argue the futility of producing vast supplies of arms and planes to be sunk on their way to the nations that need them. Those points are made and analyzed on another page of this issue by the naval expert, Donald W. Mitchell. And the facts are not in dispute. Only Senator Nye, so far as I know, has attempted to bolster his argument against the convoys by asserting that Britain's losses have been exaggerated.

The President wants to postpone, and avoid altogether if possible, the use of convoys and the transport of war goods in American ships. Convoys would almost certainly lead to open fighting at sea, since Hitler cannot afford to lose the Battle of the Atlantic even to avoid war with the United States. On the other hand, the United States will not permit cargoes of American supplies to be sunk. Faced with this dilemma the President has adopted the expedient of extending the so-called "neutrality patrol" to cover the waters of the Western Hemisphere. American warships will warn units of the British navy of the presence on the traffic lanes of German raiders and submarines. This is an act so slightly short of war in its realistic implications that it gives Hitler little more than a legalistic excuse not to fight. For the present he may decide to avail himself of that excuse. He may believe that he can sink a sufficient amount of tonnage in the Continental zone to make raiding in the western Atlantic unnecessary; and he may be right. If he is right, then the patrol system will have failed and we shall have to resort to convoys. If he is wrong, if ships get through in sufficient numbers to supply Britain's needs, then he will undoubtedly decide that the patrol is an intolerable infringement of international law and will attack as he pleases—west and east.

It is difficult to believe that the patrol system can be more than a very temporary stop-gap. It looks as though the United States would soon be forced to use convoys in order to get the goods we produce to England. Otherwise, as Mr. Churchill remarked on Sunday, our "high purposes" will be "frustrated" and our products "sunk to the bottom of the sea." If this means war, the American people will accept war as a more bearable choice than Nazi victory. That is certain. But the Administration would gain added support for any measures that may become necessary if the President and his advisers would adopt a policy of complete frankness in describing the alternatives before us. We are not being led, step by step, unwittingly into war, as the isolationists claim. We know what we want. And we deserve the confidence of our leaders. They could learn a useful lesson in the propaganda value of courage and candor by studying the public speeches of Winston Churchill.

Why Knudsen Should Go

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 28

WALTER LIPPMANN suggests that we ought to take over the Azores. I think we ought to take over Detroit. Our confidence in our ability to wage a successful war stems in large part from the knowledge that we possess the world's greatest mass-production industries. The automotive industry is the outstanding example. But it is not enough to have these industries. It is necessary to use them. We cannot fight a war with convertible coupes or overawe a Panzer division with a brigade of statistics on automobile sales. The problem is to turn existing mass-production facilities as rapidly as possible to the production of armament. We are fumbling that problem, and we have no time to fumble. Let us look at the record of the automobile industry, the industry with which the director of the OPM, William S. Knudsen, is most familiar, the industry he should find it easiest to mobilize for defense.

On April 17 Mr. Knudsen called in the press and announced, with great satisfaction, that his industry had "willingly accepted an initial 20 per cent reduction" in the production of automobiles "to make available more man-power, materials, facilities, and management" for defense. The next day the newspapers carried the story of another sacrifice by the industry. This came in the form of a letter from Knudsen's former employer, Alfred P. Sloan, chairman of the board of General Motors. Mr. Sloan wrote that in the interest of national defense General Motors would give up its 1943 models—not its 1942 models but its 1943 models. "In this crisis," said a full-page advertisement placed by General Motors in our leading newspapers that day, "every hour counts. Every hour moves us closer to the day when defense materials will flow to our embattled friends in Europe in volume enough to swing the scale." So passionate is our devotion to their cause that we will do without new car models—year after next.

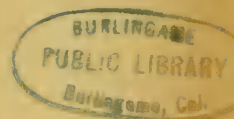
It is hard for a newspaper to look a full-page ad in the mouth, and these statements of sacrifice were not examined too closely. One notes first that the 20 per cent reduction in the output of cars applies not to the current production season but to next year's. One notes next that this year's production, which will probably end in June, will be one of the greatest in the history of the industry. Only two previous years, 1929 and 1937, topped the 5,000,000-car output which will be achieved this year. While we are promised a 20 per cent reduction next year in the interest of defense, this year's production will be

20 per cent above last year's. In the midst of the greatest defense emergency in our history, the automobile industry increased the production of cars by 20 per cent. Its facilities were mobilized, not for the production of armament, but to take advantage of the market created for automobiles by defense spending. Now, as a "sacrifice" for defense, it is reducing its production schedule for 1942 from the 1941 boom level to the more normal 1940 level. *C'est la guerre.*

These announcements of sacrifice are confessions of shortsightedness and greed. We are told, to impress us with the magnitude of the contribution the automobile industry will be making by its 20 per cent cut in next year's production, that this will save many metals in which shortages are developing: 5,000 tons of aluminum, 54,700 tons of lead, 18,200 tons of zinc, 4,796,000 pounds of nickel, 26,400 tons of copper, 1,437,000 tons of steel, much of it the high-grade alloys so important to defense. Aluminum represents our most serious shortage, and airplane production lines are already slowing down for lack of it. If a 20 per cent cut under this year's automobile production will save 5,000 tons of aluminum next year, the automobile industry this year must be using five times 5,000 tons of this precious metal. Multiply each of the other figures by five and you get some idea of the extent to which this year's boom production of cars is hobbling defense.

Informed circles in both the steel and automobile industries were surprised only that the 20 per cent reduction announced was so small and had been so long delayed. I quote two sources not conspicuously critical of either industry. "It has been known for some time," said a dispatch to the *New York Times* from Pittsburgh on April 21, "that automotive centers were producing at as good as full capacity in order to build up a backlog of finished cars against the day when production actually is curtailed because of the press of national-defense activity. *It has been this accelerated tempo of production by the automotive industry that taxed to the utmost the steel industry's facilities for the production of bars and sheets and strips.*" The italics are mine. The same day David J. Wilkie, automotive editor of the Associated Press, reported from Detroit, "Some of the producers admit they have been thinking in terms of a curtailment of 33⅓ per cent or more." Knudsen had actually asked his old associates of the automobile business for a smaller "sacrifice" than some of them were prepared to make.

Mr. Sloan's first-quarter report this morning reveals



the leisurely tempo of General Motors' work for defense. I can find no figures on total sales last year in this or in the last annual report, but some elementary arithmetic shows that the total defense sales of General Motors last year was less than \$60,000,000. Its net earnings before deduction of income and excess-profits taxes last year—the greatest in its history—were over \$320,000,000. In the first quarter of this year defense sales were almost \$50,000,000—out of total sales of \$65,000,000. Not until "well into the third quarter" would General Motors begin to produce in quantity for defense. Mr. Sloan explained that this was because "by far the greatest number of projects" on which the company is engaged for defense involve the erection and equipment of new plants. Had the automobile industry been required to turn existing equipment to defense purposes it would have been unable to turn out 5,000,000 cars in the space of about seven months, as it is now doing. The automobile industry has been careful to keep defense from interfering not only with business as usual but with better-than-usual business. "The bulk of defense work assigned to the motor-car industry," the Associated Press explained from Detroit on April 12, "has so far been done in its engineering laboratories and in new plant construction. . . . *This explains to some extent how the industry has been able to roll out so great a volume of new cars and trucks during the last six months*" (my italics). It may also explain why the industry has never been willing to give the Reuther plan a fair hearing.

The industry has ignored not only the Reuther plan but its modified version, the Knudsen plan, because the latter would also have interfered with capacity production of automobiles. It was announced in October that after a plea from Knudsen—who had heard of the Reuther plan the month before—all the major automobile manufacturers had formed an Automotive Committee for Air Defense to pool their machine-tool and stamping equipment for the production of the wing and body parts of 12,000 bombers. This program has since been quietly abandoned. Instead, the government is financing the construction of new plants for Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, and Hudson-Goodyear. The bomber parts are to be built in these new plants instead of with existing automotive equipment. Under the bomber program General Motors was to supply parts for the new North American Aviation assembly plant at Kansas City. It was to, and eventually will, supply from 50 to 60 per cent of the parts needed. I notice that North American's annual report says, "Actually, however, North American will have to do much of the manufacturing itself, until the automotive industry can carry its share." If Knudsen had forced the automobile companies to carry out the program to which they were pledged, General Motors would have begun the task of making these parts seven months ago. "In this crisis," said the

General Motors advertisement, "every hour counts." It is a good thing that advertisements can't blush.

Knudsen can look a blueprint in the eye without flinching, but he gets bashful when he talks to Alfred P. Sloan. New models require machine tools. "Machine tools," as Secretary of the Navy Knox said last week, "are the critical item in nearly all cases of plant expansion, and the speed with which quantity production can be started is governed very largely by their availability." Machine tools require design and manufacture. Sloan's letter giving up any new models for year after next says this will release "a very considerable amount of managerial and technical talent that could be diverted to production and engineering problems in national defense." He also said, "We spend on an average model change from \$35,000,000 to \$40,000,000. This involves tooling, almost entirely. Probably 90 per cent of this capacity could be diverted to defense purposes. In terms of production, there would be involved approximately 15,000,000 man-hours." He was talking here not of the entire industry but of General Motors alone. This means that the entire industry would probably have saved about three times that much labor—the most highly skilled kind of labor—had it decided last year to abandon 1942 models. It is interesting to compare this figure with the 52,000,000 man-hours—most of it unskilled—which were lost in all industry last year through strikes. The automobile industry's insistence on 1942 models cost the defense program almost as much in man-hours and more in terms of skill than all last year's strikes put together.

One of the points made by Reuther when he outlined his plan to Hillman last August was that the machine-tool bottleneck could be eased if the automobile industry were forced to make its private machine-tool facilities available for defense. Half the machine-tool capacity of Detroit is in the captive automotive tool-and-die shops. It was Knudsen's duty last fall to force his colleagues to abandon new models and turn these facilities over for armament production. The newspapers thought that was what he meant when he said to the automobile manufacturers last October, "If you gentlemen figure you are going to need a lot of machine tools in order to carry out your American way of life, you had better take another look." I think we had all better take another look at Knudsen. I expect to go farther into this problem of machine tools next week, but I want to suggest now that on the basis of this record Knudsen ought either to turn in his resignation and go back to Detroit or take a subordinate job where his real abilities as a production man could be utilized without requiring him to exercise the policy-making decision of which he has shown himself incapable. He is a very nice man, but this is no time for sentiment; as the General Motors ad says, "every hour counts." The clock of the defense program is ticking off not only minutes but lives.

The Road to Gibraltar

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

AGAIN the question of a Nazi march through Spain is à l'ordre du jour. Since the beginning of the European war Spain has been one of the most slippery stepping-stones for columnists and radio commentators. Most of the time they have not known what to say. They failed in their analysis of the Spanish situation because of their reluctance to take the only safe position. There could not have been a simpler one. If they had understood that the decision whether or not Spain would "enter the war" on the side of the Axis was a decision Berlin would make, not Madrid, we should have been spared many faltering commentaries. But perhaps it is not surprising that newspapers and the radio have been so inept in dealing with the Spanish problem when a man who till now has seemed to see so clearly into the European situation suddenly offers the same superficial interpretation. The defense of British aid to Franco made by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons on April 22 will some day—when an impartial record is established of his splendid work at the head of the British government in the struggle against Nazi barbarism—be set down as a bad mistake. If his words had not been uttered in one of England's gravest hours, one would have suspected an outburst of his proverbial humor when he attributed to the diplomatic genius of Sir Samuel Hoare—eternally consecrated in the days of Munich—his new success in detaching Franco from Berlin and Rome.

The curious thing is that the position of Spain conceals nothing enigmatic. The British Intelligence Service did not have to display any superhuman insight to discover Franco's stand. Ministers as well as editorial writers have announced incessantly their desire for a final Axis victory and their readiness to contribute to it to the limit of Spain's capacity. On the occasion of the opening of the Exhibition of the German Press in Madrid this March, Señor Serrano Suñer, the Foreign Minister, delivered a declaration of passionate faith in Nazi victory which ought to have put an end to any lurking thoughts of appeasement in London. British help to Santander, matching the speed of German "technicians and engineers" hurried from France to the devastated northern Spanish town, was ridiculed in the Phalangist press as a new evidence of "traditional English hypocrisy." On the very day that Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons paid such glowing tribute to the talent of his ambassador in Madrid, Señor Suñer's organ, *Arriba*, threatened Portugal, telling that nation it "must choose between Britain and Spain," while the rest of the Madrid press exulted

in the prospect of a more tragic Dunkirk in Greece.

In fact, the Nazi march through Spain needs only to be completed. Current newspaper reports estimate that 80,000 Germans have already slipped into Spain. But I have just seen a letter written by an American who knows very exactly the situation in Spain and who sets the number at 100,000. Those Germans have not been sent there to study Franco's attempt to build the New Order by the original method of eliminating eating as a normal human function. There is sufficient work for them to do in organizing the police and keeping the Spanish people, who would otherwise have revolted long ago, under the heel of the Gestapo. But at the same time the Germans in Spain have had another task of a military character. They have repaired the roads which lead to Gibraltar and to Morocco and undertaken all the preliminary steps for a large-scale Nazi military move. During the Spanish War the Germans fortified Sierra Carbonera and Ceuta. Realizing the difficulty and the cost of a direct assault on the Rock, they decided to prepare things in such a way that the entire sea traffic in that part of the western Mediterranean could be controlled by the German artillery. They installed new airdromes from which the German aviation could hold Gibraltar under incessant fire while every ship passing through the Straits could be attacked from shore by guns set up on both sides, as well as from the air. From the beginning of 1940 till now German technicians in Spain have been working unceasingly to perfect the plans for encircling Gibraltar begun during the days of "non-intervention."

The difficulty of taking Gibraltar itself, derived from the fact of its narrow entrance which makes a frontal land attack very costly, would not discourage the Nazis from their drive through Spain. Whether or not Gibraltar holds out as a fortress, its value as a naval base will be rendered useless as soon as the coastal batteries on Point Carnero around Algeciras and the modernized batteries of El Hacho in Ceuta go into action, reinforced by the mobile batteries that the invading Nazi armies would bring with them. The best British military critics agree on that. "The anchorage of Gibraltar is narrow," points out Liddell Hart in "The Defense of Britain," "as the sea floor shelves sharply, and could not be used for our ships if it was under fire from hostile guns on the Spanish shore."

The loss of Gibraltar, the most important point of support for British supremacy in the Mediterranean, would leave England with no secure naval base between

the British Isles and Alexandria, more than 3,000 miles distant. But it would not be the only way in which a Nazi drive into Spain could prove effective. Under the work of German engineers a base for hydroplanes has been prepared in the stretch of water north of Cartagena known as Mar Menor, from which very efficient blows could be delivered to British shipping. Years ago, visiting Los Alcazares and La Rivera situated on Mar Menor, the late Italo Balbo declared that "if they were properly equipped they would make the best hydroplane base in the world." The Germans have taken care of that. And there are also El Ferrol, the best naval port of Spain; the whole northwestern coast, from which the Atlantic trade routes can be subjected to heavy submarine attacks; and the Canary Islands, which could complete the famous "Vigo-Canaries-Azores triangle" unless prompt British action in the Canaries and American action in the Azores forestalled Nazi plans. The present commander-in-chief of the German fleet, Admiral Räder, has said that the power which could master this triangle would have the greatest chance of winning the war. And beyond these prizes in Spain lies the possibility of extending Hitler's domination to Portugal. A drive through Spain would certainly pay!

Like Italy's entrance into the war, Spain's active co-operation with the Nazis will be decided at Hitler's exclusive convenience. It may happen in two weeks, in three months, or while these lines go to press. But the single sure thing is that Adolf Hitler will be the one to set the date. When his decision is made he will not meet any opposition whatever from the Franco government. Franco and the Spanish Phalanx are pro-Nazi in their hearts and in their bones. They are irremediably bound to the Axis cause by the Spanish War, by their inclination and feelings, and by the knowledge that they could not survive a Hitler defeat twenty-four hours.

It is a sad contradiction that we Spaniards in exile should be the ones to oppose granting the Franco government food loans or supplies. It is terribly hard for us, knowing how hungry the people are, starving as no other people in Europe starve, with the possible exception of the Poles, to oppose sending wheat to Spain. Only if food could be distributed under the strictest supervision—if, for instance, the Quakers had assumed the responsibility for seeing that food really reached the hungry Spanish people—could such shipments be justified. But when all serious reports agree that even in the worst months of stress Spanish food has been going to Germany, when everybody knows that the food so far sent to Spain has been distributed under the direct supervision of the Phalangists, and when it is recognized that the chief reason Hitler hesitated to march through Spain was the scarcity of supplies for his own troops, to send food indiscriminately to Spain seems an open invitation for the drive to Gibraltar.

The conduct of the war would have been enormously strengthened if at the very beginning full use had been made of the democratic forces of the world in this fight against Hitler. But for this to have been done the men discredited by the terrible blunder of Munich would have had to disappear at once from the political scene. They didn't. Persons responsible for that disaster are still in administrative posts and in the chancelleries of nations engaged in the tremendous job of crushing Nazi Germany. In spite of the presence in the British government of men with courage and imagination like the Labor ministers and Mr. Churchill himself—who in spite of his regrettable statement about Spain has abundantly proved that he possesses both qualities to the highest degree—national policy is too often influenced or directed by people who, though they may have waked up to the failure of appeasement, nevertheless lack the larger vision to see that this gigantic struggle requires, in the words of Danton, "*de l'audace, de l'audace, toujours de l'audace.*" In the minds of these milksops the problem of winning has always been reduced to a simple matter of war material. Possessed by a frantic fear that one day they may see the "people" taking up the work of building a just and progressive social order, these gentlemen endlessly vacillate, caught in the conflict between their conservative inclinations and their inadequate attempts to deal with an enemy who would not hesitate to take the devil himself as an ally if the victory had to come from hell. Recent experience in the Balkans once more confirms the theory that the war against Hitler cannot be won merely by a belated effort to match him in planes, tanks, and guns.

On the other hand, democracy has on its side forces that the whole Nazi industrial machine can never produce—the passionate love and need of freedom of the majority of the people of the world. In the long run this passion will touch off revolt in all the countries that have fallen under fascist control. Democracy has the opportunity to fight Hitler not only on the battlefields, where his superiority will be maintained for a long time to come, but everywhere else; to combine military coups with national uprisings, with constant unrest and sabotage, and with the mobilization of those democratic elements that till now have been discouraged and disregarded but are eager to see the fight against Hitler carried on by daring methods and with an iron determination to win.

To take advantage of these possibilities, strong democratic leadership is the final requisite of the hour. While a Sir Samuel Hoare is allowed to influence the course of his government's policy, we shall continue to move from disaster to disaster. The time has already come when the men who are responsible for the lives of the thousands who die every day on land, on the sea, and in the air, thinking that they fought for liberty, must decide whether they really want to defeat Hitler, even if the

world that results from that defeat is not to be a world for which the House of Lords will unanimously vote, or whether they prefer a Nazi order to the uncertainties of a tumultuous awakening of the people. If they choose the second, their policy is clear. They will await the day when every German plane can be met by three Allied planes and every tank by three Allied tanks, while in the meantime they cling to the delusion that they can win over all the little Hitlers who are working in his behalf. No one has proposed that the British, faced with the menace of a German drive on Gibraltar, should months ago have sent an army into Spain. But would it be too demagogic to suggest that they might have been making some plans to oppose Hitler in the political field with the weapons of democratic resistance which he cannot command? In any case it would seem reasonable to expect the British government to decline the task of solving Hitler's food problem in Spain, since that problem has

certainly been the primary obstacle so far in the way of his drive on Gibraltar. It is easy to imagine the popular reaction the government will face if, on the heels of the £12,000,000 British loan, Franco throws open the doors of Spain to the Nazi armies.

In spite of the military reverses of the past two weeks nothing is finally lost. Everything can still be won back. But only if the fight against Hitler is carried on by persons who are ready to risk anything except a Hitler victory. Viewed from that angle the outcome of isolated military events cannot affect the essential issue. Even if England is invaded and Hitler is victorious throughout Europe, the struggle against him will go on—through guerrilla fighting, through political action, through sabotage, by every means. Each new victory of Hitler's armies, instead of shortening the war, merely prolongs it. There will be no peace before Hitler is crushed.

The Case for Convoys

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

WITH nearly a third of the pre-war British merchant marine at the bottom of the Atlantic and with the sinking toll well above the combined capacity of all the shipyards in the world, it is clear that unless sinkings are reduced or the production of merchant ships vastly increased the British Empire is doomed. American aid in the solution of this problem has so far been mainly concentrated on increased shipbuilding. Contrary to a fairly widespread opinion, we were not caught flat-footed by the recent demand for ships. The Maritime Commission's program of fifty ships a year, adopted in 1938, had necessitated the immediate expansion of American shipbuilding. Moreover, foreseeing the navy's need of additional fleet auxiliaries, the commission laid down ships well in advance of the schedule originally planned. As a result nearly two hundred fine vessels of a few standard types are now in various stages of completion. The 1938 program was later supplemented by two other similar programs, and the building of 260 new vessels has recently been undertaken by American yards, 60 of them ordered by the British government. In addition, after a conversation with Sir Arthur Salter of the British shipping mission, President Roosevelt announced that 212 other merchantmen would be ordered, to be paid for with half a billion dollars available under the Lease-Lend Act.

This program, ambitious as it is, is still insufficient in the emergency. Existing schedules call for only slightly more than a million tons of deliveries before the

end of 1941, and the work of repairing and overhauling injured British vessels may reduce even this modest total. British replacements are not expected to surpass a million tons. The expected losses of from three and a half to six million tons during 1941 will therefore make defeat almost inevitable. It has been estimated that in February British imports fell 20 per cent short of meeting needs. Nor will relief be definitely in sight in 1942—if the war lasts that long. Only the completion of all of the 472 new hulls recently authorized, which would be an industrial miracle, would afford a chance of bringing replacements up to losses, and that only if losses can be somewhat reduced. Not till 1943, with an estimated production of five million tons, can American shipyards offer much promise of relief.

What has prevented American yards from making a better record, from equaling the spectacular building spree of 1919, in short, from making the type of effort which alone will be adequate? In the first place, the building of a two-ocean navy, an undertaking fully three times as large as our World War naval program, stands squarely in the way. Since the United States would be foolish to let its future security depend on the uncertain issue of final British victory, the Administration was probably justified in giving the right of way to naval building. At any rate, that cannot now be altered, for the navy, acting with a promptitude it has not always shown, awarded contracts and actually had construction under way before the army, the Maritime Commission,

and other defense agencies had even decided what they needed.

With nearly every way filled with a ship for the navy, merchant shipbuilding has had to await the opening of new yards, the expansion of old ones, and the introduction of expedients to save time and material. When these difficulties are taken into account, the results can be considered fairly good. The expansion which has occurred has been perfectly sound and under other circumstances would be called rapid. Employment in commercial shipyards has increased more than 250 per cent in four years; actual accomplishments in terms of work have been even greater. Forty-three shipyards on the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts are working double and triple shifts while new ways are being built. Admiral Land is making a determined effort to protect the taxpayers by refusing to deal with fly-by-night companies like those which defrauded the government of millions of dollars in the last World War. Shipyard labor has, on the whole, been more cooperative than labor in certain other industries, but shipping companies have not always given full support. Recently, the Washington Merry-Go-Round reported an attempt by Bethlehem, the largest single contractor for ships, to make more money by refusing to accept the penalty clause for late delivery. The attempt failed, but two months of valuable time were wasted.

The Maritime Commission has apparently lacked the vision to recommend a sufficiently big program. Fully half the Great Lakes shipyards have not been put to use. There are, to be sure, difficulties in the way of getting ships from the Lakes to the sea—difficulties which will exist until the completion of a deep-sea route through the St. Lawrence—but the navy has not been prevented from building ten submarines on the shores of Lake Michigan. Certainly by concentrating the building of small craft on the Lakes the commission could free the coast yards for large naval and merchant ships. No new large shipyards have yet been built or seem likely to be soon. Finally, the very honesty and caution with which Admiral Land and his associates have acted have meant slower deliveries and increased the danger that the war will be over before American aid can be furnished in any large volume.

One factor in the failure to move more decisively and more rapidly has been the fear of bottlenecks. The basic requirements, steel and man-power, have not been lacking, but there have been shortages in certain types of each. In labor there has been a scarcity of highly skilled supervisory leadership, a small section of the total force but an indispensable one. Lack of skilled draftsmen delayed the completion of some of the cruisers of the Brooklyn class a few years ago and may, it is feared, have the same effect on merchant shipping. Equally important material lacks have threatened. Certain types of steel forgings, such as propeller shafts, must be made individually and

take nearly as long to complete as the ship itself. Engineering parts, such as boilers, cannot be made overnight.

Ships themselves, moreover, take a long time to produce. Even with the current speed-up, battleships require from four to five years, cruisers nearly three, submarines and destroyers one to two years, though they have been completed in less time. Construction of shipbuilding facilities can be completed in scarcely less than a year to a year and a half under the best conditions. Hence it is becoming increasingly apparent that unless the shipbuilding industry becomes overnight infinitely more efficient it cannot be depended upon to keep Great Britain going.

Since the chances of preventing defeat through shipbuilding are so slight, it is essential to consider possible means of decreasing shipping losses and making more efficient use of existing tonnage. For war purposes the present American system of shipping control is inadequate. Larger and larger amounts of rubber, asbestos, bauxite, and other strategic raw materials are needed by the defense program; by the end of 1941 at least 19,000,000 tons of these materials, or over 2,000 shiploads, will have been required. The transportation of such materials usually does not mean high profits, and American shipping firms, though they have in nearly all cases acceded to requests, have been reluctant to load these less profitable cargoes. Government operation of the minimum necessary tonnage or commandeering of ships is therefore clearly in sight. The pooling or joint operation of British and American tonnage, with American bottoms taking over African and Pacific shipping routes, and British boats more and more concentrated in the Atlantic, is also inevitable. Finally, the British government, under the leadership of Lord Bevin, is adopting a system of night unloadings at forced speed, designed to cut down the round-trip time and get more service from a given amount of tonnage.

However, these are mere economies of operation which will not solve the problem. What is needed is a better method of dealing with submarines. One of the most promising suggestions is that small ships converted into plane carriers, with destroyer escorts, cruise along the trade lanes of the Atlantic. The planes would greatly increase the destroyers' radius of protection by more quickly detecting both submarines and surface raiders and should also be capable of dealing with the Focke-Wulf bombers which now serve as the eyes of the U-boats. A modification of this scheme is the proposal to use huge wooden barges as plane bases in the Atlantic. It is argued that such craft would be relatively cheap to produce, not necessarily easy to destroy if they carried light artillery, and fairly stable during the summer months when the toll of merchant ships is greatest.

Most other solutions amount to the use of American

warships for convoy purposes. A timid version of this plan would have American warships accompany the convoys only as far as Newfoundland or Greenland. But such aid would be comparatively slight since most of the German submarines and surface raiders and all planes prefer to do their hunting on the eastern side of the Atlantic, where targets are more plentiful. Of course, the great need of the British is for more ships to serve as escorts. Now ordered in the United States are several hundred submarine chasers, coastal motor boats, and other anti-submarine craft. They can be produced in huge numbers and relatively quickly, and are effective around the British Isles, but have a limited cruising radius. Destroyers are essential, but no large number can be completed until the middle of 1942.

What to do in the meantime is the burning question. The release of destroyers to the British has been urged from certain non-service sources, but there are serious objections to this step. In the first place, several weeks or months are required to gather crews and familiarize them with the operation of vessels of a different type. In the second, naval officers point out with perfect truth that the United States no longer has a surplus of destroyers or of any other war craft, save possibly easily built patrol vessels, which are already being given to the British nearly as fast as they are completed. With

considerable uncertainty about Japan's intentions in the Pacific and no surety of British victory in the Atlantic they strongly disapprove the stripping of our own defenses.

Logic, then, leads to the conclusion that any further aid to Britain involves the use of American ships to serve as convoy escorts or to transport goods to Britain, or both. Because our present merchant tonnage is hardly adequate for our own needs, American warships rather than American merchantmen are most apt to be used. Since this is bound to mean "shooting" and "shooting" is war, the Administration, as well as the American people, has dreaded the decision. Yet economically we have long been a part of the transatlantic conflict. Our aid to Britain already parallels that extended by Great Britain to the South in the Civil War, aid which we regarded as an act of war. The decision cannot be long delayed, for unless relief is provided soon, the matter will be out of our hands. Even conveying will offer no certainty of British victory, though the seventy-odd destroyers which we have available for this duty should bring a considerable decline in shipping losses. If the American belief that the defense of Britain is the defense of the United States is correct, then we can hardly hesitate to use American ships and risk American lives in protecting convoys.



"HULLO! GOING MY WAY?"

The Murray Plan

BY ROSE M. STEIN

THE United States has undertaken to demonstrate to a world torn by war, bitterness, and oppression that democracy, which has failed to prevent the present world crisis, can rise to the occasion with sufficient vigor to correct past mistakes, defeat aggression, and establish decency as the basis of human relations. To achieve these ends it is not enough to convert America into an arsenal for the warring nations. America must also be converted into a laboratory for *total democracy*, industrial as well as political. The Industry Councils Plan, brought forward in recent months by Philip Murray, president of the C. I. O., is a proposal of modest design which leads in that direction and which therefore merits more public scrutiny than it has yet received.

It is well known that most industries today are nation wide and closely integrated. Therefore a policy of dealing with individual firms in a given industry, whether in the matter of production or of labor relations, is usually ineffective. The outstanding difficulty in the current defense effort is lack of coordination. Various governmental agencies have been created to deal with separate problems connected with the procurement of material. These problems are different in each industry. It is next to impossible to evolve a single formula for coping with them. Each agency, through some scheme of remote control, since most of them are located in Washington, has to contend with a thousand and one variations in every phase of the defense effort—in production, priorities, prices, labor relations. The structure of the defense agencies resembles the craft or horizontal form of labor organization and is lamentably unsuited to obtain results from a closely integrated industrial machine which defies jurisdictional demarkations.

The Industry Councils Plan aims to improve and expedite the machinery created by the President for carrying out the defense program. It will create a structure that approaches the vertical or industrial form of organization. As at present formulated, the plan proposes to deal with all the questions connected with industrial production except prices. These would include output, allocation of orders, determination of where and when to build additional capacity, labor relations, and priorities. It is doubtful, however, whether the councils will be able to deal with priorities, since priorities are chiefly an inter- rather than intra-industry problem; proponents of the plan hold that they are "interlocked with the question of expansion and with the question of full utilization of available capacity."

The plan proposes further that management, labor, and the government should share the responsibility for production as equal partners. It provides that each broadly defined industry engaged in defense production shall be directed by a council to be composed of an equal number of representatives from labor and management, with a government representative as chairman. Over these councils is to be a Coordinating Board, also composed of representatives from management, labor, and the government, with the President or his designated representative as chairman. The councils are to be administrative rather than advisory agencies, and their decisions should be marked by a "voluntary agreement upon the means by which the essential productive aims can be attained."

The possible benefits of such a plan to the immediate defense program and to long-range economic planning are enormous. It would once and for all establish collective bargaining and would thus remove a major cause of present and future industrial strife. At the same time it would eliminate, or at least drastically reduce, opportunities for racketeering and other nefarious practices. With labor, management, and government represented on the council, employers who offered bribes and union men who accepted them would be quickly exposed. Moreover, through the full utilization of labor's wide familiarity with production techniques, efficiency would be vastly increased. And, finally, the plan would serve as a check on monopoly.

By assuming responsibility for the allocation of orders and the building of additional capacity the industry councils and the coordinating board could prevent the present unfair distribution of government orders and the consequent tightening of monopolistic control. It is no secret that the larger companies, especially those that have emissaries in the nation's capital, are getting much more than their proportionate share of defense orders. A number of these concerns have orders far beyond their ability to fill them, while smaller firms are operating below their available capacity. This means that the favored corporations will either have to add to their plant or delay delivery. If they increase their capacity, they will expedite the "squeeze" process in an economy which theoretically at least seeks to hold on to its competitive character; if they delay delivery, they will hinder the defense program.

The question of labor representation in industries where both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. claim membership presents a problem. But at the same time it may

open the way to labor unity. Certainly the plan ought to be a potent force for unity in those areas where both groups face the alternative of cooperation or defeat. Some progress in this direction has been made by the council which has been set up on a limited scale in the shipbuilding industry. And in the Bethlehem Steel Company at Lackawanna, New York, the A. F. of L. withdrew as a contestant in the Labor Board hearings after reaching an agreement with the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee of the C. I. O. In any event, councils could be set up in those industries where the two branches of labor are willing to cooperate.

There is reason to believe that a number of Administration leaders, from the President down, look upon the plan with considerable favor. This is also true of a number of industrialists, especially those who have failed to receive contracts. Indeed, there has been no positive assertion from any source that the plan is impracticable. Nevertheless, behind-the-scenes comment has made it abundantly clear that the vast majority of industrial leaders, and conservative elements generally, are inflexibly opposed to it for more reasons than one. They know, of course, that the plan in no way interferes with the system of private ownership or the claim of ownership to a fair profit. But the participation of labor in the solution of problems heretofore the sole concern of management looms as a major revolution. Not that union-management collaboration is an entirely new phenomenon. On many occasions, extending over more than two decades, trade unions and management have collaborated on production problems, but in most instances this policy has been dictated by an immediate urgency to rescue enterprises from collapse. The councils plan seeks to embrace those giant corporations which up to a few years ago would not bargain with unions even on minor issues, and some of which are still battling against the idea. Industrial leaders fear that the plan may be a sinister attempt on labor's part to obtain a greater share of industrial earnings, to gain a voice in industry on a par with management's, and eventually to use the new setup as a stepping-stone to some form of socialism.

Labor has never made a secret of its desire to share increasingly in industrial profits. And if the councils work out satisfactorily in the emergency, labor will be gratified to have them serve as a framework for cooperative post-war planning. They might even supply the machinery for some such scheme as the Ezekiel plan for economic budgeting, although this possibility is not now an important consideration. If in the course of events the councils should introduce shifts in the status quo, labor would probably not be too disturbed. This does not alter the fact that most responsible labor leaders, as well as the vast majority of the rank and file, subscribe to no special economic theory. In the main American labor has always accepted the capitalist system and has itself built

up a stake in it. Protracted unemployment, war and the preparation for war, and the present unnatural upswing in production, with its threat of severe depression at the end of the emergency, have led labor to grope for some adjustments. These gropings, so far, have produced nothing more drastic than the Industry Councils Plan, which, by the way, is being quietly but firmly fought by Communist elements in labor's ranks. What Mr. Murray and his aides have in mind in promoting the plan is simply to apply the collective-bargaining techniques they have found successful in the settlement of grievances to the solution of industrial problems on a national scale.

It is true that the plan represents a significant departure from old habits of thought. It is precisely this fact which makes it a crucial test of the sincerity of those who clamor most loudly for the defense of democracy. Are they willing to make the necessary sacrifices? There is no sacrifice on the part of industry in speeding up production and earning a profit. The sacrifice called for is of a more telling sort. In the last analysis victory will not be won by military action alone. Before lasting peace can be established, the winning side will have to gain the good-will and support of the many millions of little people all over the world who have been the disinherited and dispossessed. It is Hitler's greatest weakness that he cannot win such support among the peoples he has conquered. But neither can the democracies count on it being given them automatically or dismiss the effort to gain it as a task which can be done or evaded after the war is won. The effort must be made now, and the place where it can be done with immediate effect is the United States.

Vichy's Slave Battalions

BY HEINZ POL

THE Vichy government recently surprised the world with the announcement that it had made all the necessary arrangements for building a trans-Sahara railroad. Such a railroad has long been planned as a connecting link between the French possessions in North Africa—Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria—and the colonies on the West Coast and in Equatorial Africa. But during the era of the Third Republic the plans miscarried time and again; though the Bank of France had relatively large gold reserves at its disposal, the problem of financing so gigantic a venture could not be successfully solved. In addition the difficulty of finding enough competent workers to build a railroad in the forbidding desert climate seemed insuperable.

Since these obstacles were sufficient to prevent realization of the project while France was still a rich and powerful country, people have asked themselves whether the Vichy announcement might not be mere propaganda

designed to prove to the world that, despite defeat and the critical economic and social situation, the new leaders of France are resourceful enough to carry out schemes which the country was unable to complete under a democratic regime. The suspicion has also been voiced that the announcement merely cloaks a German plan for reorganizing the French African empire. The proponents of this theory argue that since no final peace between Hitler and Pétain has been concluded, and it is still uncertain whether France will retain possession of its colonies, any statement from Vichy about the government's plans for developing the colonies is worthless. Even if the Nazis do not actually intend to seize and carve up France's colonial possessions, they may well be planning to exploit African territory in the interests of the New Order in Europe. It is very possible that the growing number of German "experts" now swarming over the French colonies from Algeria down to Dakar can be traced directly to Germany's interest in a reorganization of the French empire. The trans-Sahara railroad would be an important part of this far-reaching plan.

Whatever is behind the project, one thing is certain: preliminary work on the construction of the railroad actually started several weeks ago, and already thousands of men are employed on it in Tunisia and Morocco. They have been herded into camps and crowded barracks, and they work from ten to twelve hours a day.

Where did the Vichy government find this army of men willing and able to work under the burning desert sun? And where does the money come from for their wages? The answer is that thousands of German, Austrian, Czech, Polish, and Spanish refugees who chose to enlist in the Foreign Legion rather than remain in a French concentration camp are today kept by the Vichy government as slaves in the Sahara Desert. This is proved beyond the shadow of a doubt by letters smuggled out of the camps of the legionnaires. The Vichy government's action in keeping them there in virtual servitude represents perhaps the most flagrant breach of international law of which it has been guilty in its treatment of refugees. Here, in brief, are the facts:

Shortly before the outbreak of the war the Daladier government issued a decree promising refugees, especially those from Germany and Austria, that they would not only enjoy the protection of the French government in the event of war but would be called upon to do their share in the defense of the nation. This promise was broken immediately after the war started. The German and Austrian refugees were herded into concentration camps and declared to be enemies of the state. A propaganda campaign made up of promises and threats was soon under way in the camps with the object of enticing the inmates into the Foreign Legion. The prospect was anything but tempting, for the Foreign Legion enjoyed a dubious reputation despite its high military standing.

The government stated, however, that special formations, attached to the Foreign Legion in name only, would be established for the refugees then in concentration camps, as well as for the Czechs, Poles, and members of other nations living in France at that time. In addition, it gave the refugees a special pledge stating explicitly and unequivocally that their enlistment was to be only for the duration of the war.

Of the Czechs, Poles, and citizens of other non-Axis European nations who signed the agreement, not all were dispatched to North Africa. Some were trained in France and allowed to join special Czech and Polish formations. The German and Austrian refugees, however, were all sent to North Africa. Far from being enrolled in special formations, they were immediately made regular members of the Foreign Legion, and over them were placed sergeants and corporals of German birth who had enlisted in the Foreign Legion for good reasons long before the outbreak of the war. These men made no bones about their pro-Hitler and anti-Semitic attitude.

When the armistice was signed and the French army demobilized, the refugees should have been discharged. They wanted only to shed the uniform of the Foreign Legion and to leave Africa. But at this point the Vichy government intervened, sharply declaring that under the terms of the armistice no man under forty-eight years, that is, no one able to bear arms, might leave French soil without a special permit. This prohibition, it was stated, applied particularly to refugees, since the Germans were afraid that they would continue to fight against Germany once they reached other countries. In point of fact, several units of the Foreign Legion stationed in Syria, with large contingents of German and Austrian refugees, did go over to the British after the armistice. Today they are fighting in Libya.

The embargo against their leaving French soil should not have kept the refugees from being demobilized. When they enlisted, they had been promised that at the end of the war they could settle freely in France and become French citizens. But the Vichy government now announced that only those refugees would be demobilized from the Foreign Legion who could submit 5,000 francs as proof of their ability to support themselves after being discharged. The amount has since been raised to 10,000 francs. Very few were able to raise this sum. All money and property owned by German and Austrian refugees had been confiscated when they were interned, and in many cases these confiscations were not rescinded at the close of the war. In consequence most of the refugees remain in the Foreign Legion, in so-called "labor detachments" organized to create the impression that they have been demobilized and to make the situation more palatable to the outside world. Their pay consists of the legionnaires' three francs a day—hardly enough to buy a few cigarettes.

Meanwhile large numbers of former Czech and Polish legionnaires have also been dispatched to Africa and forced into the labor detachments. And since this procedure works so well, the Vichy government has taken to combing the remaining refugee camps in France for more prospective deserters. A group of American correspondents who finally received permission a few weeks ago to visit one of these hell-holes in France were told that the camps would gradually be closed. They were not informed that the authorities would accomplish this in part by sending inmates who were not too old or too much weakened by hunger and privation to North Africa, where they would again be put behind barbed wire. Some 150 men from Camp Vernet, where conditions are so terrible that care was taken not to show it to the American correspondents, have already arrived in Morocco, and the several thousand Germans, Spaniards, and Austrians remaining are shortly to be transferred. These men will not even receive the three francs granted the refugee legionnaires. They must be thankful for a crust of bread in exchange for their work.

That is the inside picture of the Vichy government's vast construction project. Undoubtedly Berlin is giving its blessings to the plan.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The New Defense Loans

FEDERAL expenditure, including the cost of defense, for the fiscal year beginning July 1 is estimated at around \$19 billion. Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau hopes to raise about two-thirds of this sum by taxation, and Congress has just begun a search for the least painful method of adding \$3½ billion to the national revenue. But even after the taxpayers have shouldered this load, it will still be necessary to borrow some \$6 billion in the course of the year.

Don't let us fool ourselves into thinking that by going into debt in order to finance some part of the defense program we are transferring so much of the burden to posterity. Posterity cannot provide the weapons we require now, and the infinite variety of goods which comprise a modern arsenal must be supplied from current output whether the bills are paid by means of taxes or from the proceeds of loans. We have not, of course, yet arrived at the point where national production can be expanded no farther. Idle men and resources still remain; so that we can still have some butter as well as guns. But production of certain materials, particularly metals, has already reached the limits of present capacity, and with the defense industries receiving priority in supplies civilian industries must find substitutes or reduce their output. Thus in the near future we shall have to get along with a smaller number of new automobiles than we should normally purchase at the present level of national in-

come. And it is safe to prophesy that during the coming year supplies of a number of other consumers' goods will become restricted.

At the same time we must remember that with more men working more hours and with more businesses paying out more profits, the total volume of spending money in the nation's collective pocket is rising. In this situation the demand for goods is liable to outrun supply, and prices tend to rise. The government's policy is to keep prices stable, but it cannot hope to meet with success over any length of time unless some kind of balance is maintained between spendable income and available goods. Hence, as we begin to approach capacity production in all lines, the fiscal program of the nation must be designed not merely to raise the necessary cash but to raise it in such a way as to restrict total purchasing power.

Obviously, one method of achieving this end is heavier taxation on incomes above the level needed to maintain a minimum of decent existence. But inasmuch as even a greatly expanded revenue is still below the cost of defense, the Treasury must attempt to persuade citizens to forgo some part of their potential consumption and lend the resulting savings to the nation. For although thrift can be an over-emphasized virtue when the economy is ambling along at half-throttle, at such times as these it again comes into its own.

For years past the government has been borrowing heavily, but it has been relying more on bank funds than on the savings of the public. According to a recent bulletin issued by the bond house of C. F. Childs and Company, 46 per cent of the increase in public debt during the last seven years has been absorbed by the banks, 18 per cent by insurance companies, 25 per cent by government agencies and trust funds, and only 11 per cent by individuals and non-financial corporations. A large part of this financing has been keyed to bank requirements; that is to say, it has been in the form of comparatively short-term securities. And since the banks have been hard put to find outlets for their investable funds, it has been possible to issue loans at low interest rates. But bank lending does not involve a draft on the real savings of the public at a time when the banking system as a whole commands large excess reserves. On the contrary, it results in an increase in deposits and thus adds to the national reservoir of potential purchasing power. When production is lagging, this can be a useful stimulant, but now that the energizing effects of the defense program are moving the whole economy into high gear, such stimulants become not only unnecessary but dangerous since they tend to encourage inflationary price movements.

The Treasury, therefore, is rightly recasting its borrowing program with a view to attracting subscriptions from the public rather than the banks. On May 1 it opens a campaign to sell three new series of savings bonds designed to appeal to different types of private investors. Series E will be practically identical with the Savings Bonds which have long been popular. These bonds will be issued in denominations of \$25 and upward at a price equivalent to 75 per cent of their maturity value. They will be redeemable at any time after sixty days from the issue date at prices representing a progressively higher yield the longer they are held. Retained

for a full ten years, they will return 2.9 per cent compounded semi-annually, making them a better bargain than any other government security. These savings bonds are intended primarily for the small investor. They cannot be purchased by corporations, and no owner may buy more than \$5,000 (maturity value) in any one calendar year.

Series F will also be discount bonds. Maturing in twelve years, they will be issued at 74 per cent of their face value, and if held for the full term will yield 2.53 per cent. Corporations as well as individuals may purchase these bonds, but any one owner is limited to \$50,000 (cost price) in a calendar year. A similar restriction applies to Series G bonds, which also have a twelve-year maturity. These, however, are income bonds paying $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year paid semi-annually, and should thus appeal to investors looking for regular income.

All these issues, it should be noticed, are subject to federal taxes in accordance with the recent act of Congress abolishing tax exemption on all new federal loans. And in this connection there is a point which I should like to ask the Treasury to elucidate. Its offering circulars for the two series of discount bonds state: "For the purpose of determining taxes and tax exemptions, the increment in value represented by the price paid for United States savings bonds and the redemption value received therefor shall be considered as interest, and such interest . . . is not exempt from income or profits taxes." It would appear from this statement that an investor holding these bonds to maturity would be subject in the year when that occurred to tax on the whole difference between the issue price and the face value. In other words, he would have to add to his taxable income in that year what would be, in effect, ten years' income on his investment. If my interpretation is correct, there seems to be a possible cause of hardship in this provision which might be alleviated in the forthcoming revenue act.

In the Wind

A CAMPAIGN TO REVIVE state and federal prohibition laws is making headway in many parts of the country. Dry forces are seeking support from the families of conscripts, stressing the relation between liquor and prostitution in bistros near army camps. Another factor is the liquor industry itself, which is held to be as corrupt as it was before the last war and which will soon be subject to a Congressional investigation.

A SHORT TIME before he died Heywood Broun told some friends that he believed two of the most important forces in the world were communism and Catholicism and that a choice between the two had sooner or later to be made. Broun was asked why he had made his choice in favor of Catholicism. "The church," he replied, "is much easier on sinners."

THE REFERENCE TO SHANGHAI as a "city of vice"—made so by the British—by Toshio Shiratori, as quoted by Robert W. Barnett in last week's *Nation*, provides an interesting commentary on Axis propaganda methods. Shanghai's

reputation is far from spotless, but the fact is that the centers of vice in Shanghai today are almost exclusively in areas under Japanese control. A recent report from International Settlement authorities complains of increased difficulty in coping with the organized lawlessness directed from Japanese areas.

GERMAN AUTHORITIES in Belgium recently ordered the arrest of Peter Pan, listed as editor of the illegal democratic newspaper *La Libre Belgique*. The police had to report back that the only Peter Pan found was a statue in a Brussels park.

THE TOWN OF BASTOS, in the state of Sao Paulo, Brazil, is 90 per cent Japanese. Recalling a law to the effect that no foreign group might comprise more than 25 per cent of a community, Brazilian officials recently investigated Bastos. They were able to find two Portuguese books—both dictionaries—in the town, and they learned that the Japanese consul had been performing all Bastos marriages.

SENATOR WHEELER, when he was criticized for having mentioned only Jews in his attack on "international bankers," told friends that he did not know that Sir Victor Sassoon was a Jew. According to the Senator's story, he had been entertained by Sassoon in China some years ago and had assumed that the financier, who lives in Oriental fashion, was a Chinese.

PRESS NOTES: Bernarr MacFadden will become a syndicated daily columnist sometime in May. . . . Publishers attending the ANPA convention in New York last week were urged by *Editor and Publisher* to see "Native Son" to observe "how far the theater goes toward Communist propaganda."

A SPANISH CATALOGUE of books, published last January, carries this ad on its back cover: "Best Seller! Henry Ford, the well-known automobile manufacturer, presents in 'The International Jew' the multiple, ever-changing facets of one of the most hotly debated questions of today and of all time. Fifth Spanish edition. . . . This profound book of Ford's is more timely at this moment than ever."

CORRECTION: In this column in *The Nation* for April 12 it was reported that Representative Vito Marcantonio, according to the New York *Gaelic-American*, had signed a petition in behalf of Judge Herbert O'Brien of Queens. Our information was incorrect; Mr. Marcantonio did not sign the petition. What the *Gaelic-American* said was that Mr. Marcantonio sent a letter advocating absolute Irish neutrality to a meeting at which a resolution in support of Judge O'Brien was passed. Mr. Marcantonio writes us that he considers the O'Brien appointment "a big mistake" and that he is "strongly opposed to anyone on the bench . . . whose views are biased against people because of their race, color, or creed." We regret our error and regret also that Mr. Marcantonio could not wait for our correction before releasing his letter of protest, which, to the best of our knowledge, appeared only in the *Daily Worker*.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

He Who Gets Slapped

FRANK ROBERTS is home from defense. He never was quite sure he wanted to go. He was young. He had a job. He had a girl—maybe more than one. But his draft call came and Frank Roberts went, to his duty in selective service, maybe to the wars. It was funny to watch him saying goodbye around the office. The older men joked him about it, and he joked back. But before he went they clapped him on the back, though they indulged in no patriotic orations. The dramatics were kept funny and so kept kind. He went off with jovially presented portable radio, went grinning to war if there was going to be one.

Three days later he was back, grinning again but in no understatement of his sacrifice. He was just grinning. And the older men laughed. It was a joke. Frank had been passed by the doctors of his local selective-service board. He had given up his job. He had said goodbye to his girl—or girls. Then the army doctors at the induction center had looked at him again and turned him down for some minor defect. His return was an anti-climax. But the joke did not seem funny to me.

This one young fellow in one little town who was made a little ludicrous would hardly be worth attention if he were the only one to have this experience. But at the end of six months of the draft it appears that 12 per cent of the young men who have gone off to the camps have been like Frank Roberts, victims of the disagreements of the draft-board doctors and the camp doctors. That means that more than fifty thousand young men all over America have been accepted by their draft boards and sent away from their homes and their jobs, with the disruption attendant upon such departure, and then sent back again—to try to put the pieces of their lives together without any assistance from either the draft boards or the army.

These statistics are not as disturbing to the country as the figures which show that a third of the registrants are rejected at home for physical defects by doctors representing the local draft boards. But that figure is getting sufficient attention. Recently Surgeon General Thomas Parran of the United States Health Service declared that such a percentage of defectiveness was "a national disgrace." Dr. Roger I. Lee of Boston, president-elect of the American College of Physicians, insists that the large number of deferments for physical defects is no cause for

alarm over the health of the nation's man-power. Such debate may be a creative disagreement between the doctors. But the number of disagreements between the doctors of the local boards who accept the draftees and the army doctors who reject them makes the doctors in and out of the army look silly, though the result is no joke to the thousands of young men who are victims of the disagreements.

"Your fellow got his job back," a big-city man said after I had told him about Frank. "But poor guys in cities can't count on any such luck." He shook his head. "Sometimes when they're drafted and passed by the local docs they even give away their clothes. Coming back from the induction centers is the hard way of coming back after going nowhere."

The army undoubtedly has explanations for the fact that about 12 per cent of the young men who are physically satisfactory to the local examiners are rejected by the army doctors. There has been no bottleneck on the production of explanations anywhere. But it is difficult for me to see why so high a percentage of disagreement needed to persist through six months of draft experience.

Perhaps, as one civilian physician has heard, the high percentage reflects the fact that Negroes have been rejected by army doctors for flat feet because of the beautiful coincidence of the facts that the army wants few Negroes and Negroes in large numbers do have a foot which is anatomically flat though not necessarily less efficient. Perhaps the figures for six months do not reflect a possible improvement which belatedly has been made. I don't know what the high percentage of disagreement shows except an amazing rate of error in handling the lives of the young men who leave home to serve their country.

The question is not whether the army is too strict or too lenient, though doctors may disagree about that also. The army sets the same standards, strict or lenient, for both sets of doctors—those in the home towns and those in the nation's camps. Between the two sets thousands of young men have been pulled up and flung down. There is the comedy of anti-climax in the process, but it is the great American medical profession which looks ludicrous to me, not the boys who come home from camp carrying their bags, alone and at least a little lost, with all their morale of high enterprise damaged and deflated.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

A SPEECH by Van Wyck Brooks, *On Literature Today*, has been issued in book form (E. P. Dutton, \$1). In twenty-nine pages Mr. Brooks discusses three large subjects: the function and influence of ideas and of writers in the social complex; the reasons for the pessimism and what he calls the obsession with the ugly which have characterized our literature between wars; and the present reaction in the direction of affirmation, and the tendency of writers, as he sees it, to settle in the remoter regions of the country rather than in Greenwich Village, to cultivate rather than deny their roots. Needless to say, Mr. Brooks believes that the influence of ideas and of writers is very powerful and will continue to be; but he is clearly in agreement with Chekhov, whom he quotes, that "the writers who, we say, are for all time, or are simply good, and who intoxicate us, have one common and very important characteristic. They are going toward something and are summoning you toward it, too, and you feel, not with your mind, but with your whole being, that they have some object. . . . The best of them are realists and paint life as it is, but, through every line being soaked in the consciousness of an object, you feel, besides life as it is, the life which ought to be, and that captivates you."

Chekhov went on to say that "we [the Russians] have neither immediate nor remote aims, and in our soul there is a great empty space." And this sentence suggests to Brooks the dominant note of the past twenty years: ". . . the genius that has molded the mind of the present is almost wholly destructive; and even where, as in many cases, these writers are fighting for social justice, they still picture life as hardly worth the trouble of fighting for it. . . . What did Joyce's 'Ulysses' say if not that life is a bad joke? . . . [Our writers] seem to delight in kicking their world to pieces." A little later on he says: "A few years ago, as a publisher's reader, I ran through a novel every day by some young man or woman who had grown up in the West or South. They could not seem to forgive the towns they were born in."

Certainly the genre of fiction Mr. Brooks has in mind was exploited and abused by inferior writers. But in his wholesale criticism he comes dangerously close to the fallacy of condemning and consigning to oblivion the powerful as well as the inferior writers of our generation for not being "constructive." His knowledge of the writer's processes and of his relation to society comes to the rescue, however. He recognizes that writers have expressed the state of mind of a world between wars and that they could hardly have done otherwise. That was the reality they lived in, and part of it was a widespread disillusionment with Utopia and a fierce reaction against the prudery of the preceding generation—which, as Brooks says, produced an inverted prudery in our own.

"We are getting in this generation the reports of writers who have seen nothing else but this rawness and hardness. And we are getting also the reports of the excluded, of the

children of our newly arrived foreign population . . . of the disinherited and the hypersensitive types who have grown up in our less developed regions." His attitude toward the "destructive" novelists remains a little ambivalent throughout, combining an emotional rejection of their pessimism with a realization that writers worthy of the name must write what they feel (and he is consistently hostile to the expatriates from Henry James to Eliot); but he ends by concluding that the cynicism of our best writers is not cynicism at all but an inverted idealism. "The depth of despair of the present is the measure of its defeated expectation."

Mr. Brooks says that most current American literature is written by adolescent minds—"I think the mind of the country, as a whole, has had its adolescence in our time. . . . It has gone through terrible growing pains, but the nation will be, in consequence, more mature." He sees a reaction against defeatism as one phase of this maturity; another is the growing interest of scholars and artists in our own cultural resources, which has been intensified by the collapse of Europe. It will be a sign of genuine maturity if the reaction against defeatism and the growing interest in things American are not exploited to the ends of chauvinism.

Despite his rejection of most of our literature between wars, Mr. Brooks thinks it is a good thing that young people now are so exacting, so wary of hypocrisy and humbug—an attitude which, in part at least, is certainly the fruit of those "destructive" novels.

So perhaps after all some of our writers may even pass Chekhov's test. "The best of them are realists and paint life as it is, but, through every line's being soaked in the consciousness of an object, you feel, besides life as it is, the life which ought to be, and that captivates you." Though it seems to me that this is not to say much more than that the creative power is an affirmative tide which, if it is strong enough, remains affirmative whatever its surface burden of disruption and despair.

LEON DENNEN, who reads the Soviet press, writes me that the newest volume in a series by Mikhail Sholokhov, "The Don Flows Home to the Sea," soon to be published here, has given the Soviet critics a bad headache. The reason is that the hero, introduced in the first volume as an honest Cossack who will eventually become a Communist, turns bandit instead.

The Soviet discussions of the book [writes Mr. Dennen] have been long-winded, muddled, and tortuous. The poor critics don't know what to make of it. M. Charny expresses his "love" and "reverence" for the greatest living Soviet writer and suggests cautiously that the hero should have at last become an organic part of the "happy Soviet life." The critics Hoffenshefer and I. Greenberg insist that George Melekhov should have become a Communist. They are glad, however, that Sholokhov did not succumb to the "happy ending" school, thus avoiding the errors of "vulgar sociology" [whatever that may mean]. P. Gromov absolves the author but blames another character in the novel, the

Bolshevik Mikhail Koshevoi. "Why," asks Gromov, "did Gregory join the White Guards the last time?" "Because," he answers promptly, "Koshevoi's political views were schematic. He did not understand the complicated dialectics of the revolution in the village. He created around Gregory an atmosphere of distrust, of petty quarrels, and thus drove him to commit a new crime."

Meanwhile, the outstanding critical review, the *Literary Critic*, has been banned by the government because, as the *Literary Gazette* explains, "Soviet criticism is muddled and is badly in need of a reorientation." Sholokhov, who because of his Cossack contacts happens to be at the moment in Stalin's favor, remains silent.

BOOKS BEHIND THE LINES: "Aristotle's Art of Poetry" is introduced and explained by W. Hamilton Fyfe in a little volume of that title issued by Oxford University Press (\$1). And you can get "The Basic Works of Aristotle," "the master of those that know," edited and introduced by Richard McKeon in a volume published by Random House (\$4). . . . The Facsimile Text Society has published "Tamerlane and Other Poems" by Edgar Allan Poe from the edition of 1827, with an introduction by Thomas Ollive Mabbott (Columbia University Press, \$1.80).

W. H. AUDEN has written the book for an operetta, "Paul Bunyan," for which Benjamin Britten has composed the music. It is to be presented during the week of May 5 by Columbia Associates at Brander Matthews Hall at Columbia University.

MARGARET MARSHALL

A Man on the Isle of Palms

BY ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Looks at his watch, or turns to watch the sea,

Or see his little son

In a blue sweater, tossing a blue ball,

Bright in the southern sun,

Unconscious of the dubious presences

That haunt his father, come unseen, and go

Along a strand that Dali might have drawn,

A beach described by Poe:

Gray sisters, fatal modern goddesses,

Neurosis and Nostalgia, at his side,

Lean fondly over his shoulder, make him love

The slack and ebbing tide:

Whom he can learn, with patience, to dismiss;

Hush the long argument between the cells

And nervous mind; and rise, and walk the beach,

Looking for lovely shells;

Or sit, content, and smoke; and feel the sun,

Watch the blue ocean; or shade the page and read,

Or study Time and Silence, that great pair

Of which all art has need.

The Dispossessed

FLOTSAM. By Erich Maria Remarque. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.50.

"**F**LLOTSAM" is a story of Germans whom the Third Reich dispossessed, of wanderers without passports or nationality who have no legal right to live anywhere on the earth. It is a story of people being thrown out of one country into the next—being led to frontiers at night to sneak across them as best they can. And each time they are caught in Austria or Czechoslovakia or France (the period is 1936-37) they are liable to harsher treatment, to stiffer prison sentences. Every step they take, every street corner they turn, every restaurant they enter, fills them with fear of being apprehended; while all the while they are battling against starvation. It is a story as horrifying as it is pathetic: a grisly twentieth-century example of the once light-hearted picaresque novel.

In a story of this kind it is perhaps not easy to decide what is, and what is not, sentimentality or melodrama. The life of these people is charged with emotions and cluttered with events that we cannot judge in the light of normal experience, that indeed represent the breakdown of normal experience. Yet, granting all that, "Flotsam" still seems fictional and unconvincing. It makes very good reading, and the plight of its characters comes through vividly enough. But the characters themselves seem conventionally conceived and sentimentally handled. For another thing, the reader is somehow kept more interested in what is happening than in whom it is happening to—a pretty dead giveaway that Remarque has let his story count for more than his theme. Indeed, you feel that you understand the life of these people in spite of the author rather than because of him. He has his incidental virtues in "Flotsam"; but he has simply not found the artistic level, or even the human level, at which such a story should operate. And at its worst, as in the suicide of a beaten Jewish actress or the death of an old man, it employs a manner that one would scarcely have thought possible to the author of "All Quiet on the Western Front." But then one recalls that "Flotsam" was a movie before it was a book.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

Leaders in Two Wars

WOODROW WILSON: THE FIFTEENTH POINT. By David Loth. J. B. Lippincott and Company. \$3.

BLOOD, SWEAT, AND TEARS. By Winston Churchill. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.

IN CRITICAL times the survival of a civilization may depend upon the timely emergence of a leader who would integrate and actualize its hopes and aspirations. Wilson was such a leader. For a few months he was a mouthpiece of untold millions. His leadership failed, and with devastating clarity he predicted the consequences of that failure. In his last message to a Congress which was jubilant at the return to "normalcy," determined to repudiate international responsibilities and to build world peace upon the strange assumption that he serves mankind best who serves himself, Wilson declared, "I think we all realize that the day has

come when democracy is being put upon its final test." And in the address which he broadcast on Armistice Day, 1923, the dying invalid repeated, "The faith of the world can be set straight only by the firmest and most determined exhibition of the will to lead and make the right prevail." This will was lacking everywhere, and especially in the United States. It was not Wilson who failed his people or mankind; it was the people and mankind who failed Wilson. A close study of Wilson's messages in the decisive years is most important for understanding the present. The several good biographies of Wilson which appeared in the early twenties lack the perspective in which recent events have placed the work of twenty-five years ago. David Loth's new book is not a definitive biography or a mine of new information, but it is an extremely readable, understanding, and intelligent piece of work, and should be warmly recommended to those who have to meet the challenge of today.

The events of the last decade have been the consequence—predicted by Wilson—of Wilson's failure to lead. Wilson's leadership has now been followed by Churchill's. That would have seemed improbable twenty-five years ago. In their background and mental make-up the two men are fundamentally different. But in the last decade Churchill has grown in stature. Intelligence and courage were always his; he has added wisdom and vision. In a world infinitely harder than that of twenty-five years ago, deeply disillusioned, fraught with immeasurable consequences, he has become the symbol of democracy's resistance in "its final test." Wilson was allowed to lead with the great and hopeful vision before him; Churchill rose to leadership under the shadow of catastrophe. He had foreseen the catastrophe and understood its nature; by his understanding he could have met its challenge. But he was called to leadership only at the last moment, to avert the worst consequences of facile optimism, utopian pacifism, and fantastically unrealistic class ideology, of both right and left. If it should turn out that he was not called on too late, it will be largely because of the high resolve with which he faced a situation not of his making.

The new volume of Churchill's speeches, which covers the period from May, 1938, to February, 1941, is a historical and human document of the first order and will be read as one of the great classics of statesmanship wherever and whenever the standards of reading are not prescribed by Chancellor Hitler. As far back as May 9, 1938, Churchill warned: "Never before has the choice of blessings or curses been so plainly, vividly, even brutally offered to mankind. The choice is open. The dreadful balance trembles." In the same speech Churchill defined the fundamental war aims of Great Britain, and he found himself in complete agreement with Wilson. In the face of the "failure" of the League of Nations, he could say: "And yet we stand here today to proclaim that this was the sovereign plan: that it remains at once the wisest, the most noble, the most sane, and the most practical path upon which the men and women of every land should set their feet tonight: on which they should march forward and for which they should strive with might and main." He never wavered in the conviction that "national unity can only be preserved upon a cause which is larger than the nation itself." There is nowhere in the book an expression of narrow nationalism, of a Britain First attitude; though

it is steeped in the living continuity of English tradition, the book is animated by the deep conviction of the interdependence of all human life, of its common destiny and common responsibility. Churchill was the first statesman to propose a common citizenship for the French and for the British; he envisages today a common citizenship for British and Americans and for all men of good-will.

It is useless to quote from these speeches. Many passages have become already classic; many more will if democracy survives. Here is a leader who was not afraid to tell his people the whole unpleasant truth and to teach them to face stern reality. He never underestimated the immense risks and dangers involved in the actions which he proposed; his propositions drew their strength from a clear realization of what would be the alternative. His view of the future as revealed here may be narrow: these speeches are words leading and spoken "into battle"; they are by necessity or by personal limitation entirely single-minded, battle-centered. Nevertheless, they contain vision and rare generosity; they avoid any recrimination concerning the past and discuss the many missed opportunities and the many ignoble surrenders without any bitterness. "Of this I am quite sure, that if you open a quarrel between the past and the present, we shall find that we have lost the future." In this generosity, which is part of Churchill's intense realism, lies much of his strength, but his main strength springs from the clear recognition of the almost unbelievable stakes involved. "If we can stand up to Hitler, the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted signs."

HANS KOHN

A Cool Hand

UP AT THE VILLA. By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$1.75.

THIS novel, as unmitigated a specimen of fictional drivel as has appeared under respectable authorship within living memory, might be fitly dismissed as the latest triumph of servant-girl's literature were it not for the phenomenal value that still attaches to Maugham's name among modern authors. The standard argument on his case is familiar. He is the complete Cool Hand and Technical Expert among writers; he has never been taken in by literary gangdom, aesthetic pretensions, or anything else in the life around him; he is a walking model of his own no-nonsense, fact-facing, smooth-tooled heroes; he is always perfectly aware of what he is doing and is as fully in control of his faculties when turning out a piece of trash as when producing a masterpiece. This reputation has been as carefully fostered by himself as by his admirers. "The Summing Up" was a deftly calculated exercise in his favorite virtue—professional sincerity; so superbly calculated, indeed, that even its author seemed unaware that his elaborately cold-blooded realism gave his show away more readily than the bewildered ardors and protestations we usually get in literary memoirs. Popular critics are always pushovers for the cool kind of aesthetic amorality

Maugham professes. "His cynicism has advanced so far as to become candor," exclaims Mr. Fadiman: "It's a positive pleasure to be sold so smooth and shiny a gold brick." We are also used to hearing Maugham called "the greatest living English novelist," the implication always being conveyed that were he so disposed he could, at any time he feels like it, produce another "Cakes and Ale" or "Of Human Bondage."

One is moved to ask: then why doesn't he do so? For ten years now, since "Cakes and Ale" in 1930, he has turned out a succession of luxurious pot-boilers, *Cosmopolitan* thrillers, and Hollywood slick-jobs equaled only by the similar procession of banalities that followed "Of Human Bondage" in 1915. His plays, expertly carpentered actor-pieces and drawing-room comedies in the fagged line of Pinero, are hard to discuss seriously even among the arid wastes of modern drama; one has only to see them in revival a few years after their glamorous first nights and shorn of their original stars to realize the prodigies of mechanical contrivance, mawkish dialogue, and trumped-up moral pretension they encompass. Modern fiction, especially in England, has mostly represented a triumph of higher journalism, but Bennett, Wells, and Galsworthy at least respected the more serious social sympathies, class conflicts, and psychological interests of their time. Maugham has never let these worries run away with him. He has brought high gifts—in storytelling, in humane observation, in suspense, in humor, and even in more serious matters of passion or decadence—to the most trivial of uses. His two notable books have issued from the only two experiences in which he has allowed himself to be deeply or personally implicated: his youthful sufferings in love, thought, and physical disability and his ordeal of moral exoneration as a professional writer. The first struggle he sublimated by a patient, disillusioned, laborious, unoriginal, but convincing realism; the second by a brilliant feat of satire. Yet one has only to look at the conclusions at which those books arrive to understand why he lapsed into a perfect model of the literary journeyman, hostile to artistic risk or innovation, invulnerable to the serious claims of his profession, and apparently without conscience when it comes to lending his remarkable equipment to the highest sales values that tawdry smartness and banality command.

If any doubt remains on this score, "Up at the Villa" should dismiss it. The screaming falseness of its dialogue (on pages 39-43 or 87-99, for instance) should alone be enough to turn the stomachs of even moderately sensitive readers; it would put to shame the humblest employee of the Hollywood script-mills. Perhaps one exaggerates the importance of all this. But Maugham is influential; his claim to importance is highly respected in schools, rental libraries, and newspaper columns; he figures as a guide for ambitious talents. His career in the fashionable drawing-rooms and international cocktail sets of Europe, in Riviera villas, in theatrical circles, on P. & O. liners, or among the glamorous places of the Orient is a model of envy to innumerable aspirants who take this kind of success as a symptom of serious literary distinction. And it is quite in line with his elaborately groomed, no-nonsense attitude toward art that he should in recent months have used his current pulpit in the *Saturday Evening Post* to disseminate a large skepticism about modern literature, to expound his man-to-man common sense

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on the aesthetics of the mystery thriller, and to reduce the labors of Henry James to an ultimate refinement of futility. The motive behind these Literary Lessons for Rotarians is not difficult to glimpse: no man likes to be shown up by his betters quite as ruthlessly as the slightest comparison between the work of James and Maugham shows up Maugham. At the age of sixty-seven James had not only written an almost unbroken succession of subtle and profoundly original novels (in which, contrary to the opinion of Maugham and Van Wyck Brooks, he was taken in by *nothing* in the world of sham and ambition in which he mixed) but was writing, in the fulness of his age and wisdom, one of the most searchingly pathetic and beautifully wrought stories ever set on paper, "The Bench of Desolation." At the age of sixty-seven Maugham turns out "Up at the Villa" for the delectation of drugstore readers, movie audiences, and the boudoirs. One of its features that provides Mr. Fadiman with special pleasure is that it does not contain "a wasted word." The fact has seldom been more deftly reversed. *All the words are wasted!*

And incidentally, if the title of "greatest living English novelist" is to be thrown around any further, it is time it landed in the right quarter. The greatest living English novelist is E. M. Forster. MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Test-Tube Drama

SCIENCE IN PROGRESS, SECOND SERIES. By L. F. Stadler, F. W. Went, J. F. Fulton, Douglas Johnson, Alfred C. Lane, H. P. Robertson, Carl D. Anderson, Duncan A. MacInnes, J. W. Beams, and J. C. Hunsaker. Edited by George A. Baitsell. Yale University Press. \$4.

ONE would never expect to discover behind such a title as "Science in Progress" the most exciting collection of detectives stories of the year. Yet these ten lectures, delivered by leaders in various scientific fields during 1939 and 1940, are just that. The riddles they set out to solve are not mysteries of death but of life, but that does not make them less engrossing. All the ingredients of good detective fiction are here—suspense, excitement of discovery, the thrill of following a "master-mind" through induction, hypothesis, deduction, and analysis of confirmatory and contradictory evidence to a conclusion or a postulate.

There is no effort to mislead the reader with false scents, however, but rather an admirable attempt to show him the drama that goes on in the test tube, under the microscope, in the cloud chamber or the telescope. To write of imponderables and to make them as immediate and as significant as the events of the European war, to demonstrate that science is not a hollow mechanistic preoccupation with abstractions or particles but one of the greatest forces available in the fight against self-destruction is a contribution that deserves far wider recognition than this book may receive.

This is the second volume of a series based upon the National Sigma Xi Lectures—the first appeared in 1939. One wishes that, like crime books, one of these could appear every month instead of every year, to remind us of the great battle for life that goes on quietly, yet ceaselessly, beside the noisy, death-dealing struggles of our time.

JEANETTA LYLE

IN BRIEF

TO SING WITH THE ANGELS. By Maurice Hindus. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.75.

This novel, far better than Mr. Hindus's "Sons and Fathers," relates a grueling story of Czechoslovakia under the Nazi "Protectorate." A small Moravian village provides the setting for a tragedy of oppression, betrayed idealism, extortion, brutality, and a rift between Nazi husband and Czech wife that echoes the burden of countless plots based on our Civil War. Though the picture is heavily overlaid with tones of black and gray, the heroine's closing cry voices the hope of a proud and long-suffering people: "They thought they'd make us howl with the wolves to the end of time, but some day we'll sing with angels again—with the angels!"

NOT BY STRANGE GODS. By Elizabeth Madox Roberts. The Viking Press. \$2.50.

A half-dozen quiet, mellow stories about country people, told with a mixture of realistic detail and mystical exaltation decidedly Celtic in flavor. Even the dialogue has an Irish tang that might stem as well from Connemara as from Kentucky, and the people move in a suffused emotional twilight that satisfies the poetic sense but may disturb readers who like their earth earthy.

DRAMA

God Is Love, or Why Worry?

SOMEWHERE in the second act of "The Beautiful People" (Lyceum theater) it is revealed that the hero has just fallen into the organ at St. Ann's Catholic church. He was looking for a beloved mouse believed to have wandered away from his own home, and when asked by the scandalized priests that he was doing he replied, in all sincerity, "Worshiping." This will give you some vague idea of the sort of thing which goes on in William Saroyan's new play; and when I add that the organ, far from being injured by the recipitation of a saint into its bowels, as observed to sound better than ever before, you will understand further that they go on in Mr. Saroyan's enchanted universe, where everything done in tenderness and good faith turns out for the best.

It is easy enough to analyze the author's recurrent motifs and on that basis to pigeonhole him in a discredited category. Few men ever displayed a completer or more clearly defined set of the stigmata of romanticism. He accepts the universe, believes in the goodness of the human heart, and holds that God is love. He distrusts the respectable, rejoices in the variety of the world, believes in the unique individual, and assumes as self-evident that Beauty is Truth. Above all, he is convinced that the secret of success in both life and art is to let oneself go—as completely and as unthinkingly as possible. But to stop with such an analysis or to proceed from it to a dismissal of Mr. Saroyan's plays is to remain blind to the primary fact that they have a freshness of fancy, a gaiety of humor, and a sincerity of sentiment which make them, in my opinion, unique. Perhaps this has been made possible by the author's genuine naivete, by the fact that he does not know how his various convictions fit into a recognized pattern and cherishes each as a fresh revelation which, in delightful astonishment, he gives to the world. In any event, it is as such that they tend to appear.

In certain respects the new piece resembles "My Heart's in the Highlands" more closely than either of Mr. Saroyan's two subsequent plays. Like the first it is completely fluid instead of attempting, like "The Time of Your Life," to achieve at least the loose consecutiveness of a series of fortuitously linked sketches; and like the first also it deals with a fantastically irresponsible family exclusively composed, it must be admitted, of Saroyans—William Saroyan as two different young men, William Saroyan as a budding girl, and William Saroyan as a bibulous old father always hoping for the best and always getting it. But though the motives are so clearly the same, the details are richly inventive, and there is little that suggests mere repetition. This is not to say that there are not moments when the whimsy becomes a bit thin, or, if you prefer, when it becomes a bit thick. Neither is it to deny that in one passage at least the sentimental grows earnestly explicit and for that moment embarrassing. But I, at least, found these moments easy to forget in the presence of so much that is completely charming.

Take, for example, the speech in which the young girl tries to describe the wonder of her first conversation with the young man she has just met at the public library, and can remember

only that he had said, "Look, pigeons!" Or take, instead, the whole series of incidents concerning the youngest of the family, the writer whose many books, we soon discover, consist of one word each—the word being written down in ecstasy at the moment when the author has discovered for himself what some noun like "tree" or "brother" really means. It can hardly be the result of conscious intention, but Mr. Saroyan plays an exquisitely skilful game of now you see it and now you don't with the merely absurd and the mystical implications of this author unable to escape the conviction that "a rose is a rose is a rose"; and he builds the whole thing up to a surprisingly effective conclusion to the play.

The only shadow upon the happiness of the family (living, by the way, on a twenty-four-dollar-a-month pension check really intended for a deceased former inhabitant of the house they occupy) is the absence of an elder son gone away to New York to play the cornet. Many times his brother is convinced that he can hear the tune being played three thousand miles away, but it is only near the very end that the others can hear it too—for the wandering musician is this time really coming up the hill. He enters tooting on the horn his only greeting to the family, and as he sits down on a chair someone tenderly mutes his cornet with a battered top hat placed over the end. After a moment the sister lifts the hat from the horn and places it at a cocky angle on the head of the musician, whose sentimental tune then soars to triumph. And at that moment the writer, still afraid of verbs but conquering now his lesser fear of the adjective, writes his

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first two-word book. He seizes paper and in ecstasy writes, "My brother." I doubt if any more completely sentimental recognition scene has been written. But on its own level it is vastly effective.

One might instructively compare "The Beautiful People" with "You Can't Take It with You." In a sense the themes are the same, and each is quite good in its way. But there is between them all the difference between sophistication playing a trick and sincerity genuinely delighted with the sentiment it is feeling, between gags deliberately concocted and humor which springs from real gaiety. I hope Mr. Saroyan will not be imitated by anyone less talented than himself or with less faith in his own romantic and sentimental ideas. But for Mr. Saroyan himself I am profoundly grateful. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

IN Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* one hears the inner illumination and exaltation that are embodied in the works of his last years—carried to ever higher points of jubilant ecstasy in portions of the *Gloria* and *Credo*, and even more affecting in the wonderful quiet passages of the *Sanctus*, the *Benedictus*, the *Agnus Dei*. And the character of the work provides the basis for judgment of the performance. The ever higher points of jubilant ecstasy, for one thing, are achieved in the form in sound which Toscanini's breath-taking tempos and soaring, radiant choral sonorities give to the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" and "in gloria Dei patris" of the *Gloria*, but not in the form given them by the ponderous, stodgy tempos and thick masses of choral sound of the Koussevitzky performance which Victor recorded at concerts in Boston (Sets 758 and 759, \$13). On the other hand the orchestral prelude to the *Benedictus*, moving as slowly as it does in Toscanini's performance, has a meaning that it does not have moving at Koussevitzky's faster pace. And there are other instances of differences in performance—in pace, in sonority—that represent perception by Toscanini of things in the music which Koussevitzky does not perceive. But there are also passages to which Koussevitzky gives beautiful effect.

Mention of the fact that the soloists range from poor (John Priebe, tenor) to fair (Jeannette Vreeland, soprano, and Anna Kaskas, contralto) and good (Norman Cordon, bass)—which is not enough for a performance that is to

be given permanence on records—completes my discussion of Koussevitzky's contribution and leads me to Victor's. Its technicians, who have produced such superb examples of orchestral recording with the Philadelphia Orchestra in the Academy of Music, do not seem to have done anything to counteract the excessive brilliance of Symphony Hall that has made most of the recent Boston Symphony recordings so sharp and harsh. One must suppose that they made some preliminary tests for the more difficult job of securing a balanced recording of orchestra, chorus, and soloists in the *Missa*; and it may be that they achieved the best that could be achieved; but listening to the records I have found both of these things hard to believe. Whereas the Koussevitzky recording of the St. Matthew Passion was excessively sharp, the sound of the *Missa* is dull, cloudy, lacking in brightness and clarity and sharpness of definition (one almost never hears the bright sound of the trumpets); the balance of orchestra, chorus, and soloists is not good and not constant; and there are changes in volume-level (the sharp drop in the middle of side 10 is one example).

The set of the *Parsifal*-Kundry duet of "Parsifal" (755, \$4)—from Parsifal's "Dies alles hab' ich nun geträumt" to the end of the second act—offers superb recording of marvelously beautiful singing by Flagstad, some of Melchior's best of today, and a fine-sounding, fairly distinctly heard orchestral accompaniment by the Victor Symphony under McArthur; and music which I dislike as much as I like the Good Friday Spell and the wonderful things in "Tristan" and "Meistersinger." Kipnis, in his second volume of Brahms songs (Set 751, \$6.50), sings a few that are well known, but also a number that are unfamiliar to me. Most of them are fine examples of the genre in which Brahms is at his best; a few—"Auf dem Kirchhofe," "Der Überläufer," "Ein Wanderer" (17749)—I don't care for. In some of the phrases of "Auf dem Kirchhofe" and "Der Überläufer" Kipnis is melodramatic; but for the rest his singing is very fine. Not very interesting are the selection from Grétry's "Zémire et Azor" (2149), Bishop's Echo Song (2150), and the excerpt from Bach's "Phoebus and Pan" (2151) in the set Lily Pons in *Classic Airs* (756, \$3.50); but Handel's "Alma Mia" and his aria from "Alessandro" (2150) and Pergolesi's "Se tu m'ami" (2151) are quite lovely; and Pons sings them all with

crystalline voice and charm. The "Ingemisco tanquam reus" from Verdi's *Requiem* that Gigli bellows in the complete recording is to be had on a single disc (13588, \$1) sung by Bjoerling with his superb voice and fine musical taste. On the reverse side is the "Cujus animam" from Rossini's *Stabat Mater*. And the opulent mezzo-soprano of Thorborg is heard in Schubert's "Allmacht" on two sides of a ten-inch single (2148, \$.75)—which means a disturbing break.

A hearing of the Primrose Quartet's recording of Haydn's quartet version of his "Seven Last Words of Christ" (Set 757, \$9) confirms my impression of the work when I heard the performance in Town Hall—that it is not one of Haydn's important or interesting achievements; and I don't hear on these records the tonal beauty of the Town Hall performance. Also uninteresting to me is the Bach Sonata for flute, violin, and piano that is beautifully played by the Moyse Trio (13591, \$1).

Ormandy's performance of "The Swan of Tuonela" (17702) in his Sibelius Anniversary Album (Set 750, \$3.50) is more gorgeously colored than the recent Stock version. The other works in the set are "Finlandia" (17701) and "Lemminkäinen's Homeward Journey" (17703), one of the least consequential Sibelius products, which was included in the Victor set (446) of Beecham's performance of the Fourth Symphony. And from past experience I think you can safely neglect Harl McDonald's Symphony No. 1, "The Santa Fé Trail" (Set 754, \$3.50) and Roy Harris's Quintet for piano and strings 1939 (Set 752, \$4), as I have done.

B. H. HAGGIN

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

THE BRANDYWINE. By Henry Seidel Canby. Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

PREHISTORIC ENGLAND. By Graham Clark. Scribner's. \$3.

THE NEW AMERICAN. A Handbook of Necessary Information for Aliens, Refugees, and New Citizens. Edited by Francis Kalnay and Richard Collins. Greenberg. \$2.75.

COUNTRY NOTES IN WARTIME. By V. Sackville-West. Doubleday, Doran. \$2.

BEGIN HERE. By Dorothy L. Sayers. Harcourt, Brace. \$2.

WILL WE HAVE INFLATION? Including The Real Danger in Our Gold. By Harry Scherman. Simon and Schuster. \$1.

WE HAVE A FUTURE. By Norman Thomas. Princeton University Press. \$2.50.

Letters to the Editors

Nazi Echoes from Japan

Dear Sirs: Mr. Barnett's interview with Toshio Shiratori in *The Nation* of April 26 reveals the deep influence of Nazi propaganda on Japan. The Japanese spokesman asserted that Britain is "ruled by an oligarchy, not by its people"—the same Nazi phraseology is being used by some Americans—and implied that the "oligarchy" was responsible for Britain's entry into the war and its continuation of the struggle. As Hitler fights to liberate the Serbs, Poles, Belgians, and others from British oppression, so Japan wishes to do the same for the Chinese. German and Japanese benevolence, unfortunately, is not always appreciated by the liberated peoples.

Hitler, Mussolini, and Shiratori complain about British hostility to their plans and forget that the government of Great Britain did everything possible to come to terms with the aggressor nations and to avoid war. In America it is—and again we hear many Americans echo this Nazi-Japanese propaganda—"Wall Street and financial interests" which oppose a German or Japanese victory. Japan wishes to liberate Asiatics "enslaved" by Britain; the Koreans and Chinese are deeply grateful; and it is Sir Victor Sassoon who caused the China incident. Did we not hear in this country the same Nazi-Japanese propaganda about Sassoon?

The attention of those Americans who today repeat so gladly these and similar slogans of Nazi propaganda—two years ago only Father Coughlin did it—should be drawn to the following assertions by the Japanese spokesman: "Germany must continue the struggle against the entire Anglo-Saxon world"; "Germany is therefore compelled to wage war until it breaks Anglo-Saxon control not only in Europe but throughout the world"; "We cannot say which side will win, but we know which ought to win—must win—and which to help."

HANS KOHN

Northampton, Mass., April 24

Mr. Hoover's Food Plan

Dear Sirs: Herbert Agar's brief reference to Herbert Hoover in *The Nation* of March 22 seems to me to contain one palpable misstatement of fact and an unwarrantable misrepresentation of mo-

tive. Mr. Agar interprets Mr. Hoover's plan for feeding the occupied countries of Europe as "a one-man revolt against the foreign policy of the United States."

If it were true that Mr. Hoover were the only person in America interested in combating malnutrition and starvation among peoples whose only crime was that they were not strong enough to resist the German invasion, the fact would be deeply discreditable to our civilization. Fortunately, it is demonstrably not true.

Anyone who reads the newspapers knows that many hundreds of prominent men and women of all professions and occupations have indorsed Mr. Hoover's plan for feeding the occupied countries, with proper and stringent precautions against the diversion of food to German use. Are these numerous supporters of the plan, including such military and naval authorities as General John J. Pershing and Admiral William V. Pratt, to be proscribed as "stubborn helpers of Hitler," to cite Mr. Agar's charitable and temperate characterization of Mr. Hoover?

If it is absurd, in the light of the ascertainable facts, to represent the movement for relieving hunger in the occupied countries as a one-man enterprise, it is little short of contemptible to dismiss Mr. Hoover's motivations with the phrase: "He is merely an egotist who dislikes the Administration, dislikes the British, and loves to be world-important."

Now, as it happens, the organization for food relief which in the last war began under Mr. Hoover's direction in Belgium and occupied France and subsequently extended its operations, after the war, to Germany and Central Europe, finally bringing food to millions of Russian famine sufferers in 1921 and 1922, saved more lives than any other agency in recorded history. Is it not probable, in the light of this fact, that Mr. Hoover's present interest in European relief is motivated by the simple humane impulse to save life rather than by the petty considerations which Mr. Agar quite gratuitously attributes to him? Such a simple impulse is perhaps incomprehensible to armchair strategists who have worked themselves up to the point of believing that the issue of the war depends on withholding from hungry French children shipments of

oatmeal and bananas. Fortunately, the majority of the American people are not yet living in an atmosphere so divorced both from reality and from humanity.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Cambridge, Mass., March 22

Dear Sirs: "The Biblical figure is altered: men cry for freedom and are proffered bread." These words by Professor Van Dusen of the Union Theological Seminary sum up the danger, and the possible dishonor, of the Hoover cause. The words are taken from an article by Professor Van Dusen printed in the April 7 issue of *Christianity and Crisis*.

The opponents of the Hoover food plan are not "armchair strategists." They are upholding the policy of the British government, which has repeatedly rejected the Hoover plan as in effect a plan to lose the war. And they are upholding the policy of the American government, which has refused to join with Mr. Hoover in seeking to coerce the British government into breaking the blockade. I quote once more from Professor Van Dusen:

Careful reflection must lead to the realization that the British government would not have given their reply to the plan without weighing all ascertainable facts, and that they would not repeatedly have rejected it nor would fully informed American church leaders have opposed it unless it were certain that its adoption would strengthen Germany's military designs. The fact is, no food of any kind can be shipped from outside into occupied territory, no matter under what conditions or with what guarantees, without material assistance to the Axis war effort.

It is an interesting fact that none of the statesmen of the little democracies who have escaped from Hitler's slavery are in favor of the Hoover plan.

I admit that I flattered Mr. Hoover in describing his revolt against the foreign policy of the United States as a "one-man revolt." He has helpers, to be sure. But I doubt whether any of the helpers would have the stubbornness and the lack of humility to continue their private propaganda in the face of the rebuffs which Mr. Hoover has received from the British and the American governments. As for Mr. Hoover's motives, I still think his actions speak for themselves. He has advocated American collaboration, in the economic

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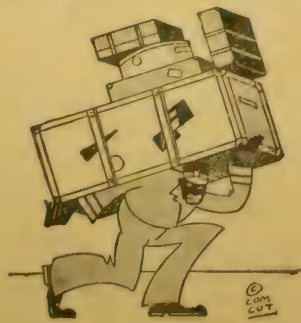
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sphere, with a victorious Nazism. He is closely associated with some of the most open and persistent appeasers in the Western world. He did his best to defeat the Lend-Lease bill. And his food plan would be, in the temperate language of Professor Van Dusen, a "material assistance to the Axis war effort."

HERBERT AGAR

Louisville, Ky., April 15

Paine's Immortal Words

Dear Sirs: Thomas Paine's stirring words written at Valley Forge to instill hope and confidence in Washington's despairing soldiers are just as true today as when he first penned them. Liberty is now being hunted around the world as it was when Paine first wrote his "Common Sense." The United States should not only "prepare an asylum for her," but also an arsenal for her deliverance from the brutality of a fanatical tyrant.

I quote Paine's immortal words:

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly; it is dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated.

They should be the clarion call for all liberty-loving people today as they were during the crisis of American independence.

JOSEPH LEWIS

Purdys, N. Y., April 21

No Concentration Camps

Dear Sirs: We are writing to call the attention of *Nation* readers to the establishment of a Washington office of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The Washington office will be responsible for keeping all interested individuals and organizations informed of legislative developments as they affect the foreign-born and their democratic rights in this country.

Our first request is to ask readers of *The Nation* to communicate with their Congressmen voicing opposition to the Hobbs concentration-camp bill. This bill was reported favorably by the House Judiciary Committee six weeks ago without the holding of any public hearings

—a decidedly undemocratic procedure in itself. It provides for detention and imprisonment—for life in some cases—of certain non-citizens ordered deported whose deportation, through no fault of their own, cannot be effected. The bill is expected to be before Congress shortly. We urge that *Nation* readers take immediate action on the measure.

HUGH DE LACY, Chairman

Washington, D. C., April 24

CONTRIBUTORS

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, before he became Spain's war-time Foreign Minister, was one of Europe's outstanding newspapermen. The Franco government recently assessed heavy fines against him and six other high officials of the former Republican regime, and sentenced them to exile for fifteen years.

DONALD W. MITCHELL, a close student of naval and military policy in the United States, has written a book on the United States navy.

ROSE M. STEIN has often written on labor matters for *The Nation*. She is now doing research work on labor problems in Washington.

HEINZ POL, a German émigré journalist who lived in France for several years, is the author of "Suicide of a Democracy," dealing with events leading up to the French collapse.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES, poet and critic, has published a translation of García Lorca's poems.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER, dramatic critic of *PM*, is a frequent contributor of literary reviews to *The Nation*. He is editor of "An Anthology of Light Verse" and "An Eighteenth Century Miscellany."

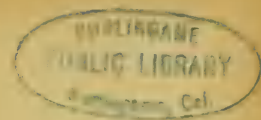
HANS KOHN, professor of modern European history at Smith College, is the author of "Not by Arms Alone," "Revolution and Dictatorship," and other books.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL is the editor of "Literary Opinion in America."

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The Shape of Things

LATE REPORTS INDICATE THAT THE IRAQ situation is becoming increasingly serious. The government of Rashid Ali Al-Gailani, which achieved power in a coup d'état a month ago, appears to control most of the country except the region around Basra, Iraq's only seaport. The British government insists it is within its treaty rights in sending troops to the country to protect its communications, and it will no doubt attempt to re-establish its grip on Bagdad and place in power a more amenable government. However, the clash comes at a time when it can ill afford to spare troops and equipment for the fairly extensive operations which may prove necessary to accomplish this end. Axis funds and encouragement are clearly behind Rashid Ali and his group of military and political supporters, and the Nazis are doing all they can to spur a general Arab revolt. However, this may not prove so easy despite unrest in Syria and Palestine. Ibn Saud, the most powerful Arab ruler, has given no sign that he is willing to support such a movement, while the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan will almost certainly remain faithful to his British alliance. Nor are the Indian Moslems likely to give any countenance to such attempts to cash in on present British difficulties. The great danger is that the Nazis might be able to send planes and air-borne troops to Iraq in sufficient numbers to provide a real stiffening for the Iraq army. That would be a difficult undertaking so long as the armistice conditions in regard to French-held Syria are observed, but this is a question on which Vichy may be persuaded to adopt an accommodating attitude. Altogether Britain is faced with an exceedingly awkward problem. It has been far too ready to take the fidelity of Iraq for granted and far too casual about combating activities of Axis agents.

✱

THE PRESIDENT'S ORDER TO THE MARITIME Commission to assemble 2,000,000 tons of shipping to aid Britain in the Battle of the Atlantic raises hope that the shipping problem is at last being tackled with the energy it demands. Of course the Maritime Commission cannot create ships, but it can divert vessels used in coastwise or Great Lakes service to overseas service and, if neces-

Editor and Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor
ROBERT BENDINER

Washington Editor
I. F. STONE

MARGARET MARSHALL
Literary Editor

Associate Editors

KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART

Dramatic Critic

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager and Director of Circulation

HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager

MARY HOWARD ELLISON

sary, transfer them to foreign registry. The Lake shipping available is unfortunately limited to ships that can travel through the present St. Lawrence canals. In the case of coastwise vessels the only problem is that of organizing rail traffic to care for the extra burden. The sixty-nine Danish, Italian, and German ships recently seized in our ports will be available as soon as Congress responds to the President's request for enabling legislation. The general practicability of the President's plan for a shipping pool to aid Britain is shown by the speed with which the Maritime Commission obtained the release of twenty-five tankers for British use, with promise of twenty-five more within a brief period. Although there has been no confirmation so far of the reported arrival of American ships at Suez, American supplies are known to be getting through to Egypt. This is, at least, a good start in the most crucial phase of defense and aid to Britain.

✱

THE MAIN MILITARY LESSON TAUGHT BY THE Balkan débâcle is that local air superiority is absolutely essential for victory in any land campaign. Overwhelming German strength in the air shattered Yugoslavia's communications on the first day and prevented its armies from rallying at any point. Every account of the British retreat through Greece tells the same story. The *Panzer* divisions might have been stalled in the mountains, but incessant attacks from the air both on the troops themselves and on their bases and supply lines crippled the defense. Under the circumstances the extrication of a large part of the British expeditionary force was something of a miracle, as well as a demonstration of the continued effectiveness of sea power. This achievement merely tempers an undisguised defeat. Nevertheless, the outcome of the war in Greece does give reason for optimism, for it suggests that once Britain is enabled to turn the tables on Hitler in the air, it can turn them on land also.

✱

THIS WEEK WASHINGTON WILL WELCOME the new Argentine Foreign Minister, Señor Ruiz Guinazau, who is on his way home from a visit in Spain. We may be sure politeness will mark his reception; the government knows how to honor distinguished official guests from the southern Americas. But it is to be hoped that ceremony will not overflow into exuberance. Señor Guinazau is a fascist. He is also an open admirer of the Axis. His stay in Spain was a series of tributes to the glories of the present dictatorship and the heroism of the Phalanx. If this attitude went unnoticed in the United States it echoed loudly in the press of Latin America. *El País* of Montevideo commented critically on the fact that "at the moment when Nazis and Fascists are directing their efforts toward Spain in order to involve it in the war, the Foreign Minister of a South American re-

public" should publicly pay the highest tribute to those elements in Spain which most vigorously support the Axis. The paper referred particularly to a speech of Señor Guinazau in which he praised Serrano Suñer, expressing admiration "for his political concepts and his clear vision." The press of Madrid, on the other hand, was unreserved in its praise of Señor Guinazau and of the Argentine as the "great Hispanic American nation, pride of the *Hispanidad*, which resists all kinds of foreign influence [a clear reference to inter-American cooperation] and demonstrates in itself the splendid work of the new Spain in the world [an equally clear reference to the fifth-column activities of the Phalanx in Latin America]." We should not be misled by this exchange of fascist felicitations; the majority of the Argentine people are pro-British and anti-Hitler. But in view of his recent activities in Spain, we think the visit of the Foreign Minister should be celebrated with becoming restraint.

✱

HITLER'S ACCOUNT OF THE WAR TO DATE, delivered before the Reichstag last week, proves that the Nazis have introduced a new order in words if not in deeds. It was as perfect a study in reverse meanings as we have had from the inventor of the concept of "provocative defense." Hitler's portrait of Winston Churchill as an incendiary, a fanatic, a warmonger, a criminal, and a drunkard might be entitled *Adolf Through the Looking Glass*, with the reservation that Hitler drinks nothing weaker than power. "For over five years," said the Führer, "this man has been chasing around Europe like a madman in search of something that he could set on fire. Unfortunately, he again and again finds hirelings who open the gates of their country to this international incendiary." As for Hitler's story of how he waged peace on the Balkans and of his efforts to thwart the "bribed conspirators" who caused Yugoslavia to resist an arrangement which offered that nation the "greatest future conceivable," it must have brought tears of envy to the eyes of Goebbels. His speech seemed to be designed primarily for foreign consumption: he promised 100 bombs for every one the British drop in the war on civilians, for which Churchill is, of course, responsible; he denied threatening the United States and boasted that Germany could never be beaten. He made one promise, however, to the German people—another year of war and better guns with which to defend Utopia in reverse.

✱

THE SUPREME COURT, IN PASSING ON THE case of Arthur W. Mitchell, Negro Congressman from Illinois, who was forced to move from a Pullman car into a Jim Crow coach as he neared the Arkansas border in 1937, performed the neat legerdemain of approving segregation by attacking discrimination against Negroes

in the matter of accommodations provided. Justice Hughes, who delivered the decision, insisted that the issue was "not a question of segregation but one of equality of treatment." "Colored persons," he said, "who buy first-class tickets must be furnished with accommodations equal in comforts and conveniences to those afforded to first-class white passengers." The court thus gives indirect aid and comfort to those Southerners who rationalize their racial prejudice by asserting that the Jim Crow statutes "were enacted for the purpose of promoting the welfare, comfort, peace, and safety of the people of both races"—we quote the words of a group of Southern attorneys general who petitioned the court not to rule on Mitchell's appeal. In spite of the fact that the court in effect sanctioned segregation, Mr. Mitchell himself hailed the ruling as the first decisive step toward equal rights for Negroes "in my lifetime." The jubilation of Mr. Mitchell seems to us misplaced, though the practical effect of the decision may be to break down, if only a little, the existing structure of discrimination. The maintenance of equal Pullman accommodations for Negroes would mean a constant financial loss for the railroads, since so few Southern Negroes have the means to travel that way; and it is therefore quite possible that Mr. Mitchell may now ride in Pullmans undisturbed. If the railroads are required to provide equal accommodations in day coaches, where most people must travel, race discrimination may bow to economic considerations. But that is a long way round to the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment, and the Supreme Court has not helped matters by evading the issue.

★

FIRST-QUARTER EARNINGS PRESENT A MOST eloquent answer to the cries of anguish in financial circles over the "ruinous" increase in taxes, wages, and other costs of production. Figures from 176 companies show total profits for the quarter of \$269,500,000 as against \$218,000,000 in the corresponding quarter of 1940. This represents a gain of more than 23 per cent over last year's profitable operations. The largest of the industrial companies, the United States Steel Corporation, had a profit of \$36,559,995, which was its largest since 1929 and more than double the figure for the same period last year. Bethlehem, General Motors, and some of the other large corporations did less well, but in each instance the profits were impressive as compared with pre-war earnings. These reports, it is true, do not take account of the new taxes to be levied this year or the recent wage increases that have been granted. But it should be noted that several of the larger corporations, including United States Steel, have set aside a general reserve to meet mounting taxes which is not included in the profit figures. Company officials estimated that the United States Steel wage increase will cost the corporation some \$62,000,000

a year. This is \$13,000,000 less than the corporation's "profit from operations" in the last quarter alone, before deductions. Despite Wall Street hysteria, business does not seem to be suffering from the defense emergency.

★

THE SALE OF DEFENSE BONDS HAS STARTED impressively without any of the objectionable features that characterized the Liberty Loan drives of 1917-18. There have been plenty of publicity stunts, radio programs, and other advertising devices, but no quotas have been set and no direct pressure has been brought on any individual to force him to buy a bond. The emphasis has been on general participation by the public rather than on the amount of bonds sold. Sales of the "baby bonds" are limited to \$5,000 per person during a calendar year. Although the total volume of sales in these amounts can hardly make much of a dent in our national-defense costs, the Treasury is on sound ground in emphasizing sales to small holders rather than to wealthy individuals or to banks. It should help to hold down luxury expenditures and provide a much-needed cushion against post-defense deflation. And the restriction on sales to the wealthy should minimize the financial advantage that this group might otherwise obtain because of the urgent need for funds. As much as possible of the national-defense program should be financed by increased taxation, but since some borrowing is necessary the Treasury is to be commended for putting it on a thoroughly democratic basis.

★

JAN VALTIN, THE MAN WHO CAME OUT OF the night, seems to us entitled to stay out. As we go to press, his case is about to come up once more before the Ellis Island immigration officials, who will in turn pass their findings along to Washington for a decision. There is, in fact, no chance that the government will order Valtin back to Germany, where the authorship of his book would alone assure him a rendezvous with the headsman's block. But there are other unpleasant eventualities that may befall a man whom the government officially finds undesirable. He might be jailed until such time as the government could execute a deportation order without endangering his life. Even if he is permitted temporarily to remain at liberty, the threat of deportation, forever hanging over him, would leave him neither peace nor any possibility of planning for the future. Technically Valtin has no case. He was a member of a "subversive" group, and he reentered this country illegally after having been deported on the basis of a felony conviction. He makes no denial of these charges and appeals to the tradition of political asylum. We believe his position is sound. All his offenses stemmed directly from his membership in the Communist Party, and it is crystal clear that he no longer has any connection with this or any other "sub-

versive" organization. He has, in fact, done a valuable service in exposing the methods of such groups, and it would be compounding cruelty with folly to penalize him again for political views that have already subjected him to the medieval tortures of Hitler's Germany.

✱

AT FIRST BLUSH IT MIGHT SEEM THAT WHAT this country needs least of all is a new committee. We have had committees to save democracy abroad, to promote democracy at home, to suppress democracy both at home and abroad. But until now there has been no promising national organization pledged to fight for freedom on both sides of the ocean. The Union for Democratic Action has been formed for just this purpose, and the enthusiasm with which its emergence has been greeted is a fair proof of the need. There can no longer be any question about the will of the majority of Americans to give England every aid, even at the risk of involving this country in the war. At the same time millions of Americans are fearful that our participation in the fight to check fascism in Europe will encourage reaction in the United States. In part this fear is well founded—the Dieses, the Coxes, the Hoffmans want nothing more than a chance to beat labor into submission in the name of patriotism; in part it is the carefully nurtured boggy of those who would frighten us with fascism here the more easily to establish it elsewhere. England, under the watchful eye of the British Labor Party, is fighting fascism abroad without succumbing to tyranny at home. We believe that the Roosevelt Administration similarly would fight a two-front war for democracy, but it cannot do so without organized mass support. The Union for Democratic Action is designed to strengthen its hand in just this way.

Control of the Air

THE heart of the majority report of the Federal Communications Commission on chain broadcasting lies in the statement, "The United States has rejected government ownership of broadcasting stations, believing that the power inherent in control over broadcasting is too great and too dangerous to the maintenance of free institutions to permit its exercise by one body, even though elected by or responsible to the whole people. But in avoiding the concentration of power over radio broadcasting in the hands of government, we must not fall into an even more dangerous pitfall: the concentration of that power in self-perpetuating management groups." The report shows that this is the very situation in which we find ourselves.

Stations affiliated with either NBC or CBS represent over 85 per cent of the total night-time power of unlimited-time radio stations in this country. In 1938 the

310 smaller stations not affiliated with any one of the four national networks had a consolidated net loss of \$149,000, while the 350 stations belonging to one or another of the networks earned more than \$19,000,000. Nearly half this income went to NBC, CBS, and the twenty-three large stations which they own or operate. NBC controls two of the national networks, the Red and the Blue. CBS has the other large network. The fourth, Mutual, is not only small but finds its possibilities of growth blocked by the long-term exclusive contracts which bind most of the important stations to NBC or CBS. The profits of NBC and CBS are enormous. In 1938, according to the findings of the Federal Communications Commission, NBC earned 80 per cent on its investment in tangible property, CBS 71 per cent. NBC earned more than \$22,000,000 from 1926, when it was formed, until 1938, when its investment in tangible property amounted to \$4,284,000. CBS earned \$22,500,000 during the twelve years of its existence before 1928, in which year its tangible property was a shade less than \$5,000,000. By investment in tangible property the commission means actual investment in property as distinct from such intangible items as good-will,

NBC, as a subsidiary of the Radio Corporation of America, is itself part of a vast combine which plays a dominating part in entertainment and communications. "RCA's control of thousands of patents, and its experience with and ownership of pre-broadcasting wireless transmitters, as well as its support from General Electric and Westinghouse, gave it a running start in the infant radio-broadcasting industry," the report says. Through its acquisition of the Victor Talking Machine Company, RCA became the leading phonograph and phonograph-record manufacturer. Through its own management bureau in NBC it controls many leading artists, "bargaining" with itself for their services. It occupies a powerful position in international radio communications and in the manufacture of all kinds of radio equipment. It has "a tremendous competitive advantage," the commission finds, "in occupying such newly opened fields as frequency-modulation (FM) broadcasting and television—an advantage which may, indeed, discourage newcomers in fields where RCA seeks to become dominant." Its subsidiary, the National Broadcasting Company, has among its affiliates one-fourth of the broadcasting companies of the country, using nearly half of the total night-time power. RCA itself has nearly 250,000 stockholders, none with as much as one-half of one per cent of the stock. Thus a self-perpetuating management runs this vast enterprise in manufacturing, entertainment, and communications, embracing films as well as the radio. And any attempt to curb its control over the ideas fed to the people of this country is deplored as an attempt to "destroy the American system of network broadcasting."

Many strange and undemocratic phenomena have been paraded before us in recent years as part of the "American system," but none more dangerous than this one. The spectacle is not made the more palatable by the fact that these great companies took over the nation's air waves without payment and pay no tax for their use other than the normal income and property taxes imposed on other enterprises.

The commission has promulgated a series of regulations designed to enable it to use its licensing power to put an end to these monopolistic practices. Radio-station licenses must be renewed yearly, and this is the rod which the commission holds in reserve to enforce its new rules. These rules are designed to end long-term exclusive contracts, to restore competition in the sale of programs to stations, and to prevent the great chains from controlling all the outlets in areas where no independent stations now exist. No doubt NBC and CBS will fight these rules in the courts. But it is clearly in the public interest that they be upheld and enforced. Control of news and opinion and entertainment over the air by two great chains is just as bad as a similar control of the nation's newspapers would be.

The Lag in Defense

DEFEENSE output is still lagging behind defense needs, and a great acceleration in tempo is required if production is to match the various appropriations made by Congress. An even greater effort will be essential, as the charts illustrating Fritz Sternberg's article on page 552 show, before the flow of arms for the democracies equals the production of the Nazis.

In the past week the President has moved to enlarge one industrial bottleneck—the manufacture and utilization of machine tools. His letter to Messrs. Knudsen and Hillman, directors of the Office of Production Management, points to "the urgent necessity of expanding and speeding up the manufacture of critical machine tools." Admittedly, output in this field has grown impressively during the past year, but, as the President says, "it is not enough." He urges, therefore, that machines should be put to work twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, subject only to the necessary time out for repairs. There are, he suggests, reservoirs of both skilled operators and machines outside the defense industries which await mobilization.

The facts revealed by I. F. Stone in last week's *Nation* and again on page 550 of this issue show that there is good reason for dissatisfaction with the present rate of defense production. The machine-tool industry itself is a long way from a twenty-four-hour schedule. The usual explanation by the employers is labor shortage, but Mr. Stone shows that there are still plenty of unemployed

machinists. The industry suffers from a high labor turnover, which indicates poor working conditions and lends weight to his suggestion that one obstacle to an improved rate of operations is the disinclination of machine-tool manufacturers to recruit union-conscious workers.

We need not only more machine tools; we also need to see that existing ones are not kept idle or used for relatively unimportant purposes. A very large fraction of the nation's tool capacity is to be found in the automobile industry, which has received enormous contracts for armaments. But these contracts are mainly to be filled in new plants equipped with new machine tools. Meanwhile the automobile companies have been enjoying not merely business as usual but business better than usual, working almost to capacity on the manufacture of private cars. Only now have we an agreement for freezing design, applying not to 1942 but to 1943 models, and a restriction of output to the extent of a 20 per cent cut in this year's banner production.

We agree with Mr. Stone that Mr. Knudsen has been carried out of his depth in attempting to do the job assigned to him. No one denies that he is a production genius, but organizing the production of even so huge a corporation as General Motors is a very different thing from organizing the productive facilities of the nation as a whole. That calls for a very wide range of qualities: for a firm grasp of national economics, for imaginative insight into the actions and reactions of many industries, for a sympathetic understanding of labor problems. But above all it requires the ability and character to sweep the mind clear of preconceived notions.

Judged on such necessarily severe terms not only Mr. Knudsen but many of the other dollar-a-year men brought in to run the defense program have proved unequal to the ordeal. It is much to ask of a business executive, assigned the management of a section of OPM dealing with his own industry, to think nationally all the time and not to be influenced by some consideration—perhaps unconscious—of the welfare of his own industry and his own plant. Most business men have been thinking for years in terms of limited production, of achieving the most profitable balance between supply and demand. It is not easy for them to adjust themselves mentally to the idea of output stretched to the uttermost. Again and again able corporation executives working in Washington have failed to visualize the magnitude of the program on which they are engaged. The steel men protested against independent surveys calling for a great expansion in steel capacity; now they have to admit that the estimates of Gano Dunn, which they approved, are inadequate. It has been the same story with railroad cars and with aluminum and other vital materials. All too often the blinders of private interest have impeded the vision essential to the planning of any undertaking as vast as the defense program.

If Lindbergh Is Right

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

IF CHARLES A. LINDBERGH is right and Hitler is indeed invincible, if the powers resisting Nazi aggression even backed by the full industrial and fighting strength of the United States are doomed to defeat, then the American future may as well be written off. For Lindbergh's happy faith that a victorious Germany will prove no threat to the United States is too silly to consider as an alternative. Indeed, the Japanese have gone out of their way to demolish it by publishing "peace terms" which show exactly what role the United States is cast for in the Axis order of tomorrow. It is possible, of course, that Mr. Lindbergh has reconciled himself to the modest niche allotted his country in the new cosmology of fascism. But it is more likely that he chooses to discount the terms published by the *Japan Times Advertiser* as merely the imaginative notions of an irresponsible editor. Unfortunately this is not true. The *Times Advertiser* is an organ of the Japanese Foreign Office, and it obviously reflects the views which the Foreign Minister, Mr. Matsuoka, brought home from his recent tour of Europe. And if there is any doubt in Mr. Lindbergh's mind concerning Mr. Matsuoka's attitude toward the Axis and the United States he might recall that three days before the terms were published the Foreign Minister, at a Tokyo mass-meeting in his honor, proclaimed his absolute confidence in an Axis victory and his conviction that Germany and Italy were working closely together "for the great common ideal of creating a millennium." So the proposed peace terms must be viewed as an official exposition of the sort of future the United States, as well as Britain, may expect if Lindbergh is right about Nazi invincibility.

According to those terms, the strongest powers, acting in conformity with "the law of nature," will have the greatest opportunities to develop the world and to determine spheres of influence, resources, and "type of government." The British Empire would be one of the powers permitted to "settle world peace," and so would the United States. But both Britain and the empire, in advance of the settlement, seem to have been conclusively disposed of. For South Africa and India would be made "independent," British possessions in the Pacific would "obtain increasing self-government" within the generous boundaries of Japan's "co-prosperity sphere," Africa would go to the Axis, and the United Kingdom, while remaining "the heart of the British Empire," would witness "a gradual transfer of authority to Canada," which would fall under the hegemony of the United States. Australia would be allowed to remain "within the British Empire" but would open its doors to Japanese settlement, and the naval bases of the empire, west and

east, would be demilitarized. So much for old England.

The United States is not left out; we get our share of the swag whether we want it or not. Not only Canada. Our sphere of influence would include Central and South America, Newfoundland and Greenland, "with islands and regional waters." Perhaps Mr. Lindbergh only read that far. If so his complacency is easy to understand; those provisions might have been cribbed from one of his speeches. But there is a catch, whether he saw it or not. Let's read on: ". . . but the United States would undertake not to form hegemony over South America inimical to the Axis and would accord the fullest freedom and equality of opportunity to Germany and her allies in that continental brotherhood. No American naval bases would be west of Hawaii, and that stronghold would be reduced in importance." And after the Axis had attained parity with the United States and Britain, we would declare a naval holiday. That seems to mean that we would grant Hitler full hunting rights in Latin America—political as well as economic—having in advance divested ourselves of the military and naval strength to resist actual threats to the hemisphere. The earth, in short, and all that dwells therein would belong to Germany and Japan; they would be its masters, and other nations would lead an independent existence only by sufferance and within the limits laid down by the Axis. Our own effective limits would be the boundaries of North America, an area we would presumably share with Britain.

So with a few strokes the Japanese paint out Mr. Lindbergh's pretty picture of his country's future in a Nazi-controlled world. But did he ever really believe in his own creation? The fact is, Lindbergh tacitly recognizes the absurdity of his own hope of peace by insisting that the United States must build up an impregnable defense, in the air, on land, on the sea. Against whom? Against powers which have no designs upon us? No, quite evidently against powers which may want to attack us but will be afraid to do so after we are fully armed. Is that the idea? Perhaps, but if it is it leaks as badly as idea number one. For if the United States, in its present state of preparedness, plus the British Empire with its unconquered fleet, its fighting armies, and its vast resources, cannot defeat Hitler, surely it is difficult to believe that a year from now, or two, or five, the United States alone, however well equipped, will be able to defeat Hitler then in full control of the Continent and Africa and the resources of the British Empire—and in active alliance with Japan. If Lindbergh is right and Hitler is now invincible, our remaining hope lies in a future of civil war and revolution fought against desperate odds in every land around the globe.

But happily only a few Americans believe Lindbergh is right. A majority of the people and their elected officials and most political and military commentators

believe, first, that a Nazi victory would create a monstrous threat to the security and independence of the United States and, second, that it can probably be prevented by the united and growing strength of the British Empire and the United States. The outcome is not sure in any case. Time works for Hitler. Hesitation and delay in this country can bring Britain to defeat, and it is a

fact that our nation is not yet geared to Hitler's tempo. But we are moving faster every day. And we are determined to support Britain with whatever weapons prove most effective, with goods and ships—and with arms if need be. We reject, as dangerous nonsense, the alternatives offered by Mr. Lindbergh. And we reject our assigned role in Mr. Matsuoko's new order.

Ghost Towns and Defense

BY JONATHAN DANIELS



THE house suited the young mechanic fine. He was one of the lucky ones of the defense workers. He had hardly been born when the Emergency Fleet Corporation built the house late in 1918; destroyers were being as swiftly built in Bath then as they are now. The house and all the other houses like it cost too much, Congressmen said later. After the war nobody wanted them. The shipyards rusted and died. Maine boys coming home from school amused themselves throwing stones through the windows of the empty houses. Then a Maine man, paying pennies for the dollars they had cost, bought them from the government, and the Yankees round about thought he was cheated even so. He spent his time after that complaining about the schoolboys and his taxes. Now his houses are filled with shipbuilders like the young mechanic I visited. Other shipbuilders lacked houses—and not only in Maine, and not only shipbuilders. Defense workers slept on pool tables in Vallejo, in drafty, jerry-built resort cabins near Quincy, in tin huts and tarpaper shacks almost everywhere.

But in this arming there has been realization from the beginning that housing may be the measure of morale. And as long ago as last July a man was brought to Washington to make sense in shelter in the defense effort. He and the job are still there. The house of housing is at 1700 I Street. It is not one of the vast classic buildings which shelter the hordes busy with reform, recovery, and defense. It is one of the pleasanter old, red-brick mansions of Washington. I think it belonged to a Congressman of another day who would be amazed by the dimensions of the housing contemplated within it now. You walk up three oak flights to the office of Charles Forrest Palmer, Coordinator of Defense Housing. The room, just as it looks now with its blue leather furniture, its green baize table, its decorations of American flag and golden eagle, its dark-blue walls and cream-white ceiling, used to be in Atlanta, Georgia, where Mr. Palmer was both successful real-estate operator and builder of the first slum-clearance project in the United States financed with federal funds.

A few years ago, when most realtors in the Atlanta region were expressing themselves with regard to public housing entirely in terms of the profane and obscene, Mr. Palmer went with his Ford and movie camera to see what Europe and England were doing about public housing. He was impressed and brought back his films to impress others. In his office his blond secretary closed the Venetian blinds; an office associate set up the projection machine. We sat in the blue leather chairs and watched his pictures: the President looking at public housing in Georgia; old English couples in public-housing projects which nobody ever thought would be knocked down by bombs; housing in Mexico and also close at hand in the dark alleys of Washington. After the movies Mr. Palmer's secretary brought us mid-morning Coca-Colas after the fashion of the Georgians.

In the light I looked at him. He is a blond man of forty-nine, well-dressed, a pipe-smoker. He was born in Illinois, went to Dartmouth long enough to join the Deks there, sold real estate in San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Chicago, rode to the last war as a cavalry lieutenant, settled in Atlanta, and made money in office buildings. He seemed the proper product of the whole migration.

He began to be interested in slum clearance as an approach to business property, but his interest helped rid Atlanta, he says, of 25 per cent of its slums. He still believes that good housing is good business. And he thinks that in defense housing everybody should be happy on the job, the private builder and the public planner. There is plenty of room for all, and glory and profit for all, in the drive to put a roof over the head of the sergeant's wife and the steamfitter's children, to house the masses of men pulled from miles around to the places where the needs of modern defense have clotted the population.

Unfortunately everybody has not been happy. Mr. Palmer, however, looks serene still, even though it has sometimes seemed that he was made Coordinator of Defense Housing to be cussed at. He may deserve his

share of the cussing. I think he does. But he seems to thrive on the alternating charges that too much housing construction is being allotted to private enterprise, and that the real-estate market is being ruined by public construction of homes for defense workers. Neither of these charges seems serious to me. The one important thing is to get the workers off pool tables and out of the back seats of jalopies and into beds. And in a hurry.

Mr. Palmer says that is being done. Private-residence building during a recent seven months' period, he said, was up 29 per cent over the same period last year in the whole country and up 150 to 200 per cent in some defense centers. At the same time the federal government has under construction, or in the final stages of land buying or contract negotiations, 75,000 dwelling units in 259 projects in 136 localities. That sounds excellent. I wish it seemed to me, after examination, as excellent as it sounds.

THE FEAR OF GHOST TOWNS

We Americans may not have prepared for war, but we had prepared for housing—presumably. At least there were in Washington, when the President delivered his defense message on May 16, 1940, the day the Germans advanced past Sedan on the way south, eleven different federal agencies concerned with housing in the United States. There had been more thinking about housing by experts on the public pay roll during the eight years before the President spoke than in the whole history of the country before the United States went to war in 1917.

Perhaps I expect too much in the way of quick results from a staff mobilized in peace before even the threat of war. I recognize that planning for cheap housing to last over a long debt-paying period is a very different task from planning for housing to be erected quickly to meet the needs of suddenly congregated men. There is no doubt about the need. I have seen it in twenty towns or more. But the fact is that on the anniversary of the day the Germans tried to drop a bomb on King Haakon of Norway (and darn near did it) the official tabulation of the Coordinator's office showed that for defense workers in essential private industry the government had provided only 1,691 dwelling units.

Funds, that April day, had been allocated for 23,980 more; 12,823 were under construction. In addition, around government posts and plants quarters had been provided for enlisted men and civilian employees of the army and navy to the extent of 5,070 living places. In process are ten times as many places for such low-income army and navy employees. But in process is not in being. To me as a newspaperman it seemed poor newspapering when *Defense*, the official weekly bulletin of the Office for Emergency Management, which alone stands between Mr. Palmer and the President, ran the headline "New Defense Housing Units Total 2,580 in One Week" over

a story which actually said only that contracts to produce that number had been let in one week.

I think—and the figures show—that the situation is improving. Soon contracts let last fall will begin to mean completions, which are the only thing that means anything to homeless men. Also, Washington is beginning to learn from the ingenuity of the shelterless. Months ago the defense towns were crowded with trailers, and now trailers are being provided in new crowded towns by the Farm Security Administration. The officials have learned something about demountable housing, too, from seeing that a hen house on a farm today can be a cabin by a rising camp tomorrow.

A large part of the new private housing of which Mr. Palmer spoke—and a good deal of that is public housing so far as the source of capital for its construction is concerned—is built for sale, not for rent—though efforts are being made to encourage private housing for rent. What workmen need in the crowded defense towns is not a house to own but a chance to be a renter. In spite of all talk about high wages in defense industries, what they want and need is decent and livable housing for between \$20 and \$30 a month. That, "believe it or not," Mr. Palmer says, is all they can afford to pay in the towns and cities where they have swelled the population.

"We have no intention," he said, "of creating ghost towns or ghost sections by our defense construction." Other realtors, chambers of commerce, bankers rejoice in that declaration. The important thing, however, is that no houses in such possible future ghost towns be unloaded on defense workers; workers must not be required to buy in order to have a place to sleep. Mr. Palmer may have no intention of creating any ghost towns. He has the duty of seeing that housing is provided in towns where the hope of continuance of present industrial or naval or military activity will be slight if any peace like the old peace ever returns. In such cities manufacturers have refused to expand their plants without some government assurances about depreciation. Workmen in the same places certainly should not be left with houses which may become quite as obsolete in terms of proximity to future jobs. Defense housing should not be a doubtful speculation in home-ownership by the defense workmen themselves. That would certainly mean unloading the ghost towns on men out of jobs in them and unable to move away.

Mr. Palmer does not like rent-control legislation. It proved impracticable, he says, in this country during the last war and is giving Canada trouble today. Obviously, however, when so large a part of the defense of a whole country and the money that goes with it are concentrated in a hundred-odd towns, the law of supply and demand in housing may cease to be economically just and become both ravenous and ridiculous. Ghost towns are no more to be feared than grab towns.

HOUSING NEEDED. NOT NOW BUT YESTERDAY

One thing indicated by this fear of future ghost towns is that in spite of Mr. Palmer's title of coordinator there has been slow growth in real coordination. Not until late in March did the National Defense Advisory Commission seem to see that the selection of defense centers was a part of planning for shelter. Before that sometimes both the army and navy seemed to act as if they wanted to see how hard they could make the housing problem. Little towns were overwhelmed by their decisions, and the capacities of bigger towns were stretched to amazing proportions. Chester Davis, before he left the National Defense Commission, made public protest against a concentration of contracts which seemed to him a dangerous neglect of the country's human and other resources. But if defense work is started, as it often must be, in places where few workers live, its wages are bound to bring in the people. Housing for them comes afterward.

Possibly the pressures could not have been avoided. But at a time when the country has been aware of defense strikes and the President himself has spoken sharply about jurisdictional disputes, some of the most serious jurisdictional disputes have taken place in Washington itself and in his own government. Some people there refer to housing as the classic example. The Coordinator builds no houses. His very title—one which is becoming increasingly popular in Washington—expresses his duty to bring together diversity, to harmonize the various existing housing agencies. But that means harmonizing not only housing but housers, ambitions, people. Few agencies in government are ever abolished. When their conflicts get entirely out of hand they are coordinated. And from within, the process of being coordinated looks like a fight for life.

There have been no picket lines deployed by one housing agency against another. But almost everybody in Washington interested in housing is aware of the terrific struggle—involving the United States Housing Authority, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, the Defense Homes Corporation of the RFC, the Public Buildings Administration, the Farm Security Administration, the Navy Department, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Defense Commission—over who should build what housing. Palmer came into that situation and, some say, participated in the struggle for the power and the glory. Some say John M. Carmody, the Federal Works Administrator, was in the fight up to his armpits. Admirals were angry, and coordinators and administrators were jealous. There has been attempted sabotage of personalities if not of housing. And none of it has done housing any good.

The quarreling has not been limited to the officials. In some strange way housing has seemed the almost perfect vehicle for carrying old quarrels into the new crisis.

A good many realtors still do not like public housing, and a good many public-housing advocates do not like a fairly common type of realtor. Outside the housing field itself the quarrel spread. The fight over public housing in Quincy, Massachusetts, for instance, where the contending parties were led by the C. I. O.'s Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, saying housing was needed, and the Chamber of Commerce, saying it was not, was not simply a quarrel between the house owners and the house needers. It was connected with a new contest for strategic advantage in this automotive age.

The number of automobiles in America has multiplied more than ten times since industrial expansion began with Allied orders before the first World War. This has relieved the pressure in towns. It means that men can go a long way from Bethlehem Steel's Fore River shipyards to sleep. And that suits Bethlehem Steel splendidly since it disperses them not only far from the gates of the yard but also far from the little house near the yard gates where the C. I. O. has its organizers. Once employers wanted their villages for domination; now unions find organizing easier when workers' houses are congregated close to big plants. Both sides discuss housing as housing and not as an item in the strategy of industrial conflict, but they seek to turn it to their purposes all the same.

Mr. Palmer says: "Our only prejudice is in favor of whatever will give us enough adequate housing in the quickest time." That is, I think, a proper prejudice for a man in his job. But he keeps on talking, in all his speeches—and certainly not he alone—about the future after this unpleasantness. About what Holland did after the last war (where are those houses now?). About plans for a better-housed, better land here. About people under an "enlightened capitalism," snug against all storms. About communities planned against community blight. About realtors grown wise and good, landlords we can love, builders who will bless us. After reading him, I am never sure whether Mr. Palmer is a realtor or a reformer, or a little of both. But I think as a realist with only one prejudice he has got to shake equal hell out of realtors and reformers if he wants to get on with this immediate job before he comes to that next and perhaps pleasanter one.

Men are still sleeping in shacks beside important jobs. They need houses quickly, houses they can rent—not buy—and rent at levels low enough to prevent the siphoning off of war wages in war profiteering. That is essential to any productive push in war industry. It is essential now to America. We shall not make a lovelier, sweeter land unless we can protect the one we have. I take Mr. Palmer at his word in defense housing: "More housing is needed. Not now, but yesterday."

Afterward we can begin to plan about tomorrow.

Mr. Knudsen's State of Mind

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 1

MR. KNUDSEN symbolizes business as usual, and he has placed men like himself in the key subordinate positions of defense. This is true in machine tools. The National Industrial Conference Board's *Economic Review* for April 24 reports that the defense plant-expansion program already calls for the construction of more than 1,300 new plants to cost \$2,750,000,000. All these plants have to be equipped with new machinery, and the machinery must be made with machine tools. This program looks toward the supply of a 2,000,000-man army, and, huge as that seems, plans for a 4,000,000-man army are already being discussed in Administration circles. German industry is geared to provide arms for an 8,000,000-man army. These figures give one some idea of the tremendous expansion in prospect for our comparatively small machine-tool industry.

Machine tools, as Secretary Knox said the other day, are the "critical item" in the expansion of defense production. It is well known that there are many machine tools outside the machine-tool industry. Yet Mr. Knudsen, though Secretary Morgenthau assigned him to coordinate machine-tool production eleven months ago, has never taken the obvious step of ordering a survey of machine-tool capacity. The dollar-a-year men he has drawn from the machine-tool industry to run our machine-tool program are hostile to the idea of letting the business out of their hands. I told last week how Mr. Knudsen had permitted the wishes of the automobile manufacturers to prevail over the needs of defense. He has allowed the wishes of the machine-tool industry to dominate production of machine tools. When the research division of the defense setup suggested a survey of machine-tool capacity last year, it was ordered to keep hands off, because "this was being taken care of" by the machine-tool division. The other day I asked A. B. Einig, assistant chief of the Machine Tools Section of the OPM—he comes from the Motch and Merryweather Machinery Company—whether his section was making such a survey. "We're making them all the time," was Mr. Einig's answer. But when I asked whether he had any figures on the machine-tool capacity in the automobile industry and the extent to which it might be diverted to defense production, he said I'd have to "ask the automobile people." Mr. Knudsen is one of the "automobile people." I asked about the machine-tool capacity in the radio-manufacturing industry. Philco, in Philadelphia, for example, has a

first-rate machine-tool shop of its own which has been making machines to manufacture violet-ray toilet seats, not the most pressing of defense items. "We're taking care of that sort of thing," said Mr. Einig, "by shutting off their supply of materials." It did not seem to occur to him that he might take care of it by giving Philco defense work to do. With a few exceptions, machine-tool builders, whether dollar-a-yearing in Washington or working in their plants, are humanly uninterested in sharing their orders with other business men. They have expanded their plants and want to keep them busy as long as possible.

I have been trying for two weeks to make a survey of my own, and I think I have uncovered enough to show that the men in charge of the OPM are still very far from an "all-out" effort in this field. I found first of all that even our machine-tool builders are not working at capacity. According to a study of Week-End Shutdowns in Defense Industries in the March issue of the *Monthly Labor Review*, a publication of the Department of Labor, "plant capacity" in eleven major defense industries "was not being utilized to any great extent beyond a single shift per day." This includes machine tools. The record of machine tools in this respect seems a little better than the average, but not much. Of forty-five machine-tool plants covered by the survey, two were on one shift, twenty-nine on two shifts, fourteen on three shifts. But in the plants operating two shifts, less than 20 per cent of the workers were employed on the second shift. In the plants working three shifts, less than 25 per cent were on the second shift and less than 8 per cent on the third shift. I found government officials familiar with the problem afraid to talk of it for fear of getting into trouble with the machine-tool dollar-a-year men. One said that he thought production of machine tools could be stepped up 40 per cent in a few months by going on a twenty-four-hour shift, with a five-three-one ratio, which he felt was the most efficient. That is, the second shift would have three-fifths as many workers as the first and the third one-third as many as the second. This seems moderate and reasonable enough.

Officials with whom I talked at the A. F. of L.'s Machinists' Union advanced several explanations for this failure of the industry to work at full capacity despite the enormous demand for machine tools. One is that the builders hate to pay any more overtime than necessary. Another is that it takes a more attractive wage rate to make men work "the graveyard shift." These union

officials felt that the shortage of skilled labor for twenty-four-hour operation could be taken care of by releasing skilled men now employed in the tool-and-die shops of private industry. These industries don't like to give up their skilled men and keep many of them working in ordinary production jobs. Wages aren't high enough to attract the thousands of skilled journeymen whom insecurity of employment drove into other occupations during the past decade. The A. F. of L. men seemed to think that one of the major obstacles was connected with the problem of unionism. The machine-tool manufacturers, the main support of the notorious Metal Trades Association, have generally been strongly anti-union, and most of the industry is open shop. "They have built up a docile non-union labor force over past years," one A. F. of L. official said, "and are afraid that new men may bring in new ideas, particularly the idea of organizing a union." They prefer when necessary to work a certain amount of overtime rather than to hire new men for additional shifts.

A Bureau of Labor Statistics study recently released dealt with estimated labor requirements for the machine-tool industry under the defense program. It covered plants which employed 22,206 wage-earners in January, and though it disclosed a comparatively small percentage of discharges, it showed a high percentage of turnover because so many men quit their jobs. In the last half of 1940 about 6,000 men had quit their jobs in these plants. This indicates poor labor conditions. The survey also disclosed that while there would soon be shortages of labor in some lines, there was still a large reservoir of jobless skilled machinists. The survey examined figures of the United States Employment Service records as of last December 28 and compared the number of skilled men in various lines seeking jobs with the estimated additional number of men which would be required by the industry this year. Of eleven categories of skilled machinists, there were prospective shortages in four but surpluses of jobless in the other seven over the estimated additional men required. Thus there were 5,217 drill-press operators out of work as compared with an estimated additional requirement this year of 875.

This labor survey also reveals the failure of the machine-tool industry to ease pressure by subcontracting. The Bureau of Labor Statistics found that in the last quarter of 1940 subcontracting ("in the sense that a given plant, finding its productive capacity overtaxed, seeks outside assistance in the fabricating of parts or whole units that normally could be processed in its own shop") amounted to only about 22 per cent of machine-tool production. Yet our economy has huge areas of unused machine-shop capacity which could be tapped immediately by subcontracting. I spoke with one minor OPM official who has just returned from a tour of the machine shops in the Southwest which formerly serviced

the oil industry and now have little work because of government curtailment of oil production. There are many other industries which can make parts of machine tools or machine tools as a whole. "Interesting examples of such adaptations," the report says, "are firms ordinarily engaged in the manufacture of rugs, printing presses, and shoe machinery that are now, under license, building complete machine tools on a subcontract basis. Many other manufacturing industries are known to be making parts which are finished and assembled in the plants of the primary machine-tool companies." I was told by tool-and-die workers in Detroit that Mr. Knudsen's own industry is one of the best-equipped to make tools for defense and that it could do so if it gave up new models and turned its present tool-and-die equipment to this task.

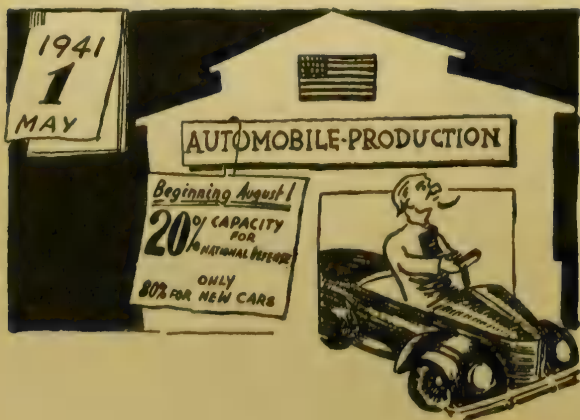
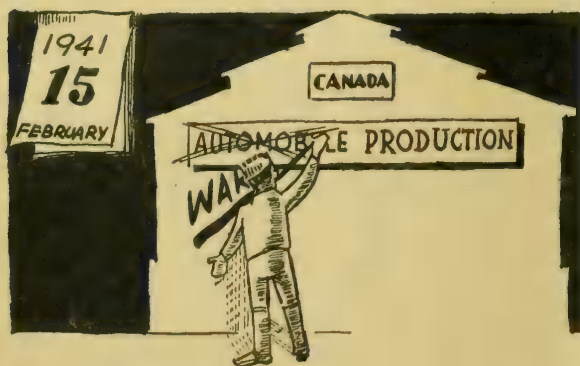
Machine tools are made with machine tools. It is true that the modern machine-tool industry, highly specialized, uses some very complicated special-purpose machines. But in a fire, if one cannot find a hose, one uses a bucket. It may be less efficient, but the house may burn down while one writes to a mail-order firm for a brand-new hose. Industry in this country has an enormous reservoir of machine tools that could be used for the manufacture of machine tools. The 1940 survey of machine tools by the *American Machinist* showed more than 1,323,000 machine tools in industry. Almost 200,000 of these were in the automobile and automobile-parts industries. I was told by a government official engaged in studying the problem that the machine-tool industry at the beginning of this year had about 25,000 machines. The productivity of these machines is, of course, very high, and a mere quantitative comparison may be misleading. What these figures do show is that our machine-tool bottleneck is, as it were, above the ears. It is not like the aluminum bottleneck, which must wait on plant expansion. The machine-tool bottleneck can be eased at any time by a willingness to subordinate business as usual, by emergency methods of production and procurement, by an expansion of subcontracting. Those industries, like automobiles, which crowd their production into part of the year could make many machines available for machine-tool and other work if their present production were spread evenly over the year.

In this respect the problem of speeding production of machine tools is little different from the problem of speeding production of ordnance or planes or tanks. The obstacles are in large part psychological. They spring from the unwillingness or inability of men of the Knudsen type to break away from the habitual and the more profitable way of doing business. It is this state of mind which has stifled what I believe to be the most promising movement in American life toward a true unity and a full mobilization of our resources for defense production. I will tell about that next week.

Our Lost Time

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

Drawings by Harry Roth

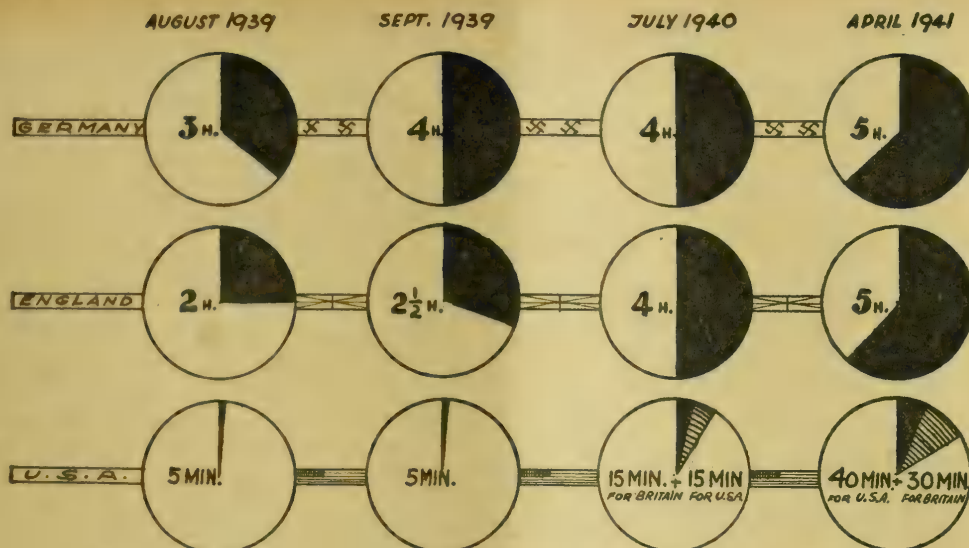


AT THE start of the Second World War Germany had a twofold advantage over its adversaries: it had been turning out great quantities of war materials long before hostilities broke out, and it had ready carefully worked-out plans which enabled it to adapt its peace-time industries to full war production almost overnight. Practically all German automobile plants produced tanks, planes, and military trucks even before the outbreak of war. At the same time they were making a large number of motor cars, measured by German standards. When the war started, all output of automobiles for private consumption was immediately halted. But the automobile factories did not remain idle. All of them were in a position to shift to the production of planes, tanks, and army trucks at a moment's notice. It was the carefully planned reorganization schemes of the German Economic General Staff, worked out before the outbreak of the war, that enabled German tank and plane production to be increased with such startling speed.

In Great Britain, on the other hand, such plans and preparations were virtually non-existent. Chamberlain actually boasted that British armaments production, which was gradually geared up after Munich, hardly interfered with the British economy at all. Automobile production for private consumption continued in Britain after the outbreak of the war; indeed, it continued even under Churchill and after the retreat from Dunkirk. Not until October, 1940, more than thirteen months after the war began, was the production of automobiles for private use prohibited in Great Britain. British automobile plants took that long to complete the necessary adjustments for airplane and tank production. In Canada production of private vehicles was halted on February 15, 1941. During the months after the belligerent countries ceased to produce cars the American output boomed. And no reduction of the American manufacture of automobiles for private consumption is contemplated until August 1, 1941.

It is not surprising, therefore, that American war-plane production was so slow getting in motion and that, although it is now increasing every month, it is still small as compared with what this country could do, and still inadequate to cope with the peril threatening us.

Just as American automobile production could be adjusted to war production, so industry as a whole could be adjusted to the manufacture of war material. The first picture on the next page assumes that the total population of each country works eight hours a day; thus labor



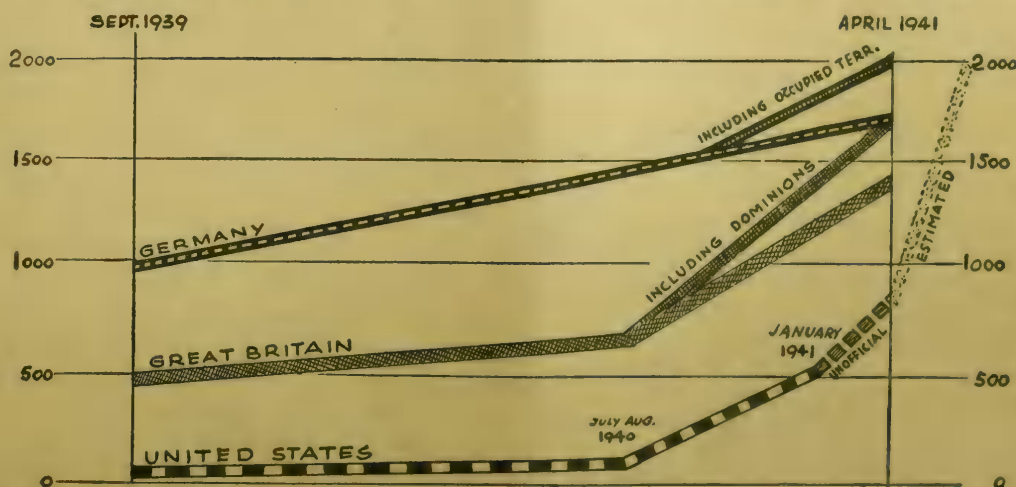
Portion of eight-hour working day devoted to the production of war materials

requiring one hour is the equivalent of one-eighth of the daily national production. As early as August, 1939, Germany was working about three hours a day for defense, while Britain was working only two, and shortly after the outbreak of the war Germany was devoting half of its labor, that is, four hours a day, to armaments. During the same period, August and September, 1939, the American people were devoting only about five minutes a day to defense. At the present time German war production takes up about five hours a day, as does the British. Also in the United States there has been a considerable increase. After Dunkirk America devoted about thirty minutes a day to war production, of which about fifteen minutes were devoted to United States defense and fifteen minutes to supplies for Britain. The Lend-Lease Act, it is hoped, will double our effort in behalf of Britain in the next few months. At present we are working one hour and ten minutes for defense purposes, of which thirty minutes are devoted to aid for Britain. Yet in order to meet even half the industrial require-

ments of this war, we must give at least two hours' work for defense—one hour for the United States and one hour for Britain.

Estimating the number of working hours spent on war production is merely another way of estimating the cost of war and defense. The picture below illustrates the fact that German military expenditures, which amounted to about \$1 billion a month at the beginning of the war, have today risen to \$2 billion (taking the tribute paid by the occupied regions at about \$400 million), and that British expenditures, which at first were about half the German, have risen to about \$1.6 billion.

American military expenditures, which were less than \$100 million a month when the Second World War broke out, rose to about \$200 million in July-August, 1940, and to about \$500 to \$600 million in December-January, 1940-41. According to President Roosevelt they will run a little under a billion in the coming fiscal year. But they are likely to exceed this amount by far and, with aid to Britain included, to run about \$2 billion a month.



Military expenditures figured in millions of dollars spent per month

Underground in France

BY LOUIS DOLIVET

NEVER did a border seem more unnatural to me than the unique artificial frontier, the *ligne de démarcation*, which divides France. It was as if a body had been cut in two. I traveled by bicycle from Agen, capital of Lot and Garonne—one of the few rich departments in unoccupied France—to this frontier. After crossing the bridge over the Garonne, guarded on both sides by gendarmes, I pedaled fifty miles on a splendid but completely deserted road. Only once did I meet an automobile—an open car filled with German officers attached to the German Armistice Commission which controls all France. I met it near a small farm. As the *Boches* passed, the farmer, who was working near the road, looked the other way. Then he turned toward me and moved his head slowly up and down, a bitter smile on his lips. In the afternoon I reached the demarcation line.

On one side were a few French gendarmes, on the other a much larger number of German sentries. On both, men and women were standing and looking over to the other side. They had all belonged to the same village until the armistice separated France into "occupied" and "unoccupied" territory. After standing with them, looking and waiting, for some time, I went to find the man who was to get me across the line. It wasn't easy to locate him. First I went to a farm that I had been told about and there found a man who took me to another farm. At nightfall I was led to a third farm where I waited till early dawn. In six months of occupation these peaceful farmers had developed a surprisingly effective technique of underground work. They seemed to enjoy helping someone do something without German authorization.

After dinner the head of the family looked impatiently at his watch. At eight o'clock he locked the door and turned the dials on his radio to find the French broadcast of the B. B. C. When a French voice came on the air, the whole family, even the children, listened in tense silence. From time to time someone whispered a question but was immediately silenced by the others. About half the broadcast was inaudible because the Germans were jamming the air waves.

At three o'clock the farmer woke me up and we went out, zigzagging through the woods and keeping under cover. At one point we had to cross a road which was patrolled by Germans. My companion heard them in the distance and pushed me behind a tree. We waited breathlessly till they had gone by; then like rabbits we ran

across the road, and I found I had arrived in occupied France.

Later I returned from occupied to unoccupied France by the same route. On both sides of the line I found political activity becoming a part of most men's daily life. Before the defeat of France the bistro, or cafe, was the center of political discussion, and it was there that the agents of the political parties did most of their work. Now the men who gather there are silent, for many arrests have been made among both proprietors and patrons. In the bistros that I visited, old friends concealed any surprise at seeing me again, and the only sign I had of their interest was the firmness of their hand-clasp. But when we were safe in some farmer's kitchen they spoke with great bitterness about the crimes of fascism and the fatal stupidity of our foreign policy before the war, and uttered a thousand recriminations against their daily misery. There was also a new decisiveness in them, and the old fire blazed in their eyes when they spoke about the revolt which one day would sweep the Nazis out of France.

I made inquiries of various persons, former party secretaries and presidents of local groups, to find the remnants of the political parties. In the old sense of the word, political parties have disappeared. In their stead I found a multitude of new movements, working in secret but extremely active. There were, for example, the Jacobins, the Union for Free France, the Workers' Democratic Revolutionary Union, and the Free Masons. The main purpose of all these groups is to carry on the fight against fascism; never was France more anti-fascist than it is now. They are also vitally interested in the connected problems of social reorganization, economic democracy, Continental union, and world organization. "If we risk our lives to sabotage the German war machine," they asked me, "will England and America make a really better world or shall we have the same old world again?" Every sign of planning for a new world order and for sound peace aims arouses immense interest. A young engineer working in a railroad repair shop said to me, "We're all against Hitler in every way. But if it is for the old order that we fight, we will oppose him half-asleep. If it is for a really democratic world, then we will fight wide-awake and smash him to bits."

In September, 1940, the French people began to come out of the terrible stupor of resignation with which they had accepted the armistice terms, and a political awakening spread through the country. This started in the work-

ers' movements, which had all along offered the chief resistance to the German and French fascist leaders. The only way they could have been won over was to give them freedom of action and good living conditions, but the New Order could hardly be expected to grant either of these. To understand the strength of the workers' resistance, it is necessary to recall the structure of French trade unionism. The most powerful organization in France before the war was undoubtedly the General Federation of Labor, with a membership of five million made up of from 60 to 70 per cent of all wage-earners in the vital industries—metallurgy, mines, and textiles; in the public service—postal, railroad, dock and state employees; and in the educational field. Aside from their defense of the professional and wage interests of the workers, the trade unions considered the defense of democratic principles one of their chief functions. On February 11, 1934, six days after the fascist attempt to seize power, they launched a general strike throughout the country to stop fascism, and after the war started they fought every attempt to set up a dictatorship in France.

After the armistice both the Germans and the Pétain government, using different methods of approach, tried to win the support of the trade unions, or at least to neutralize their activities. The Germans organized immediately a special trade-union department under the leadership of Abetz, assisted by a few members of the German Workers' Front. With typical German system but without any understanding of the underlying political problems, they divided the leading elements in the French trade-union movement into three categories. The first was made up of venal elements, deserters from Socialist and Communist ranks, who could be bribed, and the group writing for the Paris paper *La France au Travail*. The second category was made up of pacifists, those who had opposed collective security and supported the appeasement policy of Georges Bonnet. This group publishes a paper called *l'Atelier*. At its head is Georges Dumoulin, former secretary general of the Northern Trade Union Federation, with headquarters at Lille; another of its leaders is André Vigne, secretary general of the important Coal Miners' Union. The third category included the Christian Trade Unions and the Fascist Trade Union of Doriot and De La Roque. Different arguments designed to appeal to each of these groups were methodically worked out.

For the first, money was the most powerful argument, and the Germans were not sparing in their use of it; but they won over few persons of any authority. The French workers have always required absolute financial integrity of their leaders. Before the war labor leaders who received funds from the Foreign Office had very little influence, and today those known to have the financial

support of the Germans have even less. The argument advanced to the second group was that the German authorities would be willing to grant almost complete freedom to those trade-union leaders who had opposed the war. Abetz told them that they were the natural representatives of the policy of French-German cooperation, that Germany would not interfere with the principles of trade-union organization if they would advocate political cooperation. Moreover, the German authorities would aid them in the systematic destruction of Communist influence among the workers.

Just the opposite argument was used with the Communist elements. They were told that the German Reich, bound to Soviet Russia by the famous pact, was not hostile in principle to the work of Communists—in countries other than Germany. French Communists had, therefore, a unique chance to denounce the French and British bourgeoisies, to put the responsibility for the war and the defeat on them, and to fight the moderate elements which advocated cooperation with the democracies.

The Catholic trade unions of the third group were told that the Marxist influence in the workers' movement would be abolished, and that this was sufficient reason for them to support "collaboration." The small fascist unions did not need to be convinced; they accepted German orders without discussion.

Nevertheless, the German penetration in the ranks of the French workers is negligible. Every attempt to create a so-called "atmosphere of understanding" has been defeated by the very strong political traditions of the French workers, and even more by the compelling facts of daily life under German domination—the deterioration of the living conditions of the workers.

The approach of the Vichy government was different. Marshal Pétain thought it would be a masterly stroke to nominate a trade-union representative as a member of his Cabinet. This would satisfy the workers, he thought, but could scarcely strengthen their position in a government of military leaders, great industrialists, and bankers. Accordingly he nominated René Belin, former assistant secretary of the General Federation, to be Minister of National Production and Work. But Pétain failed to realize that Belin had always represented a minority, and that the workers were too wise to accept a policy opposed to their interests just because it was suggested to them by a man belonging to their ranks. Belin moved directly against the workers' movement by dissolving the General Federation and confiscating nearly all the property the organization had acquired over a period of fifty years through the efforts of all the workers. To prevent the workers from organizing a fight against this measure, he also dissolved the *Confédération Générale du Patronat Français* and the Federation of Christian Trade Unions. The opposition of the workers was so strong, however, that the Vichy government did not have the courage to

dissolve the local trade unions, which still exist, though without the right to form a national organization. These local trade unions remain important factors in France. The attempt of the Pétain government to win the support of the labor movement has failed, just as the German attempts have failed in occupied France. The workers are keeping strictly to themselves, however, and are doing everything in their power not to compromise themselves with the German or French authorities.

Their resistance has two aspects—passive and active. The workers do not participate in demonstrations of any kind in favor of Pétain or the other leaders of the new government, and they refuse to join any political or social organization of the new government. Thus they are making it impossible for the Vichy government or fascist leaders in occupied France to build up mass support. At the same time they are organizing a very effective information service, spreading the news from English and American radios and other sources by word of mouth and sometimes distributing pamphlets. After October, 1940, when it became evident that the Germans did not dare to invade Great Britain, hundreds of "resistance groups" sprang up all over the country. These are made up of four or five men working with great caution, in contact with other groups through one man only; so that no treachery can cause mass arrests. These groups have planned and put through an increasing number of acts of sabotage. No French or other correspondent has reported the following incidents:

In Lille a hundred truckloads of ammunition and machines ready to be sent to Germany were blown up. Unable to discover the saboteurs, the German authorities decided to punish the workers by imposing a large cut in wages. A delegation of twenty workers was sent to inform the civil and military German authorities that the workers refused to accept this decree and that they threatened a general strike in Lille. The German in command ordered the delegation to obey the orders of the occupation government; when they refused and the agitation increased, he gave orders that all members of the delegation should be executed. This kind of "discipline," however, failed to stop daily acts of sabotage in that region.

At Chartres the telephone lines to the German-controlled airdrome were cut. For this a fifteen-year-old boy, who refused to give the names of his coworkers, was sentenced to death, but a strong demonstration, principally by women, before the headquarters of the German general obtained a promise from him that the boy would not be executed. It is not known whether the general kept his promise.

The town of Nantes was fined five times, nearly nine million francs in all, to pay for sabotage on railroad and telephone lines and in factories, but the solidarity of the saboteurs was so great that not a single one was discovered.

In unoccupied France, not far from Marseilles, 200 railroad cars filled with ammunition for Germany were blown up. Traces of this explosion can still be seen in the many demolished buildings near the railroad station. The French, German, and Italian authorities who were guarding the station were unable to prevent this very systematically prepared act of sabotage.

The French workers will not fight for a return of the old order. They desire the defeat of Hitlerism but if they are to fight for it, they must know something more about peace aims. Violent discussions of this subject have been carried on by the Communists and Socialists in the French workers' movement. After the armistice Communist propaganda was directed, in the main, toward a social revolution and against "world plutocracy," with no reference to fighting the invader. However, after four months of Nazi occupation public feeling had mounted so high that the Communists began to attack the Germans. But at the same time they attacked British capitalism, suggesting that for the workers there was little choice between the two evils. This attitude found scant sympathy among the workers. Since the end of November, and especially since the beginning of this year, the Communists have been supporting, to some extent, General de Gaulle's movement—it is difficult to say whether this was a spontaneous move on the part of the rank and file or suggested by national or international leaders. It was after they took this position that a number of prominent Communists were arrested in occupied and unoccupied France.

The majority of the workers are convinced that a better social order will result from a victory of the democracies, that they will then be able to make fundamental changes in the social structure and move toward an economic democracy. The influence of the British trade unions has immensely increased in France, and men like Bevin have great popularity among the workers. In their discussions they frequently stress the point that a man coming from the workers' ranks has been able to play a great rôle in the war and that he has been more competent than many representatives of the ruling classes. They believe that the British trade-union movement will be able to keep, and even to increase, its power after the war, and that this fact will greatly help the workers in other countries. Many believe that sooner or later Soviet Russia will come in on the side of the democracies. It is a weakness of British propaganda that very few trade unionists speak in the French broadcasts of the B.B.C. or even from the American short-wave station in Boston. Also, the words "democracy" and "independence" have too general a meaning to rouse the workers in occupied countries, and the use of such vague terms does not help to clarify the aims or strengthen the cause of the democracies.

The Odds on Maverick

BY CHARLES CURTIS MUNZ

San Antonio, May 21

THE mayoralty term to which Maury Maverick was elected two years ago is coming to an end. His administration has been mildly liberal, not at all radical; mainly honest and enlightened. This is so marked a departure from San Antonio's usual corruption that one would think his reelection would be practically unanimous. It will not be. Maverick bears the liberal taint, and many of the powers that be in San Antonio frankly prefer conservatism and corruption. For the two years of

his term as mayor Maverick's foes have harassed him every step of the way. But Maverick is both resourceful and courageous, and he is fighting a strong campaign for reelection on May 13.

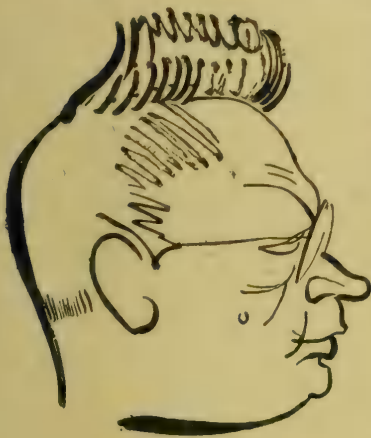
A year ago his reelection looked quite impossible. The newspapers of the city groaned when Maverick re-

acquitted, but his prosecutors had partially succeeded in their main object, which was simply to harass him and hamper his administration as much as possible.

Next Maverick made what turned out to be a serious political error. He already had some friends in the courthouse, notably the sheriff and the tax assessor, and in the primary campaign last summer he set out to capture all the county offices. But the Mayor was in bad political odor, and his campaign was poorly organized. His forces not only failed to gain any new county office but lost those they already held. Every one of the Maverick candidates was overwhelmingly beaten. The whole campaign was an ignominious failure.

His enemies were happily sure that Maverick's career was at an end, and a good many of his friends thought so, too. But Maverick had in fact struck bottom. He started rebuilding his organization. At the same time the good work of his administration, which he had managed somehow to get done between court trials and political fights, began to show results. Though the newspapers had howled at the alien police chief, the evidence was too plain to deny that he was doing a good job. The potbellied officers on the streets were replaced by younger, upstanding men; and the statistics bore out the story of a revitalized police department. The health department was thoroughly overhauled; the tax department made a long overdue survey of real-estate values. The prostitutes that had thronged the streets during the Quin regime were persuaded to move to less conspicuous quarters. All this was merely good government, not especially liberal and certainly not spectacular. The only thing about the whole record that even the most bitter could call radical was the Communist meeting, and that was receding into the background.

Maverick's stock picked up a little. The rising movement, once started, was helped along by a chain of four important developments. The first was the restoration of a section of the city called La Villita, which contains some interesting old houses. Maverick obtained financial help from the Carnegie Foundation and the National Youth Administration, and set out to make La Villita a pan-American center and a workshop for teaching trades and crafts to the Mexican youth of San Antonio. This restoration project has attracted international attention. Brazil, for example, is furnishing Caxias House, named for one of its heroes, and Mexico has presented a heroic statue of Hidalgo. The Bolivar Building will be a pan-American library and museum. The army chiefs of Latin



Maury Maverick

modeled the mayor's office. They cried out when he had the city buy an official car—and they chortled when the car caught fire and was damaged. They howled when he hired a professionally trained police chief from Illinois, an alien and a damyankee to boot. But all this was nothing to the sport the boys had when they drove Emma Tenayucca and her Communist cohorts out of the Municipal Auditorium. When Emma Tenayucca asked for the permit, Maverick courageously gave it to her—on the obvious ground that the Constitution of the United States grants civil liberties even to those who abuse them. But not many people in San Antonio appreciated either his courage or his zeal for the Constitution.

That commotion had scarcely subsided when Maverick was attacked from another direction: foes of his in the county political ring charged him with paying the poll tax of another person, which is a felony in Texas. Although the prosecutors never had any real hope of convicting him on the flimsy evidence, there was always a chance that a hostile jury would convict him on prejudice. This effort came to nothing when Maverick was

America, during their recent visit to the United States, saw La Villita and were much impressed with this visible evidence of friendship. In the workshops several hundred young Mexican men and women are learning various trades and crafts. Maverick regards La Villita as the New Deal in action in San Antonio. As a pan-American center it symbolizes the good-neighbor policy, and as a workshop it is helping to provide the Mexican youths with a basis for future security.

The next thing that helped Maverick was the bountiful subsidy he secured from the federal government for a new city airport costing \$3,000,000. Part of the money would have been obtained anyway, but Maverick's Washington connections were worth at least an extra million. This was a deed for which some of the members of the Chamber of Commerce are willing to forgive Maverick his sins. Third in this chain of developments was the appointment of Robert E. Lucey to be the new archbishop of San Antonio. The late archbishop, A. J. Drossaerts, was a bitter conservative. The new archbishop is a friend of Roosevelt's, and is said to be about the most liberal member of the Catholic hierarchy in America. This sharp change in the political climate of the archdiocese is extremely important in a city where much more than half the population is Catholic.

Finally, by a great stroke of luck for Maverick, former Mayor C. K. Quin emerged as the principal opposition candidate. Maverick defeated him two years ago. A stronger candidate had been sought, but Quin put himself in the race while the other hopefuls were still talking, and the Maverick opposition was forced to accept him. He brings back unhappy memories of the old machine, however, and some opponents of Maverick are going to find it difficult to vote for Quin. They will probably go fishing on Election Day. As one rabid hater of Maverick put it, "Well, if it's between Maverick and Quin, Maverick will win easily."

But the outcome is really not that certain. The plurality that won for Maverick in 1939 will not suffice now, for a new law makes a majority necessary. Maverick's organization has been strengthened, and his campaign has been pretty well financed. Quin seems to be short of money, for his workers are reported to be out scratching for \$2 contributions. But despite the progress Maverick has made, the hatred for him in certain circles is unrelenting. The taint of liberalism clings to him. So the election is likely to be close, perhaps as close as the Congressional election of 1938, when Maverick lost by about 500 votes. If so, three or four vanity candidates, who otherwise amount to nothing, may get enough votes between them to force a run-off. But a run-off would not be likely to alter the final result. On the whole, it seems probable that Maverick has a slight edge. As one observer put it, "I'd bet even money, either way, but I'd sleep a little easier with my money on Maverick."

In the Wind

SOCIETY NOTE: Colonel McCormick's Chicago *Tribune* recently published in its society column this excerpt from a letter by a London correspondent: "One leads a curious life. Everyone seems to have gone away from London, and one meets few one knows, and no going out at all evenings. It's really very dull with so much war talk and so many in jail—you'd be surprised to hear of those 'in society' who have been arrested!"

WHEN PLANS for this year's May Day parade in New York were being made, the Socialist Workers' Party (Trotskyites) asked the United May Day Committee for permission to participate. They were refused—on the ground that the parade was "non-political." The Communist Party marched as a unit.

A STRIKE at the Erie plant of the Continental Rubber Company was listed in the press as a stoppage of defense industry. Actually, the plant makes rubber mountings for wastebaskets, ash trays, and the like. Its chief order at the time of the strike was for wastebasket mountings for the OPM offices in Washington.

WHEN SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS first arrived in Moscow as British ambassador, he tried, according to a recent arrival from the Russian capital, to get into the spirit of the Soviets and live as far as possible like an ordinary citizen. Lawrence Steinhardt, the American envoy, noticed Cripps's attempts to be a good proletarian and felt that this was bad strategy for a British ambassador trying to win cooperation from the Russians. Steinhardt called Cripps aside and advised him to act his part, that of a British peer and diplomat. Cripps, who realized that his mission had not been altogether successful, took Steinhardt's advice and put on his old school tie. A few days later he reported back to Steinhardt and said that his proposals were getting a much better hearing.

OPPOSITION to the present administration of the American Newspaper Guild has developed in many places. In six large cities—Philadelphia, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Milwaukee—anti-administration delegates have already been chosen to represent their locals at the Guild convention in Detroit this summer.

AMERICAN ROCK, the new political party organized by William Goodwin, Father Coughlin's Eastern representative, and Joe McWilliams, will enter the New York elections this fall. It will support either Attorney General Bennett or John Cashmore, borough president of Brooklyn, as Democratic candidate for mayor.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Rats, Lice, and History

An Image of the United States Senate

BY R. P. BLACKMUR

"There is no precedence between a louse and a flea."—
Dr. Johnson.

That man who keeps the diary
is there, his eyes like running mice;
ambassador plenipotentiary,
he says, to bargain fleas for lice.

Who sent him? whom he bargains for?
or what he'd sound like if he spoke?
or look like if he closed that door?
all's doubtless written in his book.

But we don't know. We only know
he's here, his hand upon the knob
of the big door. The rest we grow
aware of, like an engine throb.

He's not a senator, that's sure;
none of the page boys even see him;
there's nothing about him to endure;
you don't want to delouse or flea him.

—Is it the odor of almonds creeps
down the aisles, between the rows,
heavier than air? than sleep?
that each man smells, but never knows?

Or is it the belling sound of words,
The vision of mankind that you see,
that can be only overheard,
is my vision's greatest enemy?

That's why the senators can't keep still
but each one, conscious of his face,
unconscious of his driving will,
scurries and squeaks from desk to dais,

and he who has been recognized
(anyone can be, somebody must)
looks on all fours, and undersized,
gnawing darkness like a crust.

That man who keeps the diary,
suppose he opened up that door,

would he be live, be you, be me?
be recognized upon the floor?

Or would the bitter almond rise,
the rising gorge of full ill ease,
and all the lice, as each one dies,
take precedence with all the fleas?

Most like that door's a solid wall
that cannot open save it fall.
Most like that diarist's the ghost
that speaks the actual we have lost.

Louis Fischer's Autobiography

MEN AND POLITICS: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By
Louis Fischer. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$3.50.

IN *The Nation* for January 9, 1924, appeared a quarter-column announcement: Louis Fischer, whose "information for Mr. Hughes" appeared on page 30, it said, would sail again for Russia in a short time. He was in close touch with various Soviet officials, but maintained a critical detachment which made his articles historically valuable. He would be *The Nation's* Russian correspondent "for the next few months."

He was *The Nation's* Russian correspondent for more than twelve years. Then he was *The Nation's* Spanish correspondent, and then its correspondent-at-large. He has been a part of *The Nation*, month after month, for close to twenty years.

Nation readers may think they know this Louis Fischer; and, indeed, some chapters of this 657-page "autobiography" are rewritten from its pages. *The Nation* is a part of Louis Fischer, as he is a part of it. But he has coyly kept his self out of his articles; and he is almost as coy in this "autobiography." It is easier to learn the facts of Lenin's, Stalin's, Chicherin's, Hitler's, Dr. Negrin's, Constancia de la Mora's, or Winston Churchill's life from this book than of Louis Fischer's. Nevertheless, by careful rereading, annotation, and tabulation, I have been able to fit a few biographical facts together. Louis Fischer, in writing this book, was as ingenious as a jigsaw-puzzle carver to shuffle and conceal them.

Louis Fischer was born above a delicatessen store in the fish and chicken market at Fourth and Monroe Streets, Philadelphia, in 1896 (page 299). His father was an orthodox Jew, a factory worker, then a fish-and-fruit peddler. Until Louis was sixteen he never lived in a house with electricity, running water, an inside lavatory, or central heating; so he never dreaded poverty. He was used to living cheap.

What schools he attended he does not say. He read Kropotkin's "Memoirs of a Revolutionist" avidly in 1916; he had already devoured the great Russian novels. But he has no memory of reading of either of the Russian revolutions of

1917; the news made no impression on him (page 46)! His family background led him into the Zionist movement ("it was not conviction but just glide"); sometime in the summer of 1917 he volunteered to serve in the Jewish Legion recruited to help reconquer the Holy Land (page 240). He trained in Canada and reached Palestine about the time of the Armistice. Perforce, he remained in the British army until 1920. That experience dimmed his Zionism and left him dubious about upper-class Englishmen.

"With the exception of teaching school in Philadelphia for half a year and work in a New York news agency in 1920," says Louis Fischer, "I have never held a job and I have always tried hard not to get one." (That, on page 160, is the only mention in the book of either job.) But he forgot. In 1925 for four months he worked in the "Tass" office in London (page 208); in 1928 he substituted for Frederick Kuh in the United Press bureau in Berlin for two months (page 599); in 1934, 1935, and 1936 he led summer parties through Russia for the Open Road (page 217). He had gone to Russia in the summer of 1922 as a free-lance correspondent for the New York *Evening Post*, paying his own way (page 13); after 1924 he had papers as correspondent for *The Nation*, but no salary (page 70); as the years passed and his reputation grew, he built up his own private international syndicate, often selling the same article to the London *New Statesman*, the Paris *Europe Nouvelle*, the German refugee *Weltbühne*, and to dailies in Oslo, Stockholm, Prague, and elsewhere (page 323). He wrote when he liked, and as he liked; and until 1929 Markoosha, whom he married in 1922, supported herself and the two boys, born in 1923 and 1924, entirely.

Markoosha was "a slim native of Libau, Latvia; she was Russian in her unconventional spirit, German in her education, a pianist by profession, a psychologist by natural endowment." Louis Fischer met her in New York in 1920; she returned to Europe in the spring of 1921; and she was one of the main reasons why Louis followed in December. Of course, she had much to do with his going to Russia, and with his falling in love with Russia; and, in the later years, with his disillusionment. I wish there were more about Markoosha in "Men and Politics." The subtitle, at least, would have permitted it.

"I never thought of Soviet Russia as a Utopia," says Louis Fischer. "I knew when I first went there in September, 1922, that I was going to a land of starvation. . . . In Lenin's Russia of 1922 I looked not for a better present but for a brighter future. I also expected clean politics and a foreign policy that rejected conquest, colonies, imperialism, and the lying that is often synonymous with diplomacy."

At first he found what he was looking for. He saw Lenin (already sick) and Trotsky ("fiery, flamboyant, penetrating . . . the tenor . . . the peacock, performer, charmer") preaching Puritan morals. (Louis Fischer, himself a kind of Puritan, liked that; the Puritanism of early Russian communism obviously was one of its chief appeals to him.) He revisited Russia regularly; it became his home. He played poker, apparently his only vice, with the correspondents; he watched the dramatic Savinkov trial in 1924; he had six and a half hours with Stalin in 1927; more important, he became uniquely intimate with Chicherin, the Soviets' aristocratic

Foreign Minister, with Litvinov, his successor, with Joffe, Rakovsky, and dozens of lesser Soviet leaders, most of whom have now disappeared. Every year he went out to Germany. And he wrote, copiously and illuminatingly, for *The Nation*. At first he wrote almost as much about Germany as about Russia; and in 1925 a young German wrote a letter to *The Nation* correcting Fischer's facts. The German said he had been in prison thirteen, not six months. *The Nation* printed the letter. The German's name was Adolf Hitler!

Fischer also wrote two books, one a study of "Oil Imperialism," the other his two-volume "The Soviets in World Affairs." Litvinov once said that he kept this latter book on his desk for reference. It was in compiling material for his books that Louis Fischer made his extraordinary friendships. Most foreign correspondents are themselves performers; they like to talk, particularly about themselves. Louis Fischer was a good listener; and when he talked, he talked politics, never about himself. The Russians liked that. They also respected his sympathetic independence. He neither fooled nor flattered them; he argued with them on their own terms, in their own language.

Chicherin read proofs of Fischer's books—this "autobiography" includes poignant and revealing letters from him; Litvinov sent Fischer to Rakovsky in exile—with a disguised letter of introduction that is a story in itself; Rakovsky dug into his voluminous files; Joffe, five days before committing suicide, showed Fischer papers on the Russian share in the German revolution of 1918; Karakhan permitted him to print a photograph of the Soviet diplomat playing tennis with King Amanullah of Afghanistan as his partner (that is another good story). No foreigner ever had a more intimate contact with Soviet diplomacy. His two-volume book was translated into Russian; Radek wrote an introduction for it; but it was never printed. Radek asked Stalin, and Stalin said no.

After 1936 Louis Fischer wrote no more articles about Russia—until the Soviet-German pact released his inhibitions. In 1936 the great purges began; "literally a massacre of Soviet talent occurred in 1937"; it became a "bloody pogrom" in 1937-38. Fischer returned to Moscow and, sick at heart, pondered the meaning of the trials. It was not easy to throw away the vision to which he had been attached for fifteen years; and Russia was still, somewhat, and alone among the great powers, aiding Spain. After 1936 Louis Fischer wrote about Spain instead of about Russia. There again he became the confidant of the leaders (sometimes he writes as if he had personally conducted the Spanish Republic); and in this book he tells stories he could not tell at the time in *The Nation*, about both Spain and Russia. No one else has achieved the objectivity and discernment of his analysis of the change in Russia.

So Louis Fischer has come home to the America he never knew and has written his story of the Europe he knew too well. Correspondents are becoming as important as diplomats, and both write books. But Louis Fischer's "Men and Politics" is unique, both in its insights and its intimacies. It is unique also in Louis Fischer's own writing, for its flashes of wit, its abundance of personal anecdote—about almost everybody except Louis Fischer himself. The old Puritan!

LEWIS GANNETT

Divided We Are Falling

UNITED WE STAND! DEFENSE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. By Hanson W. Baldwin. Whittlesey House. \$3.

"DIVIDED WE ARE FALLING" might well be the title of this book. "Germany," says Hanson Baldwin, "prepared for *this* war; France prepared for the *last* war; Britain prepared for *no* war. Today we stand somewhere between France and Britain. Too many of our preparations have been for the *last* war; too many for *no* war of reality." He documents this verdict with a wealth of somber detail. "Stand" we can if we put our best minds and full strength to the task, but as yet, in his judgment, we have used neither. Two major problems are as yet unsolved.

The first confronts every democratic state; the second, in an acute form at least, only ours. The country is not united. It is not yet alarmed by the emergency it is facing. As yet our democratic processes have not declared what is "the overwhelming wish of the overwhelming majority" of the people. Mr. Baldwin thinks that the American democracy is not having effective leadership in making up its mind. It is not being asked what we are prepared to defend by force, and if offense is the best defense where and to what extent it should be directed.

But after this initial problem is resolved, an efficient directing organization is necessary. Mr. Baldwin outlines again the sad situation in Washington, of which he and many others have long complained. There is no organization for "sound coordinated planning." There is no realization of the fact that defense plans must include political and economic weapons. The President attempts to do too much himself. Military and naval and air policy are under the Joint Board—on which the army and navy have equal representation—and its history "has often been one of stultification and stalemate." It gets civilian direction and drive only in the moments that the President can devote to the Chief of Staff or the Chief of Naval Operations, and these are inadequate to prevent conflicts of authority and duplications of effort.

For example, we have "such absurdities as the recent order that prohibited army land planes from flying farther than 100 miles off our coast, for that was the navy's domain." The country—despite huge appropriations and the optimistic professions of those in high places—still has "no unified air service, no unified procurement, no unified training, and no well-developed, unified concept of the use of air power." Instead, the new base sites in Bermuda "show an undesirable duplication of effort between the army and navy air forces." There are to be two plane bases when one would have been enough. Within each of the services there are silly jealousies.

Mr. Baldwin has extremely detailed and informing chapters on the navy, the army, and the air force. He recounts some advances and records a good many disappointments. The absence of any machinery which can view our policy as a whole and can decide which things should come first has had serious consequences, which, happily, as yet have not been catastrophic. He is more optimistic in respect of the navy and the air force than he is in respect of the army. He thinks the army less efficient than it was a year ago, be-

fore abilities and skills had to be scattered to participate in the training of hordes of raw recruits. He thinks that the conscription bill had little thought behind it and that the creation of a larger professional army, heavily armored, would have been far more sensible than the building of a mass army. Conscription could have been applied to give a year or two of training to men as they reached twenty or twenty-one. Now, however, he thinks it too late to retrace many steps. The army we have is the kind of army that the General Staff did not want and one which it had never urged on Congress. To be sure it accepted this army without protest, and its acquiescence was probably not unconnected with the acceleration of promotion which results from greater and greater numbers.

It is vain to hope, in the trite phrase, that "United We Stand" will be read by "every intelligent citizen." It is too serious, too closely reasoned, and too replete with facts, figures, and tables to be an outstanding popular success. But those who are making or who are neglecting to make decisions that will prepare or fail to prepare this country should ponder Mr. Baldwin's 300-odd pages. These have permitted him a scope impossible in newspaper or magazine articles. He surveys the crisis with extended view—literally from China to Peru. He does not conceal his own opinions on matters outside his specialty of military science. Some readers may object to sweeping judgments. Thus he says that the State Department, "pitifully clinging to the fine outmoded aspirations of the past, stymies the people's will and the national effort by the tedious process of kidgloved diplomacy in an era in which speed of achievement is imperative and the mailed fist is the only understandable language," but his description of the nature of the "era" cannot be challenged. His book will add further to the high reputation he has made for himself in the field of military and naval analysis—a department of American journalism in which he and a few other practitioners of his art are doing excellent service. Would that they were more frequently read by those in the seats of the mighty!

LINDSAY ROGERS

A Lively Sermon

BEGIN HERE. By Dorothy L. Sayers. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.

SPEAKING to her fellow-countrymen in the last days of 1939, Miss Sayers exhorted them to take thought about the incipient war and not to be futurists about the better world to follow it. For their guidance she reviewed with a masterly brevity and simplicity the main currents of European history feeding the whirlpool of the present. She now addresses the same words, with a new preface, to the American public, and on a second reading eighteen months later the little work remains both moving and apposite. Not that Miss Sayers appeals to any conventional feelings we may be supposed to have about Great Britain or the world. On the contrary she flies very efficiently in the face of all the glib talk about new world orders and the complacent explanations of the way things came to be as they are. She is, as attentive readers of her fiction and drama will have noted, a competent historian, a philosopher, and an artist. The result is that she

brings to bear on the contemporary chaos the calmness born of historical perspective, the clarity of a logician, and the concreteness that belongs to art.

When she says, "Begin here," she means simply that there is no reason to suppose this war will be the last, the worst, or the best in history. It will not work miracles, and consequently any better world we may desire must be built piece by piece by ourselves through the choices and acts we are making and doing now. She repudiates in fact any theory of linear and fated evolution, any automatism moving us toward good or ill, and she vindicates human purpose operating on the small scale where its effects are undoubted and familiar. She knows, moreover, that the decisions affecting the fate of nations depend upon the ideas of life, conduct, government, and faith which are abroad among the people, whether democratic or totalitarian. She must therefore remind her listeners—British and American—of their own shortcomings as judged by the very standards which they would enshrine in the "new order." The passion for absolutes, the yearning for an impossible static security, the dread of original thought, the repudiation of Christian morality, the naive faith in machinery—both industrial and administrative—the actual neglect of vaunted cultural values—these are so many failures of brain and heart which Miss Sayers berates in words no less justified than eloquent. Two pages on the gaping indifference of the English public to art—the art which that same public fitfully pretends to cherish and defend against totalitarian attack—are worthy of inclusion in the great collection of anti-philistine documents. But the author's wit and invective imply no loss of proportion. She orders her argument in such a way that its many parts, from an economic fact to a piece of introspective psychology, fall into place without strain and without surplusage.

Enough has been said to show that Miss Sayers is no doctrinaire. Though she clearly believes in a transcendent reality which is Christian, she is not proselytizing for any church and she does not hope more from organizations than from single "conversions." But she believes that without intelligence and will somewhere no social or cultural salvation is possible. One can quarrel with some of her historical judgments, notably that on the doctrine of natural rights; and one can regret that she has chosen for some of her short and lucid chapters mottoes from long-winded and thorny writers, but no one can deny that her fresh and forthright

sermon is worth the closest study, simply as a piece of pointed reflection and quite aside from the clear-eyed statement of faith that it makes.

JACQUES BARZUN

Nationless Men

WE ESCAPED. Edited by William Allen Neilson. The Macmillan Company. \$2.

NINE months ago, while abroad, I had occasion to spend several hours daily for about a week in the courtyard of the consulate general of a great power. Of all the experiences that I have had in recent years that was certainly the most nerve-racking. The strain did not originate in any predicament of mine, for my request was simple and I was treated with courtesy. At the end of each period, however, I was depressed beyond bearing, anxious only to get away and talk—talk about anything and with anyone provided he had, not merely things so prime to man as a home and a job, but a nationality.

A room with a view, a room of one's own, health, money, work—they have been written and written about as if they were important. They did not seem so important then. If you have spent a few hours in a consulate of a neutral or defeated European power, you will know that no symbol is so packed with implicit drama as an invalid passport.

Those who have not seen the faces of nationless men may obtain some idea of what Nazism has done from "We Escaped," a collection of narratives of quite exceptional merit. The simplicity and vigor of these accounts and the entire absence of abnormality in the persons who tell them set the book apart. The Artist from Prague and The Mayor of Ferrol are, I think, two of the best pieces of direct narrative I have read in a long time. It is testimony to the reality of the people in "We Escaped" to say that one or two of them have quirks and traits that I don't like. In general they are fine people, none the less, worth any nation's saving.

The reserve officer from Holland is your quiet gentleman naive in his political outlook, methodically courageous in necessity; very correct and very Dutch. The anti-Nazi professor from Heidelberg is a brilliant mathematician, confident he can calculate the incidence of floods from some higher theorem of calculus, I believe. I like such a man, and his story is well told. Then the Mayor of Ferrol! Here is a story which I heard from his lips—after he became a waiter in a two-bit beanery. A Spanish Socialist under Alfonso, he became accustomed to arbitrary police and slovenly jailers. Hunted by fascists, he at last found a refuge in the attic of a family of former political opponents. In the most magnificent piece of reticence I know, he says, "I stayed with that family three years." And from that attic, with other men in other attics, he planned his escape. Those Spaniards faltered comic-opera uniforms of the Civil Guard, of cloth and cardboard dyed with shoe polish. One night they marched through the town as a patrol and stole a steam-driven fishing boat. Their fuel ran out in the Bay of Biscay. They lit a flare of gasoline. A French fishing boat approached and towed them to France, to begin the long pull of getting a visa to America. Well, he's here, and thinking of the day of return to Spain.

RALPH BATES

The Rebuttal . . .

—to the logic of dictatorship and exploitation: That because man is an animal—he can be no more than an animal.

HUMANITY ON TRIAL

By HORACE J. BRIDGES

Leader, Chicago Ethical Society

The rise of dictators who created the present world-tragedy can be traced to certain beliefs about the nature and powers of man which are false, but generally accepted because they appear to possess authority of science. This book offers an answer, based on unquestionable facts as to what man is and does, here and now on earth. Presented in the form of a series of illustrations rather than cumulative abstract argument.

324 PAGES \$2.50



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The Case of Harold Rugg

THAT MEN MAY UNDERSTAND. By Harold Rugg.
Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.75.

HAROLD RUGG here submits himself to the court of public opinion and serves as his own advocate. He asks 130,000,000 fellow-citizens—or as many of them as his publishers can persuade to attend court—to judge the righteousness of his cause. For the benefit of those unaware of who he is, or that he is on trial at all, he reviews the charges before proceeding with the defense.

Dr. Rugg, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, is the author of a series of social-science textbooks widely used in our schools. They are based upon the author's two dominant beliefs: first, that social and political problems of the greatest significance have been too little discussed or have actually been suppressed in the classroom—and, as a consequence, young people have gone out unprepared to live effectively in the world of today; second, that each branch of knowledge taught in our schools, from the three R's to the social sciences, has been so departmentalized and compartmentalized as to make it inapplicable to a society where all vital problems are interrelated.

Fired by these convictions he proceeded to build a series of school texts. He launched them first as mimeographed pamphlets which were tried out by cooperating teachers in many towns and cities. Then they were revised and collected into book form. These books and the experimental pamphlets have been used widely for twenty years, and sales have been phenomenal. Of the pamphlets alone, three-quarters of a million were sold. Since the beginning of the enterprise attacks upon the author and his writings have been periodic and increasingly bitter.

"That Men May Understand" opens with the author's confession of faith in our form of government and a declaration of pride in our nation's past achievements, with some reference to the part played by his own ancestors. Then follows a painfully detailed record of his Herculean labors, with tribute to each of the many other "pioneer thinkers" who collaborated with him; with fact piled upon fact as to total number of words written, pamphlets and books published, and all attendant circumstances.

The pages that follow make livelier reading as he describes the developing attacks upon him—the long campaign, for instance, of his detractors to get his books out of the Englewood schools; the entry of Verne Marshall and M. K. Hart, of Hearst and the "patrioteers" into the struggle; the spread of the war to distant parts. The author finds space to philosophize upon the phenomenon of witch-hunting, and the relation of such periodic outbursts of intolerance to times of national prosperity or depression.

The last few chapters of the book present his theories of education in and for a democracy, and most deserve the permanence of book form. "Alone among the schoolbook authors of America," he writes, "I have refused to dodge the problem of public and private ownership"; and this hints his attitude toward himself and the nature of his pioneering.

As the years passed I became more and more convinced that democracy could not survive the attacks upon it unless young Americans came to a thorough understanding of the

strike...

strike...

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★ ★ ★

Alvin Johnson, in the New York Herald Tribune, says: "Mr. Jones in this book has set up a machinery for ascertaining what people think. That makes him rank with the important intellectual pioneers of our time."

Rose M. Stein, in The Nation, says: "A highly provocative book . . . a most heartening testimonial to the vitality of our democracy."

R. L. Duffus, in the New York Times, says: "The results are thought provoking. America, looking at itself and studying its own thinking and feeling, is quite a spectacle."

Winston Phelps, in the Providence Journal, says: "It is entertaining and it is important. It may well be rated one of the most important serious books of the year."

The Christian Science Monitor says: "This book will take a place among the path-breakers. It shows that there is an American way, and that the present social situation is full of hope."

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world in which they were living. The democratic process in America, I was sure, could not be guaranteed unless our youth were introduced to the full story—the deficiencies as well as the achievements of our society, the problems and issues as well as the narrative of adventure.

But the narrative of adventure may be told with a certain degree of objectivity, while the classification of problems and issues, of deficiencies and achievements, is a matter of opinion. Dr. Rugg's interpretations, which color his books, seem sanely liberal and far from revolutionary. It is likely, as he asserts, that most of his detractors never read them.

As I pass from chapter to chapter of this meticulously detailed record of the author's vision on the road to Damascus, of his acceptance of his mission, and of the fashion in which he has carried the gospel, as well as a full outline of the gospel itself, I find myself a victim of shifting moods. At times I am impatient, as when Dr. Rugg finds it necessary to tell of the exact place and moment when the vision occurred, or would persuade me to look upon Teachers College as a sort of Early Church. There are moments of boredom when I find myself murmuring, "Thou sayest an undisputed thing in such a solemn way"; and there are many other moments when I wish that the author might have flavored his dish with a soupçon of humility and a sprinkling of humor. But after-thought assures me that few great crusaders have found time to cultivate either ingredient.

Surely, the conviction of many conservatives, seldom expressed but always felt, that "any change is dangerous" has done more harm to our schools than to any other institution. Dr. Rugg has fought for progress with great skill and an unrewarded persistence. He has thrived on punishment and one suspects, might welcome even martyrdom if he could be given a chance afterward to write about it.

BURGES JOHNSON

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

THE INTENT OF THE ARTIST. By Sherwood Anderson, Thornton Wilder, Roger Sessions, and William Lescage. Edited by Augusto Centeno. Princeton University Press. \$2.50.

YOUR MEXICAN HOLIDAY. A Modern Guide. By Anita Brenner. Putnam. \$3.

OF MEN AND WOMEN. By Pearl S. Buck. John Day. \$2.

AGAINST THIS TORRENT. By Edward Mead Earle. Princeton University Press. \$1.

FISCAL POLICY AND BUSINESS CYCLES. By Alvin H. Hansen. Norton. \$3.75.

SATAN'S SERGEANTS. By Josephine Herbst. Scribner's. \$2.50.

LOUISIANA HAYRIDE. By Harnett T. Kane. Morrow. \$3.

THE INTERNMENT OF ALIENS. By F. Lafitte. Penguin. 25 cents.

A YANKEE DOCTOR IN PARADISE. By S. M. Lambert. Little Brown. \$3.

LIBERTY IN THE MODERN STATE. By Harold J. Laski. Penguin. 25 cents.

THE NINE DAYS WONDER. By John Masefield. Macmillan. \$1.25.

FULL EMPLOYMENT. By John H. G. Pierson. Yale University Press. \$2.50.

THE TIME IS NOW! By Pierre van Paassen. Dial. \$1.

OUR WAR AND OUR PEACE. By James P. Warburg. Farrar and Rinehart. \$1.75.

FILMS

Snow White and the
1,200 Dwarfs*Hollywood, April 30*

TO VISIT the Walt Disney Studios for the first time is quite an experience. An ordinary studio for flesh-and-blood actors, once one is inside its impressive entrance, has a slightly lost and bewildered air, as if it had outgrown its strength and as if everything were happening a little too fast—the employees seem just a trifle depressed, the buildings untidy and temporary. Not so the Disney unit: the approach to the studios is down a quiet countrified stretch of road, hills and trees screen the buildings, and one is suddenly confronted with a vista which resembles something between a factory and a college campus. As I walked on to the lot the collegiate atmosphere became almost oppressive. It was the lunch hour, and nearly all the twelve hundred-odd employees had left their work and were strolling about; everyone seemed to know everyone else; they smiled and waved and shouted greetings.

The studio dining-room, which is at the far end of the lot, is the most luxurious I have seen in any studio. The décor is modern and very attractive, the food is excellent, the service expert, and one can survey through glass doors the studio store, where models of the more famous Disney characters coyly offer themselves for sale. Large plate-glass windows give on to a field where employees play ping-pong, croquet, basketball, baseball. A tour of the office and production buildings reveals them to be far better designed and equipped than those of any other studio. Of course the comparison is hardly fair—celluloid performers being less bulky and messy than flesh-and-blood performers—but this studio compares to any other as a model dairy to an old-fashioned cow shed. How incongruous it must seem to Walt, as the employees are privileged to call Mr. Disney, when he contemplates these delightful surroundings and savors the atmosphere of camaraderie, that that wicked old fairy Organized Labor should be making trouble among his merry little Dwarfs. He must find it very exasperating that the vexatious question of the low wages he pays is continually cropping up, and that some of his employees have a nasty way of demanding things.

The Disney business went along sat-

isfactorily on a paternalistic basis for quite a time. Before the production of "Snow White," when Disney employed only about three hundred people, his particular method of dealing with labor was, from his point of view, highly successful. But with the rapid expansion of his plant, which coincides with the production of full-length feature pictures, he began to lose personal contact. During the production of "Snow White" the artists and other studio workers were informed that they were engaged on a great and daring experiment, that their cooperation in the form of hard work and overtime without pay was urgently required, and that they would be amply rewarded by bonuses if "Snow White" proved a financial success. After the picture had succeeded beyond the wildest dreams, a few employees were given ample bonuses, but the majority received barely enough to compensate them for the overtime they had put in. The same experiment was repeated with "Pinocchio"; this time no bonuses at all were paid, on the ground that the film did not make enough money, and the spirit of cooperation was pretty thoroughly damped.

Attempts at organizing the Disney employees were first made about three years ago under the auspices of the I. A. T. S. E. These were successfully scotched by the formation of a company guild, which in the course of time died of inertia, having achieved exactly nothing. Meanwhile the cartoon artists in other studios as well as Disney's had formed the Screen Cartoonists' Guild, an affiliate of the A. F. of L., and achieved startling results at every studio but Disney's. The minimum wage at Disney's is still about \$17 a week, while at other studios, such as Schlesinger's, where the guild has been recognized, the minimum wage is about \$23.

Some six months ago the Disney Studios imposed a wage cut, using the loss of European markets as an excuse, and Disney himself made a speech about everyone pulling together in a time of national emergency for the sake of the studio; this speech recruited more members for the Screen Cartoonists' Guild than a year of campaigning. When it became obvious that the guild would try to move into the studio, the company union miraculously revived, and Disney has been consistently refusing to deal with the S. C. G. on the ground that it is not representative of the majority of his employees. This argument is entirely specious, for the guild only claims to represent the actual artists—some five

hundred of the twelve hundred employees—and of these it represents a very substantial majority.

Yesterday the argument between Disney and the S. C. G. reached a climax. At an NLRB hearing negotiations between them broke down completely, and the head of the regional labor board has forwarded to Washington a complaint against the Disney Studio charging it with domination of its company union. Disney has expressed his willingness to abide by the decision of the NLRB, and it seems likely that he will be forced to recognize the S. C. G. in the near future. This will just about spell the defeat of Disney's experiment in paternalism.

The local women's clubs are on the warpath. The Daughters of the American Revolution and the Women's Motion Picture Council (whatever that may be) are anxious to obtain a list of the film actors who signed a petition protesting against the deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges; club members intend to boycott theaters which show pictures featuring anyone who signed the petition.

RECENT FILMS

"Major Barbara," England's most important screen offering since the outbreak of war, will probably not appeal widely to the American public. As screen material the Shaw play is by no means as satisfactory as "Pygmalion": it is a little too argumentative, too subtle, too verbose. To present a fable such as this on the screen successfully, it is necessary to paint the blacks very black and the whites very white, a method that does not appeal at all to Mr. Shaw, who blends his arguments to provoke his audience. Then, too, it would seem that "Major Barbara" has dated just a little; religion is certainly no longer worth talking about as an opiate for the English or American people, and as a result Barbara herself emerges no longer as a symbol of defeated and muddled virtue, but as a harmless and charming crank, whose behavior would appear to an average movie audience as "plain nutty." Nevertheless, the production is beautifully contrived, and it is a pleasure to hear the brilliant dialogue delivered by the magnificent cast. Robert Morley's performance as Andrew Undershaft is nothing short of superb, while Wendy Hiller, Robert Newton, Rex Harrison, and the rest of the cast are nearly as good.

ANTHONY BOWER.

MUSIC

TO GO on with the subject of "Fantasia"—and Deems Taylor in particular—offering images as the proper effect of music (*The Nation* of January 11): In a review of "Men of Music" about a year ago I referred to Aldous Huxley's essay "Music at Night," in which he writes of what a painting, by "the forms and their arrangement . . . the disposition of the lines and planes and masses," will say "to anyone in the least sensitive to the eloquence of pure form." For a person with sensitiveness to the eloquence of form in sound a Mozart symphony has exciting meaning; for a person without this sensitiveness it has no meaning at all: neither the meaning of its formal eloquence, which he cannot perceive; nor the meaning he looks for—expressible in words, and concerned with actions and ideas—which the music does not convey. In this situation he may be led to misconceptions: if he fails to realize that any special sensitiveness is involved, if instead he lives on the democratic assumption of the adequacy of his normal equipment to any subject, any experience, if he thinks of the meaning as one that can be translated into verbal statements about ideas or actions, then he may feel that if there is really anything in the music to be understood he can understand it, and that all he needs is to have it explained to him in the right terms, or that there is something to know about the work, which, if he were told it, would give him the perception he lacks. And from these misconceptions he may be led to resentments and suspicions—resentment of the person who claims the understanding, the special equipment that makes understanding possible; suspicion that

this person is withholding a meaning which he could reveal if he chose, or is pretending to understand a meaning that really isn't there to be understood.

In this situation the difficult thing to do is to correct the misconceptions and remove the resentments and suspicions: to get the person for whom the symphony means nothing to realize that understanding in this case involves a special sensitiveness to the "eloquence of pure form" which one person may have and another not, and which more persons have not than have; to get him to believe that those who claim to be excited by the music but cannot tell him what they are excited by are not all snobs or frauds; to get him to accept the notion that though in all other respects an adequately equipped human being he is without the specific equipment that would enable him to perceive and be excited by what these others perceive and are excited by. And all this is made even more difficult by the writers and speakers who do the easy and profitable thing, which is to defer to the misconceptions and nourish the resentments and suspicions. That is, they give their reader or listener the verbal interpretations and entertain him with the biographical details he asks for—which would in itself confirm his suspicion even if these commentators did not directly encourage him to suspect anyone who insists that music is not to be understood by means of verbal interpretations and biographical details, that its eloquence of pure form is to be understood only through the special sensitiveness for this eloquence.

This encouragement of the normally equipped person's resentment and distrust of the specially equipped person who understands music in a way the unequipped person does not—a form of cultural rabble-rousing—is something one encounters constantly; and it is a

frequent practice of Deems Taylor. There is no jazzing of the classics, no gaudy orchestral metamorphosis of Bach, no "synthesis" of Mussorgsky, no tabloid version of a symphony movement—in short no vulgarity or indignity perpetrated on music—that is not accompanied by its defiant recommendation to the public to pay no attention to the "purists" who will disapprove of what real, healthy, normal music-lovers will enjoy. Such statements have been issued with "Fantasia"; and the prize must go as usual to Taylor who, in his introduction spoken from the screen in which he offers the pictures as the meaning of the music, points out that "these are not going to be the interpretations of trained musicians—which I think is all to the good." In other words, take what a Disney artist makes of music, and by implication anything that anyone makes, in preference to what a musician makes of it.

Note that in this instance it is a trained musician himself who makes such a statement—one of the trained musicians who are largely responsible for the things that are done to music in "Fantasia." For the fact is that Disney did not trust himself to work alone—that coming to the music of Bach and Beethoven and Schubert he seems to have felt that he could do only what would be sanctioned by people who understood Bach and Beethoven and Schubert in a way he did not, people whose sanction would be a guarantee of artistic rectitude—people like Stokowski and Taylor. It is, then, Stokowski and Taylor who are responsible for the conversion of Schubert's "Ave Maria" into a Hollywood Gothic apotheosis for Mussorgsky's "Night on Bald Mountain." True, it was Stravinsky himself who assented to what is done with his "Sacre du printemps"; but Stravinsky—a mere composer who does not earn by writing music the sums that a Stokowski and a Taylor get for doing the jobs they do—may be forgiven for picking up a little extra money in this way.

And one consequence of Disney's step may be noted in conclusion: Fifteen years ago the public on which Stokowski and Taylor practised their corruption of taste and understanding was a few thousand readers of a newspaper; later, radio offered them a medium of communication with millions all over the country; and now Disney has given them still another medium with which to reach additional millions.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

On Harold Rugg

Dear Sirs: Harold Rugg stands accused of subverting the minds of the young by breeding skepticism and mistrust of the institutions to which they have fallen heir. Let one of his students testify for him, one who studied with him for two and one-half years.

Until I heard Harold Rugg paint in sure, penetrating strokes the history of America, until I read widely and deeply as he guided me, my country as a nation had no voice. Through him I began to hear it sing and to feel the life that throbs beneath the everyday scene. He articulated his love for America in such wise as to personalize its history in a drama of men and women striving for better ways of living together. He demonstrated the dictum of Spinoza that the more we learn of men the less we seek to praise or blame them, and strive merely to understand them.

He taught me that we do not need to be afraid to teach the truth about America. Hammering out a civilization from a vast wilderness cannot be a pretty task. It is rough and raw and breeds lawlessness. Yet conquering this wilderness also took courage and fortitude and indomitable will. Harold Rugg draws the picture that the song creates when it measures out the story of "pilgrims whose stern, impassioned tread a thoroughfare for freedom beat across the wilderness." He affirms that we need not be afraid to see the bones there as well as the victories, to understand the role of the renegades as well as the vigilantes, to see the crudeness and ugliness of the false-fronted frontier towns as well as the little centers of culture that early began to rise. Even as we see the brutality and ruthlessness of exploitation, he marks, we need not lose sight of the spirit that fostered cooperation in all this welter of individualism and bred humor and a lovable expansiveness and generosity.

It is not by glossing over the "bad" in our history—which is not only immoral but conducive to a complacency for which there is no justification—that we make progress. It is by using all the resources at our command to understand the "bad" in the light of social and physical environment, to know why men did as they did on the lawless border

and in the decades of exploitation. It is all America, good and bad. Some is to be regretted and to be ashamed of. Some is to be gloried in. Ours is a history more romantic than that of kings and princes. That is what Harold Rugg taught me: that this grand and thrilling story that is America's can awaken not only devotion and pride but courage to see her faults and name them, so that we may preserve what is rich and valid and change what is shameful and degrading.

To call Harold Rugg a materialist is to misunderstand a man who has explored the frontiers of American culture and more than any other educator has developed the potentialities for creative energy in our people. His father was a handicraftsman. As a boy he watched him carve with loving care cabinets, staircases, and doorways. Always that work was subjected to rigid scrutiny. No imperfection was tolerated. Only the best could go forth.

Harold Rugg noted this, and years later, pondering this creative act, he wondered about the qualities of the artist. Are they peculiar to the artist? Aren't they potential in all? Suppose, he imagined, we could create a nation of people characterized by integrity, a courage to be themselves in all they say and do, and with a cognizance of their obligation to society. Suppose, he thought further, we could develop a quality of thoroughness, that quality which makes the artist critical of his work. America is our work. To build this creative America requires understanding of her heterogeneous heritage, a knowledge which precludes the deadliness of a patriotism that will not criticize itself. Truly loving and knowing America, her people will demand that she realize her potentialities. Demanding this, her people will give only of their best, and be satisfied only with the best.

Harold Rugg's teaching is all positive. Hate is eliminated, and a passionate desire to preserve and improve the processes of a dynamic democracy is conveyed. My greatest hope as a teacher would be that I could give to my pupils the love and understanding of America that Harold Rugg has given to me.

RUTH MEYER

New York, April 17

County Reorganization

Dear Sirs: In the article Can Tammany Come Back? in *The Nation* of April 19 you warn New York City voters that the Democratic political machine is still with us and scarcely weakened by Mayor LaGuardia's triumph in the last two elections. It is all too true that Tammany still has great power in the City Council and in the cumbersome and wholly unnecessary county governments which we are still supporting. To be sure we voted county reform as long ago as 1935; that is, the voters authorized the Board of Aldermen to abolish the many useless and expensive separate county offices of sheriff and register. But the Board of Aldermen, and later the City Council as formed under the new city charter in 1936, has disregarded the wishes of the people.

The sheriff's salary is \$15,000 annually in New York, Bronx, and King's County, \$8,000 in Queens County, and \$6,000 in Richmond. Combined, these amounts would pay the salaries of the Commissioners of Health, Hospitals, Police, and Welfare, and still leave more than \$1,000 over. The register's salary is \$12,000 in each county except Queens, where it is \$8,000. The combined salaries amount to \$500 more than the combined salaries of the Commissioners of the Departments of Fire, Correction, Purchase, Housing, and Building.

In the sheriffs' offices there are only 14 civil-service jobs at the present time, but there are 364 political jobs which are costing the taxpayers of the city thousands of dollars every year. In the registers' offices 59 political jobs are exempt from civil-service regulations. Public investigations—by Herlands and Blanchard—have shown that most of these jobs are created to take care of political henchmen at public expense.

Since Tammany still has such a strangle-hold on the City Council, the only way for the taxpayers of New York City to rid themselves of this politically corrupt and expensive system is by initiative and referendum. A petition is now being circulated by the Non-Partisan Committee and supported by the League of Women Voters. We need 50,000 signatures of qualified voters to bring this vital issue of county reorganization be-

fore the voters of New York City on next Election Day.

Briefly, county reorganization is a plan (1) to abolish the high-paid, useless, and overlapping offices of county sheriff and register; (2) to establish one city-wide office of sheriff and register; (3) to make these offices and every job in them open only to civil-service workers. This plan deserves the support of every citizen who wants democracy to succeed. It is a plan to make ability and not politics the test for our civil employees. If successful, county reorganization will remove a source of corruption in our city government and at the same time save the city up to a half-million dollars annually.

We need the help of every interested voter in Greater New York to put over this campaign for better government. The most immediate way to help is to circulate a petition and get signatures. Petitions, directions, and further information about county reorganization can be obtained at the New York City League of Women Voters, 151 East Fiftieth Street, Eldorado 5-6860.

LETTY GAY CARSON,

County Reorganization Chairman

New York League of Women Voters
New York, April 30

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Agrees with Sandburg

Dear Sirs: It was an immense pleasure to hear from Carl Sandburg through your pages (issue of April 26), especially since your propaganda for entering the war had made many of your readers wonder whether you were really going to remain a "liberal" publication.

It is perfectly true that the American people are not anxious to enter another European war to save England's fox-hunting set. Moreover, the much-vaunted plans for a "new order" of the Stracheys and the Bevins and the Anglican church seem like very feeble gasps when the British government does not take the least step in that direction.

This, to my mind, relieves us of any obligation to fight a second futile war for democracy, even at Vice-President Wallace's suggestion.

C. DEWITT ELDRIDGE

Chapel Hill, N. C., May 2

CORRECTION: In I. F. Stone's Washington letter of last week a sentence read: "In the first quarter of this year defense sales were almost \$50,000,000—out of total sales of \$65,000,000." The figure \$65,000,000 should have read \$650,000,000.

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CONTRIBUTORS

FRITZ STERNBERG, an authority on the economics of war, is the author of "Fivefold Aid to Britain."

LOUIS DOLIVET, French authority on international law, served as general secretary of various organizations working for collective security before the war.

CHARLES CURTIS MUNZ, author of "Land Without Moses," has written extensively on the economic and political problems of the Southwest.

R. P. BLACKMUR, critic and poet, is the author of "The Double Agent" and "The Expense of Greatness."

LEWIS GANNETT, conductor of the New York *Herald Tribune's* daily book column, was an editor of *The Nation* for nine years.

LINDSAY ROGERS is Burgess professor of public law at Columbia University.

JACQUES BARZUN, assistant professor of history at Columbia, is the author of "Darwin, Marx, Wagner."

BURGES JOHNSON is professor of English at Union College.

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Washington Editor

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Dramatic Critic

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The Shape of Things

THE ARRIVAL OF RUDOLF HESS IN SCOTLAND by parachute provides the perfect opening for the most fascinating mystery story of the war. How it will unfold is still a secret. But already the radio commentators and editorial writers are busy searching for clues. Raymond Gram Swing has offered four possible theories to explain Britain's fantastic visitor: first, that he is indeed demented, as Berlin insists; second, that he flew to Scotland on a secret peace mission for Hitler, a mission that was revealed only through his accidental injury; third, that he went as representative of an anti-Hitler cabal, to offer peace against Hitler's wishes; fourth, that his flight was an escape. Mr. Swing seems to incline, very tentatively, to explanation number two, which is perhaps the most sensational of the lot. If it is the correct one, we may never know it, for Hitler will as a matter of course continue to repudiate his unsuccessful emissary, and Hess may never tell the facts. Perhaps this will be a mystery story without a last chapter. But the most generally accepted theory is the most obvious—that Hess is a deserter and traitor who fled to save his skin and is presumably prepared to "tell all." If this plot is the real one, his visit may be of untold value to Britain. But in many ways it is harder to believe than the more fantastic explanations. Hess's chief characteristic has been his unquestioning party and personal loyalty. He was the Nazi *sans reproche*, if such a term can be applied to murderers and terrorists. He never questioned why or sought personal power. He is the last man on earth who might have been expected to betray Hitler—but that, after all, is in the best mystery-story tradition.

✱

IN THE BRIGHT MAY MOONLIGHT BRITAIN and the Nazis have been trading heavy blows. For several weeks the German bombers have been concentrating on British ports, where there have been heavy casualties and a massive destruction of homes. How much damage has also been done to port facilities and shipbuilding yards is naturally a military secret. Inevitably these raids must cause economic dislocation, but there is no evidence that they have seriously interrupted the rhythm of indus-

trial production or that they have shaken morale. The great attack on London on the night of May 10, in the course of which some of the capital's most beautiful ancient buildings were battered, has been advertised by the Nazis themselves as "a revenge raid." This is a new and open avowal of terror tactics. Britain's war effort will not be reduced by the razing of Westminster Abbey, nor will Parliament cease to be effective even though its historic chamber is gutted. But such vandalism may well increase the British demand for reprisals. British raids on Germany during the past week have been directed mainly at the industries and shipyards of Hamburg and Bremen and at the railroad centers and steel and chemical plants of the Rhineland. Attacks on Berlin have been only on a minor scale, perhaps designed chiefly to appease British opinion. In the other raids, however, large forces have been employed, and the fury of German reactions suggests that the new high-explosive bombs hit many important targets. The offensive power of the R. A. F. seems definitely on the upgrade.

★

THE NEAR EAST STILL SEEMS LIKELY TO BE the theater of the next German offensive, but Balkan conquests have first to be consolidated and various diplomatic and military preparations completed. Greece, apparently, is being wooed with kind words, but the Serbs are being subjected to the same kind of ruthless ferocity that the Poles have experienced. In the western desert temporary stalemate continues under the blazing fury of the African sun. The British still hold Tobruk strongly and by so doing discourage any further advance by the Axis forces at Sollum. In Iraq, Rashid Ali's small air force has been broken and his troops forced to retreat at several key points. Reports indicate that he has failed to gain the support either of his own countrymen or of other Arab nations. He has yet to receive any military backing from the Axis, and it now seems that his hand was forced by the arrival of British troops at Basra before the Germans and Italians were ready to send aid. There have been reports of demands made on General Dentz, Vichy's commander in Syria, to allow German forces to occupy certain strategic bases and airfields. Probably these are premature, for it seems likely that Syria is one of the chief matters under discussion in the negotiations between Admiral Darlan and the Nazis. A preliminary agreement has been reached easing slightly the barriers between unoccupied and occupied France, and discussions are going forward with a view to reducing payments for the army of occupation by 25 per cent—which will still leave Germany a handsome profit to devote to the buying up of French industry. What the quid pro quo is to be has yet to be disclosed. Since Syria is a mandated territory and not a colony, its control might be relinquished without breaking the letter of Pétain's pledges.

ISOLATIONISTS, RETREATING UNDER FIRE of a public opinion awakening to realities, are wavering between two contradictory arguments. On the one hand they rely on the Lindbergh thesis that since Britain is done for anyhow, help will be wasted; on the other they claim that the urgency of the Atlantic shipping situation is being exaggerated. Raising the question of convoys again, Senator Vandenberg quoted a letter from Admiral Land, chairman of the Maritime Commission, which said: "Between January 1 and April 30, 1941, 158 vessels of 781,914 gross tons were reported sunk in all parts of the world (according to our composite records, which we believe to be complete). Of these 158 vessels only 12, of 66,782 gross tons, cleared from United States ports." Following challenges from London, Admiral Land explained that his letter had been misconstrued. The figures given, he said were those of "sinkings reported by the press and other public sources of information. There is reason to believe that actual losses run substantially greater than reported losses." Statistics since released by the British Admiralty show that the difference between losses chronicled by Land's office and actual sinkings is indeed substantial. The April total was 488,124 tons, which, added to the revised figures of losses for the first quarter of the year, produces an aggregate for the past four months of over 1,600,000 tons. Another point to be noticed is that sinkings of ships actually carrying American goods are not the whole problem. The heaviest losses, it is said, occur on the east-west passage, and thus any attempt to measure the extent of the shipping crisis must take into account the accumulation of goods waiting in American ports for ships which fail to arrive.

★

GENERAL FRANCO'S LITTLE PURGE IN THE Spanish army and police and in the Ministry of the Interior has aroused widespread speculation. The friction which always existed between the old army officers and the Phalangists has undoubtedly been intensified by the misery of the country and the imminent possibility of invasion. The showdown has resulted in a shift in the balance of power in favor of the army, and Franco has been able to shove into key positions several men in whom he has personal confidence. But it would be reckless to conclude from these changes that Spain is preparing to free itself from Axis control and resist the threatened Nazi thrust toward Gibraltar. The newly installed officials are men whose opposition to the Phalanx implies no corresponding love for the democracies. General Carlos Asensio, the new Chief of Staff, is an able officer and an old friend of Franco's. He is also an extreme reactionary. Lieutenant General Alfredo Kindelas, who has been put in charge of Catalonia, was transferred from a similar post in the Balearics, which have never emerged from under the military control of Mussolini.

The changes in Spain probably have much the same significance as had the ousting of Laval and the appointment of Darlan in France. Hopeful commentators who looked then for a "firm" attitude toward Hitler forgot that the controlling factor in the situation was the military dominance of Germany. In the case of Franco, it is well to remember that there are 100,000 Nazi soldiers, officials, technicians, and Gestapo agents in Spain today.

★

INSPIRED STORIES ARE BEGINNING TO APPEAR in the Japanese press regarding the desirability of liquidating the "China incident." It is admitted for the first time that China's vast size makes its conquest prohibitively expensive if not altogether impossible. The all-important matter of "face" is taken care of by the insistence that the Japanese troops could easily defeat the Chinese if they could catch them and by renewed denunciations of American interference. Just how seriously this surprising maneuver should be taken, it is difficult to say. With American aid increasing and Soviet supplies still being delivered, there seems little likelihood that Chiang Kai-shek can be tricked into accepting anything short of complete restitution of Chinese sovereignty. And there is no indication that Japan's desire for peace has reached such an advanced stage. Articles in Japanese newspapers hint at the possibility of a withdrawal from some of the occupied sections of China in the hope that the remainder may be more easily pacified. Such a move would only dramatize the confusion of Japanese policy. It is apparent that the Japanese militarists are caught in a web of their own making. An embargo on oil would be the most effective way of making certain that they remain enmeshed.

★

WE BELIEVE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION has acted wisely in rounding up Germans and Italians charged with overstaying their leaves in this country. No doubt some of these men are not convinced Nazis and Fascists, but the control exercised by the totalitarian powers over their nationals makes it necessary to regard all Germans who are not outspokenly opposed to Hitler and Mussolini as potentially subversive. We hope that if these men cannot be returned to Europe some method will be found to keep them out of harm's way. Manfred Zapp and Günther Tonn, of the Trans-Ocean News Agency, who have been rearrested and held for deportation, are in a different category. They have openly been carrying on Nazi propaganda but, it is charged, have not registered with the State Department as foreign agents. Their activities have frequently been exposed in *The Nation* and elsewhere, and it is high time their wings were permanently clipped. But even these men, though far more important than the sailors, are comparatively

small fry. It is well known that the real centers of Nazi propaganda and espionage in this country are the embassy and the consulates. And their most dangerous underlings are more likely to be found on Park Avenue than in the back streets of Yorkville.

★

TAX PROPOSALS PRESENTED TO CONGRESS last week by Leon Henderson and Marriner S. Eccles are better in most respects than the Treasury proposals on which we commented two weeks ago. They would eliminate the proposed excise levies on telephone bills, matches, candy, and chewing gum, but would impose much higher taxes on automobiles and other durable consumers' goods, the production of which competes with the defense program. This seems to us eminently sound in principle. The production of automobiles should be cut down far more than the 20 per cent now contemplated. In order to achieve this a tax of 50 or even 100 per cent on new cars would be justified. The Henderson-Eccles proposals also call for much higher excess-profits taxes and substantially higher gift and inheritance levies than are included in the Treasury plan. They would provide for a more moderate increase in the income and surtax rates on personal incomes in the lower brackets but would offset this, in part, by reducing the exemption for dependents. The tax on moderate incomes would be slightly higher than that proposed by the Congressional Committee, and the tax on large incomes would be substantially higher than under either of the previous plans.

Is Inflation Here?

DESPITE the Administration's efforts at price control, the commodity markets during the past few weeks have exhibited all the earmarks of the early stages of inflation. Moody's sensitive index of commodity prices rose more than 2 per cent in the week ending May 10, making a total increase since the outbreak of war of 37 per cent, half of which has been recorded since mid-February. To some extent prices of imported raw materials, which are not so easily subjected to control are responsible for this movement. But the greatest price increases in recent weeks have not been in imported commodities but in domestic farm products. Cotton rose from \$11.81 a bale on May 3 to \$12.42 on May 10. Wheat jumped from 94 to 96 cents a bushel, and corn rose nearly 4 cents a bushel in the same period.

This rapid increase in farm prices cannot be explained by rising demand or fear of short crops. Estimates of the 1941 winter wheat crop just released by the Department of Agriculture give it as 653,000,000 bushels, compared with last year's crop of 589,000,000 bushels.



This indicates a carry-over to next year of 515,000,000 bushels as compared with this year's record 390,000,000.

Crop prospects in general are excellent. The sole cause of the increased prices, therefore, seems to be speculation stimulated by the probable passage of the Fulmer bill, which would require that crop loans be made at 85 per cent of parity. An 85 per cent loan rate would guarantee farmers approximately \$1.15 a bushel for wheat, 87 cents a bushel for corn, and 16 cents a pound for cotton, as compared with 83 cents a bushel for wheat, 75 cents a bushel for corn, and 12 cents a pound for cotton under existing legislation. It is estimated that enactment of the proposal would raise consumer prices for meat, dairy products, eggs, and poultry from 10 to 20 per cent above the present high levels.

Such an increase, it need hardly be pointed out, would raise havoc with the entire price-stabilization effort. It would certainly justify renewed demands for higher wages, and increased wages mean higher industrial costs, which in turn would lead to higher prices. No price administrator, regardless of his ability, can be expected to be successful if an important price sector is taken out of his hands and left at the mercies of Congress.

The situation provides a first-rate challenge to the President. If he is wholly sincere in his determination to prevent an inflationary price rise such as occurred in the last war, he will have to act quickly and decisively. This will not be easy. Nothing contains more political dynamite than a farm-subsidy bill. The difference between the House, which proposed a 75 per cent loan rate, and the Senate, which raised the ante to 85 per cent, have just been "compromised" by agreement on the higher figure. As an important matter of principle, either the bill should be defeated or the loan rate should be struck from it altogether; the loan rate should be left, as in the past, in the hands of the Department of Agriculture. It is an important matter of principle because it is evident that if price stabilization is to succeed, the fixing of prices must be taken wholly out of politics and intrusted to an administrative agency which has full power to act.

But why, it may be asked, should the farmer be singled out to bear the brunt of price stabilization? Workers have already received substantial wage increases; business profits are running far ahead of normal; why should not the farmer enjoy some of the benefits of prosperity? The answer is that the farmer is already obtaining the benefits of the war boom quite as much as the industrial worker and is likely to continue to profit from increased consumer buying. On April 15 the Department of Agriculture estimated that purchasing power of farm products had increased more than 10 per cent in the last year. This makes no allowance for the exceptionally sharp increase in farm prices which has occurred since that date. Reflecting the rise in farm purchasing power, sales of mail-order houses and farm-equipment manufacturers are

from 20 to 50 per cent above their sales of a year ago.

Solicitude for the farmer, then, hardly justifies the wrecking of our price-stabilization machinery. The last war demonstrated that in the long run the farmer was the chief sufferer from a runaway inflation.

No Henbane for Japan?

THE President announced on May 10 that he had approved the recommendation of Brigadier General Russell L. Maxwell, administrator of export control, and had issued a proclamation placing eight additional articles under the export-licensing system. The articles are hyoscyamus (henbane), stramonium, columbium, tantalum, cryolite, fluorspar, chemical wood pulps, and digitalis seeds. Perhaps these materials are not less important for being little known. But this meticulous addition of obscure items to the list of articles for which an export license is required seems a little ludicrous beside the continued export to Japan of huge quantities of so important a war material as oil. The latest report of the Department of Commerce shows that our shipments of petroleum to Japan in March were 1,500,000 barrels, as compared with 1,280,000 barrels in February and 1,491,000 in January. These huge exports were in no way hindered by the necessity of obtaining licenses for them from General Maxwell, although when oil was put on the export license list last summer it was assumed this would be a virtual embargo. It has turned out instead to be a meaningless sop to sentiment for an oil embargo, and we continue to provide fuel for the Japanese navy and air force. And there is good reason to believe that Japan is not the only beneficiary of our willingness to let the oil companies, like our copper and steel magnates, make a profit on the sale of the materials of war to our enemies.

Few newspapers printed anything about the resolution introduced by Senator Gillette of Iowa and Congressman Coffee of Washington for a joint investigation into trade with the Axis powers in basic war materials. Too much money is involved here, and more courage is required than the average politician possesses. There are three possible channels through which the Axis may obtain supplies from this country. One is through Soviet purchases which would be later transferred to Germany. The trickle to which our trade with Russia has been reduced is sufficient evidence that this is not a major source of supply. The second, of course, requires no investigation. Our huge exports to Japan have been largely in war materials and machine tools. That some of this may be transhipped to Europe is indicated by the State Department's announcement that it has revoked all licenses for the shipment of scrap rubber to Japan and occupied parts of China, a belated move, like all the State Department's

actions of this kind. For a rubber shortage here is already in sight. Washington correspondents were given to understand "off the record" that this move was designed to check one German source of supply—which would indicate that in some materials at least transshipments have been made from the Far East to Europe. There was a similar hint in the statement of Hugh Dalton, Minister of Economic Warfare, in London on April 25. Dalton said a shortage of ferrous alloys was developing in Germany and that negotiations were on in Washington to curb "supplies to enemy countries." Has Germany been obtaining American ferrous alloys, through Japan or Spain? For Spain is the third intermediary through which war materials may be reaching the Axis.

Senator Gillette, in introducing the joint resolution for an inquiry, referred to the testimony of Joseph Curran, head of the National Maritime Union, that Standard Oil was delivering oil to Spain's Canary Islands for transshipment to Germany and Italy. E. B. Lyman, publicity director of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, explained afterward to a representative of the Federated Press that "first of all, you must understand we are an international company—that is, Standard Oil of New Jersey is a holding company with subsidiaries

in many countries. We must keep an international viewpoint. As a private company we cannot declare our own boycott. As a general principle we sell to anyone that wants to buy and can pay for it until the State Department places an embargo on any country."

We believe that the Senate and House should not only pass the Gillette-Coffee resolution but should instruct the joint committee to inquire what oil, copper, steel, and other materials made by American companies or their subsidiaries in Latin America, the Near East, and the Dutch East Indies are reaching the Axis. British-American oil companies in the Dutch East Indies have just renewed their sales agreement boosting oil exports to Japan from 494,000 to 1,800,000 tons a year. We should like to know how much oil Japan has been getting from American oil companies in the Near East. J. H. Carmical, the oil expert of the *New York Times*, reported last July 28 that earlier in the year Japanese oil interests had purchased 1,000,000 barrels of oil from the Anglo-Iranian Company, a majority of whose stock is owned by the British government. These British sales have been one of the principal arguments used by our oil companies against an embargo on sales of American oil to Japan. Both ought to be shut off.

Stalin Gets a New Job

BY LOUIS FISCHER

MOLOTOV has been purged. Stalin is Prime Minister in Molotov's place. Of late, too, Molotov has taken a back seat as Foreign Commissar—witness Stalin's direct conduct of the negotiations that led to the Soviet-Japanese pact in April. The trouble started soon after Molotov returned from Berlin late last year. In February V. G. Dekanozov, Soviet ambassador to Germany, became a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. That made him second to Molotov in the Soviet foreign service and thus a menace to Molotov. Simultaneously Paulina Zhemchuzhina, Molotov's wife, was demoted. Writing in *The Nation* of March 1, 1941, I said: "Either she is no longer Madame Molotov or this is a faint hint to Molotov that the purge may get him too." Apparently she is Madame Molotov.

Nobody in Russia has security. The next-to-the-highest and the lowest can always be purged. No Soviet citizen may enjoy personal authority or popularity, and Molotov has lately been too prominent. Stalin has no fear of Molotov. But Stalin is the kind of man who does not like to have around him even vaguely potential rivals.

The reasons for Stalin's self-appointment as Premier

are psychological as well as political. Stalin has always aspired to be Premier. Before the removal of Rykov from that post in December, 1930, foreign correspondents in Moscow had definite information that Stalin would succeed him. Important Bolshevik leaders told me this, and I believe a tentative decision had been reached. But it was later revoked because of opposition. Stalin, it was argued, was not a Russian. Moreover, he was not yet omnipotent. Though he was crushing the right-wing Rykov-Bukharin-Tomsky opposition, it still lived, and Stalin did not wish to give it a weapon with which to beat him: it might have tried to rouse Russian nationalist sentiment against him if he had taken the premiership. (When Lenin died, his natural successor would have been Leo Kamenev, then in league with Stalin, a member of the dominant triumvirate and vice-premier under Lenin. He was not selected because he was a Jew. Instead, Rykov, the Great Russian, got the job.)

Stalin's highest personal goal has been to destroy the Lenin-Trotsky couplet created by history and to substitute a Lenin-Stalin or Stalin-Lenin couplet. This desire runs through all his acts. It would require him to have not merely Lenin's supreme power but also Lenin's

supreme titles. Titles count to an "Asiatic." He was thwarted in 1930. But since then Stalin has demonstrated his Great Russianism better than most Russians. He has recently restored nearly all of czarist Russia's boundaries, and he has fostered Russian nationalism. The elevation of this Georgian to the post of Premier, therefore, will not shock the peasants and the Russian patriots today as it might have eleven years ago. At that time, moreover, some citizens might have said, "Who is this man?" or, "Stalin is usurping power." Now they can only comment that he has been the boss anyway; why shouldn't he have the title as well?

Stalin is sixty-two. If his life's ambition has been to wear Lenin's official mantle, this is the time to achieve it. Another circumstance intensified the urge. The Communist Party has become a rubber stamp. It has been merged with and submerged by the Soviet government. Stalin is leader of the party. That is now an empty distinction. So Stalin wanted to head the government. A Soviet crisis may intervene any day. Hitler may attack Russia, or he may subject Moscow to humiliating pressure which would prove the bankruptcy of Soviet diplomacy since Litvinov's dismissal. In such an event, Stalin would like to have in his hands not only all the reins of power but also the reins of office. Stalin is a supremely jealous man; anybody who has been near men in high positions knows how jealous they can be.

Moscow is jittery. Stalin anticipates decisions and developments of critical importance. For the entire strategy of the war has been changing. The New York *Times* of April 10 reported this statement by the Moscow *Red Star*, daily newspaper of the Red Army: "There can be no question of an invasion of Britain. The central burden of the war has been transferred from the west to the east." The Soviet-Nazi pact of August 23, 1939, and the subsequent "friendship" were made possible by Hitler's concentration on the war in the west. Stalin could rob in the east because Hitler was busy in the west. But if the plan for the invasion of England has been abandoned, the basis of the "good-neighbor" relationship between Russia and Germany is gone. I do not know whether the invasion of England is off. But the *Red Star* would not say so unless the most exalted residents of the Kremlin thought it; and if Stalin believes that "the burden of the war has been transferred from the west to the east"—and the heavy German troop concentrations on the Soviet frontier in March and April support the view—then Moscow has good reason to be worried.

Germany has an army of four million men, four million men all dressed up with few places to go; and they could go into Russia. The German army is stronger than the Soviet army. These circumstances will in future govern Stalin's policy. I never thought Soviet foreign policy "enigmatic" or opaque. But today certainly the situation is very clear. It is no longer a question of

what Stalin will do. The question is: What will Hitler do to Stalin? Will he strike? Will he exact more economic aid and military collaboration?

These are the fruits of Soviet appeasement. When Chamberlain and Daladier appeased the fascists, Moscow railed, and preached that appeasement led to war and subjugation. Moscow was right. French appeasement led to the fall of France. British appeasement brought bombs on London, Liverpool, and Plymouth. Then Moscow took the path of appeasement. Its Munich was dated August 23, 1939. Appeasement always results first in peace and later in war or in ignominious defeat without war. Hitler is about to feed Stalin all the bitter apples of appeasement. Indeed, the feeding has already started: (1) the Soviet-Japanese treaty dictated by Hitler in the hope that it would encourage Japan to move south toward the Dutch East Indies and Singapore; (2) the withdrawal of diplomatic privileges from the envoys in Moscow of Nazi-occupied Belgium, Norway, and Yugoslavia (Why did Moscow not do this to the Norwegian envoy in May, 1940, and to the Belgian envoy in June, 1940); (3) Moscow's prompt recognition of the anti-British rebel of Bagdad.

Moscow is in a German vise. From the Arctic Ocean and Finland down to the delta of the Danube, the Black Sea, and now the islands commanding the vital Dardanelles, Nazi armed forces have encircled Soviet territory and Soviet waters. There is but one possible relief—to divert the German army away from Russia. For a moment, in a frantic attempt to engineer such a diversion, Stalin encouraged the Yugoslavs to fight and reprimanded Hungary for being anti-Yugoslav. But that effort failed; indeed, it helped precipitate the present acute state of German-Russian relations. If Hitler were to push into Africa through Spain or concentrate on Asia Minor, Moscow would breathe more easily, and if Hitler needed a road through Turkey for any such enterprise, Stalin would bless the move—if Hitler should ask him.

But I believe that no matter what campaigns the Reichswehr launches—unless it crosses the Channel to seize the British Isles—it will have sufficient reserve strength to command Stalin's obedience. Did Molotov point with dissatisfaction to the unfortunate results of Soviet-Nazi "friendship"? Did he evince coldness for the further Soviet sacrifices which this "friendship" may yet—and soon—demand? Perhaps he had a few doubts. Stalin has no doubts. Having weakened the regime and the army by the purges, which went much farther than most people realize, and having thus created many silent enemies, his personal position depends on peace, even at the cost of surrender to Hitler. To remain dictator he must remain an appeaser. By an iron logic Stalin attains the apex of individual power at the very moment when the Soviet regime is called upon to pay the highest price of appeasement.

The Cost of Knudsenism

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 11

A GOVERNMENT that cannot organize its own country for production cannot organize the world for freedom. So long as the Knudsens remain at the controls of defense we risk our own humiliation and the contempt of the nations we have encouraged to resist Hitler. Business-as-usual cannot produce arms fast enough.

"How can Britain and America hope to win the war this way?" a Greek asked an American correspondent as the *Panzer* divisions poured in on his country. "On October 28 Roosevelt pledged America's complete aid to Greece, but not a single cartridge has yet arrived from America." In a year's time the defense program has grown from four billions to forty, but headlines are not armament. When the backlogs of aircraft companies are eight times as large as their total production last year, ordinary methods will not deliver. One high army officer told the American Society of Tool Engineers on March 24 that the greatest service it could render defense was to teach manufacturers "to find ways and means of securing production with the tools at hand or the tools now in existence." Our success depends on our ability (1) to divert present productive facilities to arms manufacture, (2) to keep the big companies from monopolizing defense work, and (3) to bring every idle machine into use by subcontracting and "farming out" as much work as possible.

A confidential bulletin of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce says that the automobile industry is our greatest reservoir of machinery for defense production. Knudsen seems to have devoted a large part of his energies to keeping that a secret. Only 31⅓ per cent of last year's sales by his own company, General Motors, were for defense. In the first quarter of this year the proportion of defense sales rose to—almost 8 per cent. The President says he wants a new super-bomber program to turn out 500 bombers a month, but everyone seems to have forgotten that last October Knudsen and the automobile manufacturers promised us 1,000 bombers a month. They formed an Automotive Committee for Air Defense and announced that the work of manufacturing these bombers would be done "very largely with existing machinery and with little new equipment. Both time and facilities are lacking for development of new machine tools. The job is one of adaptation. . . ." Mr. Roosevelt might ask Knudsen to explain why the Automotive Committee was disbanded, the 1,000-bomber program whittled

down to 300 a month, the decision to use existing automotive machinery abandoned. Six months have passed, and Ford and General Motors haven't finished haggling over the terms of the contracts under which new factories will be built to turn out parts for these bombers.

I am reliably informed that in its German factories General Motors is producing aircraft for Hitler. Why can't General Motors produce aircraft in its American factories? The answer, as I showed in a previous article, is that this would interfere with the current boom in automobile production. The proposal for a small-scale test of the Reuther plan was rejected by Knudsen. Knudsen promised weeks ago to supply Reuther with blueprints so he could work out the details of his proposal to manufacture planes in automobile factories, but the promise has yet to be kept. The *American Machinist*, organ of the machine-tool industry, said in its issue of April 2 that the Reuther plan had been "rejected squarely on its essential features—treatment of the automobile industry as one firm with the work parceled out in semi-compulsory fashion and labor participation in management—rather than on the rather irrelevant arguments as to whether the plan could actually produce 500 planes a day." The "irrelevant" is appalling.

Mr. Roosevelt says he wants every machine tool in the country put to work, but his wishes will remain ineffective as long as he depends on the OPM to carry them out. Our smaller factories and idle machines can be brought into production only by widespread "farming out" of orders, but when you farm out an order, you farm out the profit too. The Defense Commission has been issuing publicity on "farming out" since the first of the year—and quietly sabotaging the program all the while. The President's statement itself seems to have been the brain child of Knudsen's publicity office, and was apparently designed to provide a backfire against increasing criticism. The men who want to farm out orders were not consulted before the statement was issued, and it can be taken about as seriously as the State Department's moral lectures to Japan. The lectures do not interfere with shipments of American oil and copper to Japan, and the well-staged warnings of the OPM will not interfere with the backlogs of the big arms makers. By the middle of February the Bethlehem-du Pont group of companies, whence Knudsen himself comes, had 23 per cent of defense orders. Their huge backlogs in part explain why—according to OPM esti-

mates—half the machine tools in this country are in use less than eight hours a day and many are idle. They also help to explain why the National Association of Manufacturers in its recent survey found that only 28 per cent of the country's manufacturing plants had received defense orders.

This contrast between idle machines and swollen backlogs may also provide a clue to the failure of the commission to do the obvious a year ago and order an inventory, industry by industry, of productive capacity. The findings would have raised too many uncomfortable questions, and the answers would have interfered both with business-as-usual and with the defense profits of big business. Such an inventory would have disclosed how many machines in the automobile industry could turn out parts of plants, tanks, and guns and have shown the vast reservoir of machine capacity in our smaller factories and our small towns. It would have led to plans like Reuther's for the automobile industry and Murray's for steel, and it would have demonstrated the need for community pools, a form of democratic organization for defense from which the Knudsens and most of the army and navy bureaucrats recoil. These pools of productive capacity, utilized by Beaverbrook in England, serve to parcel out work and orders to machine shops and firms too small to handle a whole contract by themselves.

Pools of this kind sprang up last fall in some fifty communities which took seriously the talk of bottlenecks and shortages. They found advice and encouragement in Morris Llewellyn Cooke, the famous Philadelphia consulting engineer, long an advocate of scientific management, who managed to find a cranny for himself in Sidney Hillman's division last October—Mr. Knudsen wasn't interested in his ideas. The community pools he helped to organize were given the run around, and he himself was shunted to one side in January just as the movement seemed to be making headway. The big-business crowd under Knudsen and John D. Biggers then took over, with a Kansas City furniture manufacturer as front man. The Navy Department had issued an "order" in January appealing, as the President now does, for wider subcontracting. But the order, like Mr. Roosevelt's statement, was hortatory. It was not implemented by any concrete changes in procurement methods. We need an executive order or a law directing procurement officers to force subcontracting, to take orders away from companies which refuse to subcontract, and to deny certificates of five-year amortization for plant expansion to manufacturers who are not utilizing all subcontract possibilities. The ease with which these certificates are now obtained encourages the manufacturer not to subcontract. Why should he share work and profits with smaller firms when he can get the government to finance a new plant for him?

Most of all we need a bureau under someone like

Cook to compile the information supplied by community pools and provide orders for them. They offer the best way to mobilize the American people for defense. A good example of these pools and their possibilities was provided in Beaver County, Pennsylvania. There local manufacturers, civic agencies, the New Deal housing authority, the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., and the railroad brotherhoods joined in a model survey of its kind. They counted every idle machine and noted every idle square foot of floor space. They made a study of the products these idle facilities might turn out for defense. Though Beaver County already had several big concerns working at capacity and firms employing 77 per cent of the county's workers had defense orders, the survey uncovered an extraordinary variety of idle productive capacity for armament. Five modern machine-tool plants, with the skilled men to operate them, were working only two days a week. Of the seven plants in the county capable of producing alloy steels and aluminum castings, one was completely idle. One large plant equipped to make shells had been closed down for some years. The Beaver County committee came down here full of enthusiasm, with a handsomely bound brochure itemizing the facilities they had available for defense, ready to take orders through one or two of their larger manufacturers or to incorporate as a community committee and parcel out the work that way. They got nowhere.

I believe the President could find no better method to tap our unused reserves of machines and man-power than by encouraging these community committees. Through them he can reach down to the grass roots and set free the unused capacities in thousands of small business men, labor leaders, local "sparkplugs." They will organize themselves. The secret of the unsuspected energy put forth in great emergencies and in the great upheavals of history, such as the French Revolution, is that the hidden abilities of thousands of unknown men and women break through the crust of bureaucracy, monopoly, and habit. Must we wait for graver danger to shake the Knudsens loose and call forth this wide participation of the American people in the defense effort? Or can the President by wise leadership evoke it now? Much is to be gained by it—new ideas in defense production, the morale that comes from tasks to be performed, the habit of cooperation among ordinarily hostile elements. A democratic mobilization on a basis like Beaver County's would do more than speed defense; the attitudes developed would ease post-war reconstruction. But the big industrialists understand that a mobilization of this kind is a menace to monopoly. It can never come about as long as they are in charge of defense. They will try to keep "farming out" in their own hands, and as undemocratic as they can. Their background and training make it impossible for them to understand the meaning of a democratic defense or its necessity.

The St. Lawrence Bottleneck

BY BRYANT PUTNEY

FOR the second time since he came to office President Roosevelt has asked Congress to approve the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway and power project. The original St. Lawrence treaty between Canada and the United States, drawn up during the Hoover Administration, lacked twelve votes of winning the necessary two-thirds' majority when it came before the United States Senate in 1934. The course of events at home and abroad during the last seven years has made it clear, Mr. Roosevelt believes, that "the opposition which defeated the St. Lawrence treaty in 1934 was a mistaken opposition based on failure to appraise the full needs of the country and the world situation which was even then developing." Nevertheless, the same coalition of sectional and industrial interests which killed the project during the early days of the New Deal is seeking to block it again. The railroads, the power companies, and the coal-mining interests have launched a campaign to convince the American people that the proposal is a grandiose leaf-taking project which ought to be speedily squashed so that the country can turn its attention to more urgent matters.

Actually, completion of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence development would give enormous impetus to our own and Canada's defense projects by helping to overcome bottlenecks in transportation, electric-power production, and shipbuilding. It would strengthen our whole national economy and make possible the expansion of production and consumption upon which the survival of democracy depends.

If through rail traffic from Salt Lake City, say, and New York were obstructed by a hundred miles of narrow-gauge track just west of Chicago, only a lunatic could object to a plan to link the eastern and western sections by a standard-gauge track. What is proposed in the St. Lawrence agreement is not very different. To open the Great Lakes to deep-draft ocean shipping we need only build a new lock at Sault Ste. Marie, dredge a few feet of earth out of the channels and canals linking Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, and improve the international section of the St. Lawrence between Lake Ontario and Montreal. The succession of short fourteen-foot canals which Canada has already built to circumvent the rapids in this part of the river must be deepened, and longer locks must be built. The waterway so constructed would have a minimum depth of twenty-seven feet—sufficient to accommodate 71 per cent of the world's merchant fleet. It would provide a 2,400-mile passage from Du-

luth, Minnesota, to the Atlantic, and 95 per cent of this distance would be open water.

Included in the agreement is a plan to develop hydroelectric power by harnessing the flow of the St. Lawrence River. A main navigation and power dam would be built across the St. Lawrence at Massena, New York, and a small control dam farther up the river. One power house would be built at Massena, on the American side, and another at Cornwall, Ontario, on the Canadian side. The 2,200,000 horse-power developed at the dam would be divided equally between the two countries. At Niagara Falls, 200 miles farther south, existing hydroelectric facilities would be improved to yield an additional 787,000 horse-power, and erosion-control works would be installed to preserve the scenic beauty of the falls. Plans of the New York State Power Authority call for the integration of the St. Lawrence and the Niagara developments in a transmission network capable of carrying about 670,000 horse-power as far as New York City.

The cost of the project to the federal government would be about \$166,000,000. Under a federal-state agreement expected to be announced shortly at Washington, New York State would be given control of the generation and distribution of electric power and would pay \$90,000,000 for the necessary construction in the Massena area. This cost would eventually be liquidated through the sale of power. Canada would pay for the construction of the canals on the St. Lawrence between Massena and Montreal.

The proposed seaway, to be completed in four years, would add about 10,000,000 tons to the annual freight-carrying capacity of the United States and about 6,000,000 tons to that of Canada. Even under normal conditions this new transport capacity would be absorbed by the needs of a growing population. With the United States embarking on the largest production program the world has ever known, and with the railroads almost wholly unprepared for any substantial increase in traffic, the new capacity will be urgently needed in 1945 to relieve the worst transportation shortage in our history. If the railroads tried to haul 10,000,000 additional tons of freight, they would have to order a large number of new locomotives and freight cars from companies which are now converting their plants to the production of tanks, gun carriages, and other armament.

Construction of the deep waterway can be expected to reduce transportation costs throughout the Great Lakes tributary area. The railroads now charge 95 cents to carry

100 pounds of oranges from Lake Wales, Florida, to Chicago. The haul from Lake Wales to Boston is 160 miles longer, but because the roads must compete with coastal shipping lines they charge only 80 cents for the same load. Extension of coastal, intercoastal, and trans-ocean shipping services to Great Lakes ports like Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and Milwaukee would give the Middle West equal transportation advantages with the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific seaboard.

The 120-mile stretch of shallow water in the St. Lawrence River between Montreal and Ogdensburg, New York, is one of the major bottlenecks in our naval and merchant shipbuilding program. If the canals which bypass the rapids in this section were twenty-seven instead of fourteen feet deep, and if the locks were 600 instead of 260 feet long, the extensive shipbuilding facilities on the Great Lakes—now either standing idle or operating part time as repair yards for lake steamers—could be utilized for the construction of the cruisers, destroyers, and ocean freighters needed to win the Battle of the Atlantic. Use of Great Lakes shipyards need not wait on completion of the waterway. Once the project is approved, production schedules of lake yards can be dovetailed into those of our ocean yards in such a way as to speed up our shipbuilding program by two or three years. If we began building the seaway this year, the new canals in the St. Lawrence would be ready for use by the time the craft laid down now in Great Lakes yards were completed. According to Navy Department schedules some of our cruisers and destroyers will not be delivered until 1947 and 1948. The use of Great Lakes yards would permit the construction of many of these vessels by 1945.

Yards and ways suitable for the construction of from twenty-five to thirty ships of cruiser size are now available, or could be made so within a few months, on the American shores of the Lakes. About a dozen ways of similar size are available in Canadian yards. In addition, there are facilities on both sides of the Lakes for building large numbers of destroyers, escort vessels, and other types of naval craft, as well as merchant ships. If cruiser construction were transferred to the Great Lakes, seacoast yards could build the urgently needed cargo ships, which can be put together at the rate of three or four a year. Shifting thirty cruisers from salt-water to fresh-water yards would enable us to build three or four hundred additional freighters in the next four years.

Great Lakes yards at the present time could handle perhaps \$1,000,000,000 worth of building; naval contracts so far awarded to these yards—for construction of a few submarines, sub-chasers, and other small craft—total \$115,000,000. At a time when the safety of the democratic world depends in large degree upon our speed in moving new vessels off the ways, it is tragic irony that the lack of a deep-water outlet to the sea prevents us from utilizing more than 10 per cent of the potential

capacity of one of the greatest shipbuilding regions in the world.

Expansion of electro-process industries producing vital defense materials on both sides of the border in the St. Lawrence region is now being thwarted by lack of power. Two of the five aluminum plants in the United States are located in this region—one at Niagara Falls, the other at Massena. Both are now importing power from Canada, and these imports may be cut off within a few months because of Canada's expanding needs. Plants of Union Carbon and Carbide, the Vanadium Corporation, and other companies producing ferro-alloys, chemicals, aniline dyes, and abrasives in the Buffalo-Niagara area are likewise compelled to buy Canadian power. The Federal Power Commission estimates that by 1945, when St. Lawrence power could be made available, the shortage of capacity in up-state New York, with allowances made for additions already scheduled by private companies, will approximate 500,000 kilowatts. Since this estimate makes no provision for the expansion of aluminum production at Massena or Niagara, it should be considered highly conservative.

A St. Lawrence survey made recently by the Department of Commerce revealed that the failure of New York State to develop its water-power resources in recent years, and its dependence upon the more expensive steam-power generation, has led to a decline in the state's industrial activity while other states have been forging ahead. "It is fairly clear," the report declared, "that New York State will suffer under an increasing competitive disadvantage so long as available sources of cheap hydro power continue to be neglected. In the Buffalo area, where industry has been based on cheap power to a relatively large extent, the threat of stagnation is perhaps even more serious than in the rest of the state." The proposed St. Lawrence-Niagara development promises "a new lease on life to New York State industry, a source of cheap electricity which should make possible the resumption of manufacturing growth."

The cost of electricity to most classes of consumers in New York is higher than the average for the United States, and the cost to some types of users is the highest in the country. The St. Lawrence Survey estimates that the development of public hydroelectric power at Massena and Niagara would reduce the average cost per kilowatt-hour to farm and residential consumers 64 per cent below 1937 rates and the cost to commercial and industrial consumers 25 per cent. According to the New York State Power Authority, the proposed development would bring savings totaling \$26,000,000 a year to all types of consumers.

These figures give a clue to what is behind the opposition of the power and coal companies to the St. Lawrence project. Yet the proposed development does not threaten existing utility investments. Though it would

one of the largest in the world, the St. Lawrence-Niagara power project would provide less than three-fourths of the additional generating capacity that will be needed in the New York area during the next decade. If this development is not undertaken, privately owned steam plants will have to be built to meet the future demand. Apart from the question of national power policy, it would actually slow up our defense effort, since factories producing steam-generating equipment are engaged in meeting the heavy demands of regions not favored with abundant water resources. Under present circumstances, power could be developed by harnessing the St. Lawrence and Niagara rivers more speedily than building coal-burning plants.

Its opponents assert that as a defense measure the St. Lawrence project is worthless because a minimum of four years would be required for its completion, because men and materials badly needed for other purposes would have to be diverted to its construction, and because, when completed, the seaway and power plants would be highly vulnerable to aerial attack. Not one of these objections is justified. Since our entire shipbuild-

ing program could be speeded up if the construction of cruisers were transferred to fresh-water yards, the benefits of the project would be immediate. In any case to restrict our defense planning to what can be done in the next few months is to invite disaster. The "emergency" will continue longer than that. If this were not true it would be foolish to build a two-ocean navy or a third set of locks at the Panama Canal, neither of which will be completed before 1945.

No real diversion of men and materials would be involved, for the transportation, shipbuilding, and power facilities that would be made available in the Great Lakes basin would otherwise have to be provided elsewhere. Far from slowing up our defense effort, construction of the St. Lawrence project would be a use of our resources to bring maximum results in a minimum of time. As for their vulnerability, St. Lawrence locks and dams would present no more attractive targets to aerial raiders than the navy yards and vital industrial areas along the eastern seaboard. It is difficult to believe that those who raise this bogey against the St. Lawrence project do so in good faith.

Anti-Semitism in Exile

BY WILLIAM ZUKERMAN

NO STORY that has come out of war-torn Europe throws a more macabre light on the ironies of this war than that of the anti-Semitism of the exiled Poles in England—the story of a small group of vain, obstinate Polish reactionaries abusing the hospitality of a liberal people by attempting to revive on English soil the vilest prejudices of pre-war Poland.

Of all the peoples in Europe who have been conquered and enslaved by the Nazis, the Poles have suffered most. The ordeal to which they have been subjected surpasses in barbarism and cruelty anything known before in modern warfare. In some respects the sufferings of the Poles have been greater even than those of the Jews. It was difficult for Germans to look down upon the Jews as an inferior race when the diabolical cleverness and far-reaching power of international Jewry were so harped on by Nazi propagandists. Mingled with the hatred of the individual Nazi for the Jew was inevitably a secret respect, even a degree of fear. But for the Slav the German had an unbounded contempt which could be easily converted into hatred and persecution. The Nazi movement capitalized this feeling for its own purposes. For years the Russian Communists were groomed as the future enemy. Then, at the eleventh hour, the Nazi-Soviet pact brought a sudden violent change. The de-

spised, inferior Russians had to be accepted as friends and allies. The psychological wrench was very great and explains in part the ferocious cruelty with which the Nazis fell upon those other Slavs, the Poles.

Shamelessly and with brutal severity the Nazis have reduced the Poles to a condition of virtual slavery. The system of forced labor which they have introduced in practically every country of occupation has in Poland been supplemented with the mass deportation of nearly a million Polish men and women who are being forced to live and work in Germany under the most horrible conditions. The Nazis seem to take a special delight in humiliating the Poles. Poles are transported to Germany like cattle and are examined in the market-place and selected for labor as if they were actually slaves. Polish families are brutally separated, fathers and children being deliberately sent to different provinces. The Polish slaves are not allowed to live under the same roof with their masters. Any relationship between German women and Polish men is punished with typical Nazi barbarism. German newspapers have carried stories of German women who, with heads shaven and with placards on their breast, were driven through the streets as despised examples of *Rassenschande* simply because they had been caught speaking to a Pole.

In Warsaw and other Polish cities the Nazis have segregated not only the Jews but also the conquered Poles in ghettos. There are streets where Poles are not allowed to walk, cafes and theaters which Poles are not allowed to enter. There are "Jim Crow" street cars for Poles in Poland and "Jim Crow" carriages on Polish railways. Like the Jews, the Poles are often made to wear special badges and armlets to distinguish them from the Germans.

If suffering can ennoble a people, the Poles should have emerged from the past year and a half as a great and purified nation. Of the Poles in Poland this may be true. But Poland is shrouded in silence no less than in oppression, and it is impossible to know all the facts about it. The reaction of the Poles who have left their country, however, can be observed. In London today there are as many as thirteen Polish-language papers. The government-in-exile publishes its own propaganda with the cooperation of the British. It has an army, navy, air force, and parliament. Polish statesmen, journalists, and intellectual leaders have gone to London to join what is probably the largest émigré colony in the world. Its spokesman and leader, General Sikorski, is now in the United States conferring with President Roosevelt and other government officials.

One does not have to look beneath the surface of Polish life in exile to encounter what is probably the most fantastic paradox of the war period: the Poles in London, themselves the victim of hatred, bigotry, and racial discrimination, are permeated with the very spirit that made Poland the shambles that it now is. The temper of these Poles in exile is shot through with hatred of the Jews. Interminable discussions of the Jewish question began almost as soon as the first Polish exiles set foot on English soil and have continued to the present day, as if these children of a nation destroyed had no problem but that of the Jews to solve, as if anti-Semitism were the only thing left of old Poland worth preserving and transplanting to foreign soil.

Even the small remnant of the Polish army which was saved from France after Dunkirk was divided by racial prejudices. All Poles of military age in England were obliged to join the Polish army. Polish Jews who joined were soon made to feel that they were still the inferior race of *Zhidi* that they had been in Poland and were treated with that supercilious haughtiness which is characteristic of the Polish upper class. But having experienced several years of British freedom and equality, these Anglicized Jews could not stand such treatment and openly revolted against the humiliation. Ten Jewish military doctors resigned in a body. Before the matter reached a scandal stage, Premier Sikorski, who is also the commander-in-chief of the Polish army, stepped in and with a few energetic military orders put an end to the discrimination.

But an attitude which could be suppressed by military order in the army could not be eradicated from civil life and anti-Semitism has persisted among the exiles, particularly among the Polish intellectuals—professors, historians, writers, journalists, civil servants, former members of the Diet, and government officials. Writing under the assumed name of Wengerski, a Polish professor from the University of Cracow well known for his anti-Semitism in former days has published a book, "September, 1939" (issued by the official Polish publishing house in England), asserting that the fall of Poland was

due primarily to the sympathy of the Polish Jews for Germany. Another Polish professor, J. Dittler has published a book on Poland's "surplus Jewish population"; a large number of Jews, he says, must emigrate from Poland if the Polish people are to thrive.

In the field of journalism the Polish exiles have displayed the same spirit. Of the dozen or more Polish



General Sikorski

papers published in England, practically all except the outspoken Socialist press are more or less permeated with anti-Semitism. The semi-official conservative *Dziennik Polski* and the liberal *Wiadomostki Polskie* voice it only occasionally, but the *Jestem Polakem*, organ of the Polish National Democrats, is brazenly carrying on anti-Jewish Nazi propaganda in the Polish language with all the embellishments of the Nazi racial "philosophy" and Julius Streicher's phraseology. In vain have Jewish groups in Great Britain protested against this propagation of Nazi ideas; in vain have outraged British liberals, headed by the London *News Chronicle*, stormed against this abuse of hospitality and insult to democracy on the part of the Polish exiles. At the time I write the *Jestem Polakem* is still appearing, despite efforts to stop its publication by cutting off its supply of paper, and is proudly proclaiming on British soil the validity of Hitler's racial theories—theories which have resulted in the enslavement also of the Poles.

The climax of this fantastic tragi-comedy was reached at the first session of the Polish National Council, or parliament in exile, which met recently in London. On this occasion the Jewish question was formally discussed in the classic manner of the Sejm in Warsaw. Those who spoke were not irresponsible Polish journalists but former deputies of the Sejm, party leaders like Yushviak,

and Polish statesmen like General Zheligowski, "the hero of Wilno." In effect they declared that after the war Poland would have no place for the Jews, and that the only solution for the whole painful problem was to deport all European Jews to a desert island off the coast of Africa.

In this most inhuman of all wars, greater crimes than this have been committed, and greater outrages against decency and justice have been perpetrated. But somehow nothing is more depressing than these trivial words and acts of a people who have learned nothing from their great ordeal.

German Strategy: 1914 and 1941

BY ALFRED VAGTS

MANY if not most wars are wars refought. This has been seen often enough in Europe: every war between France and Germany in the past hundred years has been called a "war of retribution." From the nature of things it is more often the losers than the winners who wish to repeat the trial of strength. The wonder is that the victorious Allies did not reckon with the strength of the passion for revenge in the humiliated leaders of Germany's defeated army. That war potential was overlooked.

Each side was, indeed, determined to learn something from past experiences. The moral drawn by British conservatives was that there must never be such a war again; thinking that conservatism must be like-minded everywhere, they looked for cooperation from the conservatives of the German army. French military conservatives, though admitting the possibility of a fresh war, were comfortably convinced it would be a repetition of the last, another war of stalemate and attrition; conscious of victory, they did not examine the last conflict critically to find out how to wage a different and better war next time. The conservatives of the German army, however, drew a wholly different conclusion from their defeat: that there must be a new edition of the war, an improved and altered—if necessary, a revolutionized—edition. Looking back with neither repentance nor horror, and certainly not with complacency like the French, they were bitterly determined to extract the last ounce of teaching from every fact they could collect about the First World War.

Perhaps the great difference between this and previous conflicts is that the same men, on the German side, are fighting it who fought the earlier war. Henry Adams in 1913 could say: "There is no such thing as a real consequence in history; the generations are actually separated and unconnected." This time, however, the same generation has suffered defeat and achieved recovery. The generals of today were lieutenants, captains, or, at most, majors in the last war; with their memories reinforced by innumerable historical studies, they have fought over again the battles of the Marne, of Flanders, and of Verdun.

The true "have-nots" in Europe were these German officers, the losers of the last war. It was not Germany itself that lacked resources but the German army, constantly intriguing and finally clamoring for prestige, budgets, soldiers, tanks, and heavy guns, all preconditions for that victory which had escaped them so narrowly, as they pretended, in 1918. It was these officers who to a large extent dictated German historiography about the First World War. A systematic campaign, carried on abroad as well as at home, to remove the war-guilt onus did much to weaken the belief of non-German peoples in the "justness" of the Allied cause in the last war and consequently in the war to come; this was directed by an ex-officer, Alfred von Wegerer, well known in this country though hardly well understood in his function as an *innocentiste*. (How much the present war is concerned with the question of war-guilt is indicated by the fact that the Musée de la Guerre at Vincennes, the headquarters of French studies of the World War, has been "transferred" to Berlin, a rather significant part of the loot brought out of France.)

"FIELD-GRAY SOCIALISM"

While the German officers were thus remaking history, striving to repair the errors they had formerly committed through ignorance of the psychology of other peoples, they were also pondering the best way to master and remodel the German civilian world to overcome those "weaknesses" of morale and material that had proved so fatal. In 1915 and 1916, long before the Nazi Party was founded, younger generals like von Seeckt, who may go down in history as the earliest organizer of the German victories in this war, discussed plans to organize and indoctrinate labor, with the help of social and mass-nationalism, in a labor party "which should remain national." The multiple and successive causation process of such a complex structure as the German National Socialist Party cannot be fully described without mention of these early desires on the part of army and navy officers and the later protection given that party by the Reichswehr. Despite the disgust with Nazi methods occa-

sionally betrayed by conservative officers, such a party was needed by them as perhaps the only means of organizing the masses in the Reich for war, and in particular of organizing the economy for war—that is, of sustaining what in Gestapo language is called *Kriegsschauplatz Innerdeutschland*, or the home front.

The National Socialist Party was the instrument chosen by the army to regiment the nation. It called itself socialist—"field-gray socialism" was said to have a long tradition in Prussia as a socialism freed from Marxism and grounded in the paternalism of the Reich, which in a world of uncertainty promised to take care of everyone within its borders and beyond, wherever Germans lived. As such it was opposed to the "plutocracy" of the Western democracies, which was said to have caused the First World War and to be attacking National Socialism because it feared that the Nazis would dethrone gold; this virulence against plutocracy was in fact an expression of the very old antagonism between the poor Prussian officer and the powers of finance in the Second Reich. When a German publishing house in 1937 brought out a translation of General J. G. Harbord's book on the A. E. F., it took the liberty of inserting a statement that the true causes for America's entry into the war in 1917 were rooted in the financial world. In July of last year a writer in *Deutsche Wehr*, a military weekly published for soldiers, said, "The world revolution kindled by the German *Wehrmacht* will also cure the peoples of the gold delusion and will cut a decisive stroke through all the effects of this gold mania, including those of an institutional character." Such a war economy as National Socialism, the same journal asserted in a later issue, would enable Germany to conquer the "Carthage of the twentieth century," England, and to retaliate for the murder of 762,796 German women and children, whose death, according to the calculations of Professor Shotwell, had been caused by the British hunger blockade.

The socialistic features of National Socialism were not, therefore, "put over" on the army, as so many conservatives abroad believed, unaware that army conservatism in Germany had always been peculiarly hostile to business and finance. Nor was the foreign policy of the Third Reich, the line-up with Russia, displeasing to army circles; in their accounts of the pre-1914 history of Germany the unpardonable error of earlier rulers was said to have been not the naval race with England but the non-renewal of the reinsurance treaty with Russia. This, it was maintained, had led to the fatal "encirclement" of the Second Reich. With increasing violence Germans of the Third Reich denounced this encirclement, which in actual fact was quite as much a self-isolation; in cold military language what they protested against was the dreadful war on two fronts. This was another error which the German fighters had decided not to suffer from again.

BISMARCK'S DREAD

Determination to prevent the repetition of a two-front war, a purely military consideration, was behind the bi-lateral pacts of non-aggression concluded by the future aggressors. Germany's efforts to prevent the formation of an eastern front with the help of Poland in the days of Litvinov's "indivisible peace," with the help of Russia after Rapallo in 1922, and again through the Moscow pact of 1939, had all the one military aim: to avoid what Bismarck dreaded above everything—the *cauchemar des coalitions*, the nightmare of coalitions. This cooperation with powers which had been called the worst names by Germany occasioned many misgivings among the Germans themselves. Hitler's eastern policy seemed highly inconsistent, not in keeping with his anti-Communist rantings. But as a visitor from the Third Reich who understood military matters once said to me: "While we listen to the Führer's speeches and watch Ribbentrop sign treaties, we also do a little lip-reading, and what we read is not the same thing heard by the world. Their lips silently say: Wait, we merely postpone the evil day for the eastern powers. One thing at a time, one artichoke leaf after another; not all at once again, as we did so recklessly after and before 1914, when the Germans thought they could not take on enough enemies and when exuberant soldiers wrote on the sides of box cars, 'War declarations still accepted here!'"

Such restraining influences were particularly called for between 1933 and 1939 as a check on the ambitious German navy. This service had been harder hit by the Versailles treaty even than the 100,000-man Reichswehr; moreover, many army officers during and after the World War held it responsible for having made England and the United States Germany's enemies and for having used funds and man-power that ought to have gone into the making of the additional army corps needed on the Marne in 1914. As a consequence the navy was even earlier and more thoroughly Nazified than the Reichswehr, for with the Stresemann policies continued, its outlook would have remained dark indeed. After visiting a warship in May, 1932, Goebbels wrote in his diaries:

The navy is fabulously in form. All of them, officers and men, are all the way for us. They read the *Völkischer Beobachter* and the *Angriff* [Goebbels's own paper]. From the cruiser Schlesien comes an officer to invite us to dinner. During all that time eager discussion. The lieutenants are fabulous slim fellows, true images of soldierly men. And all are for us. Poor Weimar system! I talk long and answer all questions. The navy is O. K. A few officers in civilian clothes go to the meetings.—"Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei."

Despite the eagerness of naval officers, the German navy was to be kept small in order to win British toleration for German rearmament on land and—what tradition-bound Britons did not realize in its full impact—

for armament in the air. The Anglo-German naval treaty of 1935 seemed to the British to indicate that the Germans at last had become much more "reasonable" than in the pre-1914 days, when proposals for naval holidays had been rejected by the Reich Naval Office under Tirpitz. Even though a new Navy League was founded after 1933, in the place of the dissolved Flottenverein, to propagandize sea power in the Third Reich, particularly among industrial workers, the navy men, like the colonials agitating for the return of Germany's colonies, were told up to 1939 by the governing powers that they would have to wait. Meanwhile, the building of submarines and aircraft went on without interruption.

German students of the last war were also painfully aware that they or their former superiors had neglected the use or full development of certain potent arms like the tank, an oversight on Ludendorff's part which they found hard to forgive. If they had had tanks during the great spring offensive of 1918 they could have fully and finally separated the French and British armies in northern France. During the offensive of May, 1940, "the fast troops" which were missing in 1918 were on hand to make the deep and fast thrust to the Channel coast (*Deutsche Wehr*, July 17, 1940, in a parallel between the two offensives of March, 1918, and May, 1940). A little less outspokenness prevails about the faultless timing of the great attacks in Poland in September, 1939, and in Norway, where ground conditions helped the aggressor coming with the spring from the south rather than the defenders of Norway's autonomy in the northern part of the country. In each case the meteorological and ground conditions could not have been more favorable to the attacking Germans, who, however, would not praise themselves for this choice because at home and abroad they had declared that these offensives were undertaken solely in order to forestall impending British attacks.

CONQUEST OF PREJUDICE

Defeat drives out at least some prejudices, and it was the determination of the German army leaders that none were to stand in the way when arms or methods tried out by others were to be tested and adopted. For the conservative French and British, parachutists, the "air infantry" or "vertical attackers" originally developed by the Red Army as a military analogy to the revolutionary method of stirring up trouble behind the front of the governing class in a foreign country, possessed too much of the "carrion smell of the revolution" to be acceptable. No such prejudice prevailed on the German side. Nor was "danger" to men and machines a hindrance to the adoption and fullest utilization of dive-bombing methods which had originated elsewhere. Rather did the Stuka methods become the very expression of the fervent desires of the newest and youngest elements in the regen-

erated German army. "You go into a dive a lieutenant," goes a saying in that army, "and you either get hit or come out of it a captain." This meant that no prejudice, no deference to birth or seniority, was to stand, as they had stood so effectively and disastrously during the last World War, in the way of promotion of the fittest. Nothing is more fascinating to those who know the social significance of names in Germany than to see "new names" singled out in the daily communiqués of the German High Command and appearing in droves on the lists of the promoted, while the nobility is cited relatively less often. The highest commanding generals are still those whom Seeckt groomed for the coming war, but the names of the lower-ranking officers indicate that this war is a war of the German petty bourgeoisie, which has never before realized its aspirations as it does now; through National Socialism it partakes of the nationalism of the upper bourgeoisie and the socialism of the proletariat. War, this war, is the way for this hitherto undistinguished class to win distinction for its sons; at the same time the effort stops short of the extreme risk inasmuch as salaries and pensions are guaranteed to the bold.

With this equipment of men and morale, materials and methods, the Schlieffen plan, combined with certain features of Ludendorff's attacking methods, was to be tried over again. What it meant in strategical and tactical terms is at once too obvious and too technically involved for me to describe here. German military writers have done so in articles under significant titles—for example, Schlieffen's Cannae Theory and the War of Our Days (*Deutsche Wehr*, August 23, 1940). In political terms this plan meant that the small neutrals bordering on the Reich were to be treated with even less regard than in 1914. This time there were to be no neutrals, and no German qualms about neutral rights such as the half-hearted Bethmann-Hollweg had admitted in 1914 were to stand in the way of German victory. Besides, the function of these neutrals within the German war economy had changed fundamentally since 1914. Then this economy had relied on the surplus production and imports of these countries; now it wanted the whole of their stocks and of their agricultural and industrial productive power. (What other power had these neutrals?) In the world of neutrals, the feelings of two nations only were to be spared—those of the Soviet Union and the United States.

From the beginning the directors of German rearmament took care not to estrange America. German history professors in Berlin took Ambassador Dodd in hand and tried to make him overlook the sinister rearming that was going on under his nose. *Wissen und Wehr*, a military-science monthly, in March, 1938, expressed the hope that the United States would stick to the decision of 1920 and "take a conscious stand against Versailles and against a universal League of Nations of the Versailles

brand. For what Germany has to say is no message of hatred and discord but—with due recognition obtained for Germany's vital claims, which the Führer has sharply defined and which are not to be renounced or limited—the message of a new order, a message of peace."

As compared with 1914-17, Germany since 1939 has invoked international law much less often and used infinitely less propaganda and sabotage against the United States. This indicates no higher moral standards on its part but rather a determination to use more caution, more self-restraint, to give less provocation for America's entry into the war on the side of Germany's enemies. A repetition of that intervention must by all means be avoided, and in particular an early or timely intervention. A German admiral inspecting the French coast in September, 1938, observed with satisfaction the destruction of Allied war monuments. "The American soldier who landed on the back of an eagle on the beach of St. Nazaire," he wrote, "has lost his sword. No one will repair it" (*Deutsche Wehr*, September 27, 1940). But no one will venture to say again that Americans can never cross the Atlantic in the face of German submarines.

EASTWARD TO CHECK AMERICA

The German war-makers have a great deal of respect for the industrial war potential of the United States; they tried to get the start of it by beginning their own war production well ahead of their M-day. Their "geopolitical" and industrial counterweight against this American might is, in the terms of times gone by, Mitteleuropa and Berlin-to-Bagdad; in the terms of our own day, the thrust toward Suez and through the Balkans, perhaps as far as the Persian Gulf, the firm control of a territory containing enough grain, oil, and metals to make up for German deficiencies. Control of this territory was considered as early as 1916 by generals like von Seeckt to be the most effective way to check America, whose entry into the war was even then expected by the German leaders.

Resumption of the Berlin-to-Bagdad march in the interest of Hitler's New Order for Europe—which is in many ways a copy, only worse, of Napoleon's *nouveau système européen*—is resumption of preparations against American participation in the present war. While they were marching eastward through the Balkans and outflanking Russia, the Germans were largely thinking westward. They are also thinking westward while driving eastward in North Africa, where their control will go far to exclude a possible landing—whether contemplated on this side of the Atlantic or not—of American forces in Africa. These operations serve to bring out that this New Order is essentially anti-American. As such it is by no means new—which is one more reason why Adolf I is also Wilhelm III, *Oberster Kriegsherr* of the second phase of the World War.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Jesse's Rod

And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse and a branch shall grow out of his roots.—Isaiah XI:1.

SINCE Banker Jones came out of Texas in the dark days of 1932 a thick institutional growth has sprung from the roots of his first planting—the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. That tree, in fact, is now merely the oldest and tallest of a grove which includes also the Electric Home and Farm Authority, the Federal Housing Administration, the Federal National Mortgage Association, the RFC Mortgage Company, the Federal Home Loan Bank, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, the Disaster Loan Corporation, and the Import-Export Bank. In the past year a vigorous group of saplings have been added—the Metals Reserve Company, the Rubber Reserve Company, the Defense Plant Corporation, the Defense Supplies Corporation, and the Defense Homes Corporation.

This whole arboretum is now designated as the Federal Loan Agency, over which the infatigable Mr. Jones presides as administrator. As such he is the biggest investment banker in the country, and there are few fields of business where his influence has not been felt at one time or another. In the early days of the RFC he shored up many a tottering financial institution, but of late his popularity among his fellow-bankers has waned, for he is a believer in low interest rates and able to back his beliefs by actions.

Last year, as the defense program began to get under way, the banks claimed that if they were to help finance plant expansion the law must be amended so that government contracts could be assigned as security. Congress was impressed by the argument, and the necessary legislation went through. Bankers talked cheerfully of making loans, which would be amortized by government payments in the course of five years, on a 3 or 3½ per cent basis. But at this point Jesse's rod descended on their backs. The RFC, he announced, would be willing to arrange five-year loans at 1½ per cent interest in cases where the credit was extended on the basis of a "definite agreement for reimbursement" by the War Department or the Navy Department. This move damped the bankers' hopes of combining handsome profits with negligible risks and led to some bitter comments in the financial press. But as Mr. Jones wrote in a subsequent letter to P. D. Houston, president of the American Bankers' Association: "1½ per cent interest is a high rate for a government-guaranteed obligation with an average maturity of two and one-half years, and if the War and Navy contracts are not good, banks should not rely upon them as a basis, whatever the interest rates." That was straight professional talk from one banker to another, with no comeback possible.

Mr. Jones again had an impregnable case in the recent controversy over the state of Arkansas's \$136 million bond refunding. A nation-wide syndicate headed by the Chase National Bank, Kuhn, Loeb and Company, and the Mercantile Commerce Bank and Trust Company of St. Louis had

been expected to make a bid for \$90 million of the issue, the remainder to be taken by the RFC on the same terms. However, as the day for calling the existing bonds approached, the bankers seemed uncertain whether they could take up the whole of their share, and they indicated that the interest rate would have to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Mr. Jones considered this out of line with the yields obtainable on comparable issues and therefore took over the whole amount at an average of slightly less than 3.2 per cent. A howl against unfair government competition rose from the disappointed bankers, and the *Wall Street Journal* accused the RFC of risking the taxpayers' money in order to give Arkansas a cheap rate. But within a month Mr. Jones was able to announce that the whole \$90 million worth of bonds had been resold at a premium to various dealers and investment houses, including many of the original syndicate members. This implied plainly that the rate previously suggested by the bankers was higher than necessary to secure the distribution of these securities.

The latest move by the RFC to safeguard borrowers against unjustified interest rates is in the utilities field. During a press conference on April 30 Mr. Jones expressed approval of the Securities and Exchange Commission's new competitive-bidding rule and said that the RFC might submit bids in cases where the issues were too large for the bankers to handle; so as to insure "decent rates" for the borrowers. "We are perfectly willing," he went on, "to cooperate with investment bankers, not with a view to competing, but with a view to making funds available at low interest rates." It seems likely that this hint of steel beneath the velvet glove will not be lost on the financial district. With the RFC standing in the background ready to finance good risks on reasonable terms, efforts to defeat the SEC ruling either by collusive bidding or concerted refusals to bid at all are no longer practicable.

Meanwhile at least one branch of the financial community appears eager to appease Mr. Jones. The New York Stock Exchange, after long cogitations over the choice of a successor to "Bill" Martin, now in the army, has offered the post of paid president to Emil Schram, chairman of the RFC, who has been associated with Jesse Jones for seven years. Mr. Schram has not been regarded as one of the left-wing New Dealers, but he is a liberal with a rural background and as such should be able to freshen the atmosphere of Wall Street with a good western breeze. Originally a land-drainage expert, he will now have to tackle, among other problems, the removal of stagnant water in the brokerage business.

Whether he will be able to boost the Exchange's volume of business is another matter. At present Wall Street is definitely in bad shape. Few brokerage firms are able to make money so long as the daily average turnover is only a few hundred thousand shares. To some extent, at least, the trouble is due to a deep-seated lack of public confidence which dates back to the orgies of the twenties. That is a matter which Mr. Schram may be able to help remedy, provided he is given a free hand. But if he has been picked as a man willing to use his Washington connections to "fix" the SEC and other government agencies, the Stock Exchange is likely to suffer another disillusionment.

In the Wind

W. LEE O'DANIEL, the singing governor of Texas, which has passed both houses of the legislature. On April 4 he addressed a letter to a Boston industrialist urging consideration of Texas as a manufacturing locale on the basis of its restrictions on labor. Quotations from the governor's letter follow: "I think some of these wild-eyed labor-leader agitators . . . will think twice before they come to Texas to start their foolishness. We are not taking away from labor the right to strike. They can strike all they want and go fishing; but when they strike and quit their jobs we have plenty of other men in Texas. Anyone who . . . tries to prevent these men from working at the job which he has just quit will find himself picking cotton on one of our prison farms."

ANTI-SEMITISM, according to a recent report by a group of Negro ministers and teachers in Harlem, is again becoming an issue in the New York Negro community. The Christian Front has carried its campaign to Harlem, and a new anti-Semitic leader is rapidly being built up by the profascists. He is Charles Reed, who organizes picket lines around Jewish-owned stores and who works under the slogan "Hitler took from the Jews what belonged to the Germans; let us take from the Jews what belongs to Negroes."

JOHN MALONE, a financial writer on the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, was recently discharged for a "flagrant violation of *Bulletin* news policy." The "flagrant violation" was this lead on a story: "Last week should have been an opportune time for retail-store employees in this area to approach their bosses for a raise. The reason: business was good."

ELEVEN MEMBERS of the New York Newspaper Guild will soon be brought to trial for criticizing an action of the city's Guild leaders. The eleven are members of the press unit of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; in a letter to the secretary of the local they criticized the Guild leaders for precipitating the strike against the *Jewish Day*. Although the letter was not published anywhere, the Guild's executive committee regarded it as tantamount to strike-breaking. The I. L. G. W. U. unit claims that the letter was merely an exercise of intra-union freedom of expression and that it is being tried for lèse majesté.

IN ITS ISSUE of April 21 Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* gave its views on anti-Semitism. Semitism, it said, "in its tertiary, or third meaning, . . . is defined as 'Jewish politics or Jewish influence in the state or in society.' In [this] meaning *Social Justice* is definitely 'anti-Semitic'—and always will be—because we abhor Jewish influences in politics, Jewish influences in the state, and Jewish influences in society."

[The \$5 prize for the best item received in April goes to Milton Koblit of Baltimore for his story about the German Jew and the Nazi policeman published on April 26.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Soldiers' Saturday Nights

THE office of Bascom Johnson in the big new Federal Security Building in Washington looks a long way from the honky-tonks, the juke houses, the tourist cabins, and the dimly lighted trailers around the camps where the soldiers of a whole nation spend their Saturday nights. But he has taken on in defense a job he handled once before in another war, and handled well. He is dealing with a problem he has tracked around the world.

The problem of dealing with the oldest profession is not new to him. He needs luck in it, however; but so also—even if it seems strange to say it—do the girls, the bad girls of the hot places where now the soldiers are made to seem assailed.

Not everybody in Washington agrees with the official policy, being put into action by Mr. Johnson, of a national mobilization in a sort of national vice raid in all communities close to the camps. Around the corner from his office in the Federal Security Agency another official said of him, "If he put on a stovepipe hat he'd look like the picture of prohibition." That may do him injustice. Other men laughed at a law already halfway through Congress which would make prostitution near a camp a federal crime. There seems to be no end of bawdy jokes possible in connection with his job.

It is always possible to make morality funny even when it is very serious. But immorality in the places where the camps are can be hilarious and still terribly sad. Sad or not, in towns close to the camps, and particularly in adjacent towns just beyond the circle of the m. p.'s, the girls seem to be as determined as Mr. Johnson.

In one Louisiana town, when the community bought a certain piece of land to lease to the army—or sell to it cheap—the leading madam was a subscriber to that community fund, as she has been to all others. As morale officers are learning, lesser ladies than this madam became mobilized before the army did. One general at Fort Bragg told me that some of the scarlet sisters had even learned to put children on the steps of trailers in which they welcomed soldiers as camouflage against the m. p.'s.

But the most frequent disguise is the waitress's uniform. There are enough waitresses in a good many joints to stop waiting on table and become guests when there is demand for their company, as there often is. Wherever they are, the best disguise of all is no disguise at all but

the simple fact that they look the ordinary, tow-headed country girls they are.

Not anything about the situation is a secret. Mr. Johnson knows all about it. Wisely a part of the program to save the soldiers from the consequences of sin goes beyond repression of the girls, and recreation and education for the men in uniform, to consideration of the problems of the prostitutes themselves—or girls who might become prostitutes. This does not mean trying to make good girls out of bad girls in any revival-meeting fashion. It does mean some attempt in the camp communities to deal with their welfare problems. Unfortunately, the welfare problems which hurry girls at the pace of the hottest nickelodeon music into the old trade in a big market of womenless men are not limited to the camp towns.

It is almost possible to trace the prevalence of prostitution and the incidence of syphilis up from the poverty of the Mexican border, through the deep South, to the safer, richer North. The prostitution around the camps where it is worst in the United States is the familiar prostitution of all lands where birth rates are high and incomes low. In Mississippi there once was a saying that the most whores came from Smith County. It might have been true: it was a poor piney-woods county, and its Sullivan's Hollow was the Mississippi phrase for the bottom of Mississippi.

Defense officials concerned with the safety of soldiers cannot, of course, solve all the problems connected with the prostitution they are going to "repress." Nobody can do that quickly. But the "waitresses" deserve some attention from welfare workers in places where they come from as well as from those around the camps. The federal wages-and-hours law specifically exempts their employers from paying them even minimum wages. They have to eat. Maybe they prefer to eat to the sound of "Bounce Me, Brother, with a Solid Four." Or they may be the naturally bad girls of a naturally bad land to which hundreds of thousands of the good boys of better places have been sent.

I am as much interested as Mr. Johnson is in protecting the boys from the girls. But without wishing for any relaxation of protection for the boys, I am for the girls, too. No generals are guarding them. No wide land regards their welfare as a part of its security. But the mobilization of a nation has brought them to national attention as a disturbing aspect of this democracy we defend.

BOOKS and the ARTS

A Poem from France

TEN days ago a letter from a French friend in the unoccupied region mentioned, among other things, that he was sending "under separate cover a poem that is circulating widely among us here. Read it first," he added, "in the normal way; then fold it along the crease in the middle and read each half separately." On May 7 the poem arrived by air mail, typed on a single sheet of paper with no identification as to sender. The envelope had not been opened. Here are the verses with a literal translation, which unfortunately loses the double rhyme:

L'AME DE LA COLLABORATION PAR P. LAVAL

Aidons et admirons	le chancelier Hitler
L'Eternelle Angleterre	est indigne de vivre
Maudissons, écrasons	le peuple d'outremer
Le Nazi sur la terre	sera seul à survivre
Soyons donc le soutien	du Führer allemand
Des pays navigateurs	finira l'odyssée
A eux seuls appartient	un juste châtimement
La palme du vainqueur	attend la croix gammée

THE SOUL OF COLLABORATION BY P. LAVAL

Let's help and admire	Chancellor Hitler
Eternal England	is unworthy of living
Let's curse and crush	the race beyond the sea
The Nazis on this earth	will alone survive
Then let us be the aids	of the German Führer
Of the sea-going race	the Odyssey will end
To them alone belongs	a just punishment
The victor's glory	awaits the swastika.

The lines testify not only to the state of mind of the French but also to their age-old ingenuity. In the fourth chapter of "Zadig" Voltaire tells us how his hero tore up his tablet and threw the pieces into a rose bush after writing a poem to a lady. An envious courtier, finding one half of the poem, which seemed to contain an insult for the king, had Zadig and his friends imprisoned. They were released when the remainder of the tablet was found.

The spirit of Voltaire still walks the French earth.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

Notes on a Spring Journey

THE PROCEEDS from Garden Week in Virginia this year went to Bundles for Britain. And spring itself seemed driven by emergency. It came suddenly and very early; production was speeded up, fruit blossoms fell more quickly than usual. I heard they were making paper apple blossoms for the festival in Winchester because the real ones had already faded. Tulips and iris, which should bloom tandem, flowered together. One's mind slipped easily into the pathetic fallacy, the feeling that spring was working overtime lest it be wiped out before the fruits were formed. And the sense of bombs falling in Europe hung like a precarious haze over the whole

green, incredibly beautiful landscape from Washington to Williamsburg to Charlottesville, over the Skyline to Gettysburg and the dogwood grove at Valley Forge.

WASHINGTON IN THE SPRING. The way to Garden Week led through Washington, where the sun of defense is hot. Bottlenecks and bureaucracy seem to bloom faster than anything else in the kitchen garden of democracy; priorities have been slow; and too little planting is being done for the winter of post-defense. But there are promising shoots as well. The refusal to let Big Steel go into a price-and-profit spiral is one. The growing talk of union-company, not company-union, cooperation is another. The fact that most of this talk is going on in labor and left New Deal circles is not as discouraging as it might seem; for one cannot help feeling that labor is more powerful, having coped successfully with big industry, including Ford, and more intelligent, having studied Hitler and survived the Stalinist measles, than it has ever been. Labor, especially C. I. O. labor, has grown greatly in social awareness in the past few years; the days of pure and simple trade unionism are numbered. Labor knows its strength and its facts. It knows, for instance, that the defense program has been slowed not by strikes but by industry clinging to its patents and its profits, its privileges and differentials. Not even that nervous old lady the *New York Times* can give it a sense of guilt. The miners' delegation that walked so jauntily into Senator Truman's coal hearings knew that the real hitch was the determination of the "so-called Southern operators" (as O'Neill of the Northern operators called them) and the Southern Senators (who really looked like Art Young's Southern Senators) to preserve the principle of the differential, though in this case the Guffey Act has reduced the amount at issue to something like three cents on a ton of coal.

I spent a few minutes with Philip Murray and came away feeling that the difference between the archaic Bible oratory of John L. Lewis and Murray's quiet, reassuring, Scotch-burred speech was the difference between the revivalism necessary to organize the mass-production industries and the efficiency and social shrewdness now essential to keep the C. I. O. a going concern. With labor facing its greatest crisis, it was good to hear a lawyer for the C. I. O. speaking of the social future, both at home and abroad, in the same realistic, specific, and militant terms as he might have used in discussing a strike for better working conditions.

The dollar-a-year men describe themselves in this war as WOC (Without Compensation). . . . On the lower corner of a government building appears the neat notation, Bidders Entrance. . . . The current Washington quip is that defense is the OPM of the people.

EARLY AMERICA. Williamsburg, the colonial capital of Virginia, is well on the way to becoming an Early American Coney Island. The sleepy old town I saw some years ago has been practically demolished and its streets are overrun

with tourists and horseless carriages. Not only have the public buildings of the eighteenth century been rebuilt, but some 177 private buildings have been torn down to make way for more restoration; and even the A. & P. now displays its wares in bowed colonial windows. It gets to be a little thick, this new, artificially pocked brick. The public buildings—the Capitol, the Governor's Palace, the Public Gaol, the Raleigh Tavern, the old courthouse—are in themselves intensely interesting; and Mrs. Rockefeller's fine collection of American folk art, on view in the Ludwell-Paradise house, is worth the trip to Williamsburg. The restoration of the public buildings would have been enough, for my taste. I understand that Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., encountered a good deal of resistance as it persisted in its typically American project of doing too much of a good thing, and I shared the feeling of many Virginians that this carpet-bagger Rockefeller had gone too far with this Reconstruction.

Virginia is solid for Britain; and during Garden Week it teemed with nobility and royalty, come to lend glamor for the benefit of Bundles for Britain. Lord Halifax was due in Charlottesville, where the presence of Th. Jefferson is almost palpable. A queer confrontation. But Jefferson was so far ahead of his time that Halifax, not Jefferson, is the ghost of the past. I'm told that some people at the University of Virginia still call its founder and designer "Mr." Jefferson, and his energy and ideas—so many, many ideas, inventions, plans carefully drawn on an architect's table of his own design—meet one at every turn.

The editorial pastures of the *Virginia Quarterly Review* and the building, designed by Jefferson, which houses it made me envious. . . . If you collect howlers you'll like the report of the Virginia student that Keats said that "Beauty is truth" and vice versa.

MARGARET MARSHALL

The National Gallery

ONE is tempted to open a description of the new museum in Washington with an itemized price list of its paintings. That would seem a simple and direct way of emphasizing the contrast between the spirit of the collection—which is preponderantly Renaissance and should be viewed in its correct historical perspective—and our own times. It would also bring to mind comparisons between the Medici and twentieth-century merchant princes, between the role of art in the quattro-cinque-cento and in the world today. The ramifications are numerous. They relate Uccello and Picasso, Dante and T. S. Eliot, Columbus and Freud, and they are based on the difference between an expanding world and a contracting one, or between man's successful struggle to dominate nature and his failure to dominate himself. The transition through the centuries from belief to skepticism includes war, revolution, and the invention of the machine; it is also marked by the consistent decline of human values (man's loss of a sense of personal identity) and the rise in value of the *thing*.

In just this connection it may be observed that Mr. Mellon's by-laws for the National Gallery make no provision for the inclusion of living art. Contemporary society, with its emphasis on use, has created no function for the spirit; con-

sequently its products best command a market value in terms of the past, in which it still served some function. The difference between Botticelli employed as a talent by the Medicis and Botticelli acquired as an investment by Mr. Mellon is the difference between two systems: one concerned itself with man's origin and his relationship to the universe, while the other is preoccupied with man's survival and his relationship to his immediate environment. The spiritual expression of the former is quite logically converted into the materialistic equivalents of the latter; dead art becomes a live commodity. According to twentieth-century rates of exchange, a Raphael is as good as a yacht. That is the judgment of an era which has reduced the purpose of its own artists to something between the madhouse and *kitsch*—or, in terms of profit and loss, to an economic risk. Mr. Mellon, for example, paid \$1,115,000 for the Alba Madonna, \$800,000 for the Niccolini Madonna, \$745,000 for St. George and the Dragon, \$838,000 for Botticelli's Adoration of the Magi, \$650,000 for Titian's Venus and the Mirror, and so on through a list which betrays something more than a simple love of beauty and the mystical experiences in life. We do not mean to suggest that Renaissance patronage was purely impersonal and idealistic in its motives, but it did exercise a creative and vital interest in the development of art; the interest, on the other hand, of our own Medicis is as posthumous as an inheritance tax.

The task of reviewing the collection, painting by painting, is almost impossible. It contains some six hundred pieces which are the joint gift of Mr. Mellon and Mr. Kress, ranging from the thirteenth century to the baroque and housed in a mock-Pantheon conceived by John Russell Pope. The exterior of the building itself is unimpressive, designed in a style which might be described as the Grant's Tomb American classical, a dismal attempt at architectural dignity accomplished by means of an opaque, windowless façade, squat proportions, and the sudden, unexpected height of an enormous cupola, crowning it all like a non-sequitur. The interior, although it is well lighted and well installed, communicates that same cold, mausoleum-like atmosphere, spreading through some fifty galleries, one opening interminably upon the other, until I had the feeling I was boring my way through solid pink marble. I mention the physical monotony of the place because it is characteristic of the museum as a whole. The collection lacks and requires variety. Both Mr. Mellon and Mr. Kress share an overwhelming and almost exclusive devotion to Italian art. (In fact, Mr. Kress's devotion has even been recognized by the Italian government to the extent of his elevation to the rank of a Knight of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Crown of Italy.)

There are startling omissions and even stranger inclusions. Often one finds the work of an entire school of disciples but no examples of the master; sometimes there are examples which are unauthentic or belong to an inferior, transitional period in the artist's career. We are offered the School of Orcagna but no Orcagna, the School of Piero della Francesca but no Francesca, Luini but no Leonardo da Vinci. Of the Lorenzetti brothers, the work of Ambrogio, which was the only important painting to come out of fifteenth-century Tuscany, is missing, although Pietro Lorenzetti, who succeeded in resisting the Renaissance, and a follower of Pietro

Lorenzetti are represented. The Germans muster a Dürer (even questioned in the catalogue) and two English Holbeins; there is no Schongauer, Grünewald, Wohlgemut, or Pleydenwurf. Van Eyck leads off the Flemish with a superb "Annunciation," although Rubens is only dubiously present in a portrait of "Isabella Brant" commonly attributed to Van Dyck, while Breughel, Bosch, and the important Flemish primitives are nowhere to be seen. There are nine Rembrandts to bolster up the Dutch, of which two only are really noteworthy, and a number of calendar-pieces by Hobbema to the exclusion of Ruisdael; one may also find a Nicolas Maes, whose chief virtue is his religious imitation of Rembrandt, but no Dirk Bouts, Goltzius, or Poelemburg. The French section is the real scandal of the exhibition; it contains an inconsequential Lancret and two Chardins and ignores almost in its entirety a painting tradition second in importance only to the Renaissance. The hiatus becomes all the more conspicuous in comparison with the plethora of Milanese, Siennese, Florentine, and Umbrian pupils, imitators, and journeymen. Giovanni del Biondo, Giovanni da Bologna, Giovanni da Milano, Giovanni di Niccolò da Pisa, Giampietrino, Tino di Camaino, Ambrogio de' Predis, Pietro da Montepulciano, to mention a few at random, but no Claude, Poussin, Fragonard, Watteau, Ingres, Courbet, or Delacroix. It should be remembered, too, that the collectors had unlimited resources at their disposal, that price, as they say, was no object. In fact, much the same sort of choice, care, and discrimination which would ordinarily be spent on compiling a valuable collection of stamps has gone into the selection of the pictures. We should like to add parenthetically for those who look upon this enormous museum as just a seed and germ of art that although it depends upon the government for support, its control remains perpetually in the hands of the Mellon family; so that no brash inconsistencies in policy or taste are likely to occur in the future. CHRISTOPHER LAZARE

A New Wave of Old Tyranny

THE WAVE OF THE PAST. By R. H. Markham. University of North Carolina Press. 25 cents. Cloth, \$1.

SIZE is not grandeur, as Thomas Huxley wrote, and success is not necessarily value. Mr. Markham's book of thirty-five pages is worth more than all the achievements of the German military machine—at least from the point of view of that morality which Christ, Buddha, and Confucius heralded and embodied. But we are bound to admit that cave men, too, have their ethics, which become manifest in bombs and flame-throwers, in the slaughter of women and children *ad maiorem Germaniae gloriam*. Admirers of success who are anxious not to miss a possible bandwagon may even call these ethics the "wave of the future."

Mr. Markham's views are different. He thinks the "new order" is neither new nor an order. As early as King David's time Absalom became "a sort of Führer or Duce." The Nazi order is no newer "than the temples of Luxor, Egypt" or the Pyramids at Giza, built by enslaving "millions for one man," as the Hungarian poet, Madach, expressed it. Little it matters that the Leviathan of Hobbes is substituted for the stony memorials preserving the embalmed Pharaohs. It would not

be easy to disprove that "the totalitarian state is the old tyrannical state made more destructive" or rather "a temporary resurgence of a black and bloody wave of the past."

Students of mankind's past are likely to indorse Mr. Markham's statement that "every bright page in history tells something of human liberation"; and that the wave of the future "in all the lands among all the peoples has been a movement toward more freedom." The story of our civilization, indeed, is the record of our gradual release from the tyranny of nature and the despotism of men. If mechanized cave men could be defeated with arguments, Markham's sermon on human history would become a powerful weapon. But the Nazis and their fellow-travelers understand only the language of machine-guns and the philosophy of depth charges.

However, those who jabber of the "wave of the future" pretend that war, crimes, and cruelties are but the scum on this wave; citing the French Revolution, they say that some good may come of all these undesirable happenings. To this Mr. Markham retorts that the French Revolution destroyed absolutism, whereas the new wave would restore it. I think we had better drop the comparison altogether, not merely because there was no Montesquieu, Rousseau, Diderot, or d'Alembert to usher in fascism, but also because it is doubtful whether the inconsistency of liberty and equality, the surge of nationalism as a heritage of the French Revolution, are, indeed, so valuable as to justify the hope that an eventual benefit may be derived from the ascendancy of cave men professing cave-man philosophy.

The arguments offered by the author certainly suffice to convince those who use their own brains and who are not utterly devoid of the moral principles common to civilized men. Mr. Markham's brilliant style admirably combines the good qualities of a missionary and a town crier. There is a story that someone hearing the chant of the latter in a German town—"the clock has struck midnight; beware ye all of fire and light"—remarked to his friend: "What sense has all this? Whoever is awake knows it is midnight, and those who are asleep do not hear him." "Yes," replied his friend, "but there are a good many who are drowsing." Persons who are inclined to nap may be aroused to danger by Mr. Markham's little masterpiece. RUSTEN VAMBERY

Holmes and Pollock

HOLMES-POLLOCK LETTERS: THE CORRESPONDENCE OF MR. JUSTICE HOLMES AND SIR FREDERICK POLLOCK, 1874-1932. Edited by Mark DeWolfe Howe. Harvard University Press. \$7.50.

THE major interest of Americans in these letters will naturally be evoked much more by those of Holmes than by those of Pollock. Yet Pollock was doubtless a necessary foil for Holmes's best. He was the more learned man of the two, but much the less vital. He could write about Arabian syntax; Holmes could not. But on the antiquities of common-law doctrine they were on a par. On constitutional law Pollock was sympathetic with Holmes, because in England what Parliament says goes, except as it can be diluted by interpretation when Parliament is slipshod or is uncertain about what it really wants.

Both men were aristocrats, in thought and in an insulation against what we are wont to call social sympathy. Their economic tenets let them dismiss socialism with almost a brief brandish of the pen. Holmes thought that anti-trust laws were foolish and mistaken. He wrote about flow of goods and seemed unaware of what economic power can do to those without it. Those who have wrongly claimed him as a radical will now have ample evidence to modify their meed of praise.

His great achievement as a Supreme Court justice came in part from his skepticism and his complete awareness that his preferences were *his* preferences and not of necessity dictates of nature or of the broad phrases of the Constitution. His greatest zest as a lawyer seemed to be for nice tracing of common-law doctrine back to its original font. And as a common-law judge he was unduly cautious about being creative. Changes were for the legislature, and when the legislature willed, judges must obey, unless some negative in the Constitution were clear and compelling.

All this, however, is a minor matter for the reader of these two rich volumes of a correspondence of nearly fifty years between two of the most learned and acute lawyers of a century and two scholars and thinkers who were equally at home in history, philosophy, and literature. On page after page there is good wine which needs no bush from a reviewer. Holmes is the more human and has the lighter touch. He relished frivolities which had little temptation for Pollock. Yet both swapped views on life's ultimates and the cosmos with a profundity worn so lightly that one wonders why the professional philosophers must so often be so wearisome and so reluctant to shoot directly at the target posed most plainly by the only questions which really press for answer.

Richness and breadth and depth have seldom if ever been borne more gaily. Some of the legal genealogizing of the earlier interchange may have but a limited appeal, but those who start skipping may miss gems that are not beyond their power to appraise. Holmes on the whole is as good as his talk, and those who have had the privilege of his talk cannot say more in tribute. Pollock is much better than any of his talk that has ever been reported. His shy averted face does not put its chains on his pen; and never did his learning or his decorum turn a valve against the bubbling that was Holmes.

Holmes writes little of his actual doings, outside of his engrossing job on the Supreme Court. He writes much of his reading and his thinking. It is something of a surprise that so much of his heavy reading was pursued from a sense of duty, usually in hopes of something more than he found. For his light reading he had great zest. He was dominantly interested in ideas, though skeptical about conclusions and ultimates, and his letters are filled with flashes of insight, as were his more formal essays and his talk. His thoughts often repeat themselves, but without getting stale. They are shots at the same target, but from different angles, or at different targets, from the same angle. Those on law and on philosophy will be in the main familiar to those who have read him elsewhere, though here they are often still more pungent, when prompted by a particular book or by something just at hand from Pollock. There is more that is new in the swift comments on literature and art. Good as these are, however, there may be a regret that the decorum that was Pollock and perhaps the

decorum that was Holmes robbed the letters of some of the famous one-line book reviews that sparkled in his talk.

Though Holmes wrote but little about the big constitutional controversies in which he gave his famous dissents, he wrote enough to emphasize the core of his conviction that it is not the function of a Supreme Court justice to try to play God. The contrast between his attitude and that of Chief Justice Taft as exposed in Taft's perhaps too revealing letters throws a bright light on the ineptitude that lay behind the demand for judicial reformation in 1937. Now that the reformation has come, it would be tempting to speculate where Holmes would stand in the new alignment. The safest answer would seem to be that he would not belong in any strong-willed determined camp. His make-up was far from that of a reforming enthusiast. He had zeal enough in his protests, but in constitutional matters it was the zeal of self-denial. In him were a depth and reach that were safeguards against too great eagerness for immediate special ends. He wrote that certitude is not the test of certainty. He was the thinker rather than the governor. His thinking still may govern after the governors are gone.

THOMAS REED POWELL

Irvin Cobb's World

EXIT LAUGHING. By Irvin S. Cobb. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$3.50.

IRVIN S. COBB has written a rambling, loose-jointed autobiography set in a world that ended sometime during the 1920's. Up to that time Cobb, who omits the exact date of his birth but admits it happened in Paducah, Kentucky, "two days before Custer and his men were wiped out," found life exciting, amusing, and profitable. But the times changed, and Irvin Cobb didn't. His reactions to such modernisms as income taxes, government regulation of industry, and social legislation strike the only sour note in a book that is in the main nostalgic and mellow. It reveals the author as a kindly, modest, well-meaning, "folksy" fellow; a defender of decency in life, letters, and politics. Missing entirely are the vituperations he poured upon President Roosevelt and the New Deal when he spoke over the radio during the 1940 Presidential campaign. But, then, Cobb is too skilful a writer to spoil his effects. His aim is to titillate and please the reader. In this he is successful.

A handy man with an adjective, possessing a sure touch for the bizarre, he is always a first-class journalist and storyteller. During his long career as reporter, war correspondent during the First World War, creator of the Judge Priest stories, lecturer, after-dinner speaker, scenarist, actor, and radio performer he met and knew the great and near-great. There are stories about Pulitzer and Chapin of the *World*, Woodrow Wilson, Calvin Coolidge, Theodore Roosevelt, William Travers Jerome, and many others. There are anecdotes about his boyhood days in the South, his World War adventures, his experiences as a Chautauqua lecturer, and his impressions of Hollywood. In fact, the book gives a one-sided but fascinating picture of life in America from 1900 until about 1928. "Exit Laughing" is swift, easy, harmless entertainment.

GEORGE JOEL

e e cummingsesq

50 POEMS. By E. E. Cummings. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce.
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ART

Architecture of the TVA

QUITE plainly there is something unusually heartening and bracing about the architecture of the TVA, with its huge program of eleven dams and associated power plants, navigation locks, fertilizer plants and other industries, its fish hatcheries, its highways through recreational parks, its reforestation showing as pattern on the ground, its erosion-control projects, rural electric lines, defense plants, and new communities. Writers try to deal with the Tennessee Valley like Whitman. Younger architects report an experience not unlike getting religion. The director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, in the course of opening the current show, said bluntly that the architecture of the TVA was "the greatest that America had yet produced."

The show itself is built around the magnificent photographs for which the Authority is noted, and which translate the homogeneity of the endeavor with a fine consistency of their own.

What is there about a building project such as that of the TVA that puts it so entirely apart from other large correlated ventures such as Rockefeller Center? The difference lies in the sense of something big being done for literally everybody, of unbounded power used with unreserved magnanimity.

Even in technical terms, the problem set in the Tennessee Valley had an unprecedented scope, complexity, and grandeur of scale, and the designers knew it. Of architecture as an art it used to be said that it dealt with the inclosure of space. That was when the primary concern was with individual buildings. Then projects of a higher class were conceived—involving a consistent character for whole city areas or royal estates, as in the squares of Bloomsbury, the boulevards of Haussmann, the gardens of Versailles. In the Valley, however, architecture has taken hold of an area of 40,000 square miles, inhabited by 2,000,000 people, based on 650 miles of the all-important river.

Really to get hold of the idea, it is necessary to be quite strict in thinking of the whole Valley as the unit that was reshaped. The dams are merely the climaxes. The wooded areas and more level farms are an element that it was not necessary to touch. Nevertheless, they played their assigned parts in a grand theme first announced through the contour plowing of sloping hillsides, and then carried with ever-increasing complexity into the industrial culmination.

Before going into the handsome way in which this larger theme was knit, it may be well to speak of the most obvious part, the dams, locks, and power houses. The grand scale was not frittered away. The usual American dam is a giant with Lilliputian scholars and clowns posturing all over his back in togas or cap and bells. The ruggedness at TVA, the blocky big simplicity that is found even in auxiliary structures such as, for example, the control house at Gunthersville, may seem to casual visitors to be a natural consequence or purely "functional." This is not so. It is carefully evoked, a matter of design having to do with proportion, craftsmanship with materials, placing, scale, and a sense of the drama in the whole thing. Consider, if you will, the tall dam at Norris with the power house at its foot. The stately curved profile of the dam itself is the result of pure engineering calculation, but the way in which the power house below has been juxtaposed as a compact cube, off-center, and the way its openings have been cut in the geometrically patterned surface, even the way the roof has been covered with concrete slabs chiefly for the appearance from above, all are architecture in its oldest and most basic sense.

Much could be written on the cunning correlations made all up and down the line, and the more serious reader is

referred to *Architectural Forum* for August and *Pencil Points* for November, both 1939. These magazines, along with the exhibit at the Modern Museum, give some notion of what was produced in the way of a new index of current American design, in which the controlling thought was to hold to the larger purposes, to be neither clumsy nor overclever, to do generously the job at hand and then quit.

What remains to be done here is to insist on the larger view of architecture itself that TVA has generated. A glimpse of this larger formative pattern might be found in the cunning that quarried the stone so as to leave behind parking slips for pleasure boats after the water had risen. The same thought could be found in the design of roads as a new kind of "freeway" assuring both more rapid deliveries for farmers and a greater enjoyment of the landscape for the visitor on vacation. It could be found in the multiple-minded fashion in which means were shaped to several sets of ends and the entire area so homogeneously treated that there could be no reason for confining the term "architecture" to the one part where the materials used happened to be concrete and steel instead of soil, trees, water surfaces, or rock. Here all elements conveyed the same theme—of nature tended and controlled so as to yield nourishment, power, and enjoyment all together.

It's as if Joshua had fit a new battle of Jericho and the walls had come tumblin' down. In the forward view that is opened at TVA the walls, even the big ones, have dropped to a minor role. The glimpse that is given is of man working upon the whole of his environment to put it into habitable, workable, agreeable, and friendly shape. As a concept, architecture can today be no less.

The spirit manifest in TVA shows that the designers were aware of such an aim and sought for architectural expression that would make it speak. There is something still further that seems important in the Valley. Here the complexity of the planning put the American people to a severe test, and they came out of it with colors flying, with a collaborative venture. Not only did the architects collaborate with the engineers, and both with the farmers, and so on, but nobody had his name put on a commemorative tablet. All the inscriptions give only the date and the motto, "Built for the People of the United States." It could have been added, "—and by Them." In this collaborative effort the people of America

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showed themselves so much more than the equals of any loudmouth for some superimposed "new" order that their doubts ought to dissolve away.

Mayor LaGuardia told, with great effect, how close we came at the start to thinking it was "too big" for us and "giving it all away." The thought that a people might turn nerveless now that a TVA has been built, and proceed to give over, is enough to make one sick.

DOUGLAS HASKELL

RECORDS

BACH'S own translations of his works from the terms of one medium into those of another are cited as justifying the work of modern transcribers: he made clavier concertos out of violin concertos, a movement of a concerto into a choral movement of a church cantata. But the important thing about all this is that each different form of a work—even when thought out somewhat differently in the different terms of the different medium—is recognizably, unmistakably the expression of the same mind, personality, feeling; and this undoubtedly would be so if Bach were himself to transcribe one of his organ works for present-day orchestra. What his own transcriptions of his works demonstrate, in other words, is that a composer's instrumentation is no less an integral part of his artistic thought than a painter's color, and his way of scoring no less an expression of his way of feeling than is his way of writing melody and counterpoint. Even a Schönberg, then, applying orchestral color to the lines of Bach's texture with precision and subtlety that express his fastidiousness of mind and taste, imparts to the music an emotional quality that is not Bach's. The others—Stokowski, Respighi, Elgar, and the rest—remind me of what a musician I know said of Strauss: "Debussy is like a painter who looks at his canvas and asks himself what more he can take out; Strauss is like a painter who has covered every inch with paint and when there isn't another inch to cover takes the paint he has left and throws it at the canvas"; and they inject into Bach their own crude vulgarities and excitements. In Columbia's Set X-195 (\$2.50), it is the uncomprehending vulgarity of Weiner, who orchestrated the Toccata, Adagio and Fugue in C for organ, and the equally uncomprehending sensationalism of Mitropoulos, who performs this version with his Minneapolis Symphony.

The recording is clear and brilliant, with occasional rattles; and my set has one unusually noisy surface.

Then there are Stokowski's "syntheses" of Wagner—an impressive name for the monstrous procedure of tearing passages out of Wagner's original order and context and piecing them together in an order of Stokowski's contriving. Two years ago he recorded a "Tristan und Isolde: Prelude-Liebesnacht-Liebestod" which spliced together passages from Acts 2 and 3 and ended with the catastrophic conclusion of Act 2 instead of with what was described as "the conventional ending." Now he has recorded—this time with the American Youth Orchestra for Columbia (Set 427, \$3.50)—what he calls "Love Music from Tristan und Isolde": the second-act duet beginning with "O sink hernieder," in which one is astonished to hear suddenly a few measures from Tristan's delirium in the third act, which in turn lead to "So stürben wir" of the second act, which eventually is spliced to the "conventional ending" of the opera. Years ago, when he recorded his first orchestral version of the second-act music, I pointed out that Wagner had used the color of the human voice with as much design and precision in this music as he had the colors of instruments, and that the music lost disastrously by the substitution of instruments for the voices; but in the present instance the strands of the texture are not even clearly defined in the murky fog of heaving, billowing sound without structural outline that comes off the first two records. There is clearer and sumptuous sound from the last record; but the style of performance remains the same—remains, that is, with its breaking up of every continuous line of phrase into discontinuous expansions and contractions of lush sonority, the final violation of the integrity and character of Wagner's music. The recording is also afflicted with bad rattles.

It is a relief and pleasure to turn from all this to the beautiful clarity and balance and refinement of the recorded sound, the imaginative power and musical taste and technical finish of the performance, in Columbia's set of Tchaikovsky's "Francesca da Rimini," made in England by Beecham and the London Philharmonic (Set 447, \$3.50). The work is superb in substance, but diffuse and repetitious in form. And on a single disc (71049-D, \$1) are three dances from Smetana's "Bartered Bride," played with verve by the Columbia Broadcasting Symphony under Barlow,

and recorded with brash, reverberant brilliance.

Prokofiev's String Quartet Op. 50 is arid stuff, well performed by the Stuyvesant Quartet, and well recorded except for slight sharpness (Set 448, \$3.50). And Ravel's "Valse Nobles et Sentimentales" are his usual slick trash, well played by Casadesu, and clearly recorded (Set X-194, \$2).

That leaves a single disc (71048-D, \$1) with Leporello's "Madamina, il catalogo è questo" and "Ah, pietà! Signori miei." The mischief and wit that Mozart put into the orchestra behind "Madamina" can be heard in the orchestra conducted by Leinsdorf, but only faintly behind the sonorous singing of Baccaloni.

To its valuable Add-A-Part recordings, which enable one to participate in performances of chamber music, Columbia has added its Student Music Library series, for which I think it claims a little too much. Someone playing the piano by himself and struggling with the particular pieces recorded by Sergius Kagen (Sets E-1 and E-2, \$2 each) will find it helpful to have these recorded performances to turn to for an idea of the ordered and significant forms that are to be achieved out of the clutter of notes and beats and rests. But someone studying with a teacher gets this idea from his teacher; and while the teacher will want him to listen to what shape and significance a great artist gives to a piece of music, the work in such a case will be not a beginner's piece by Beethoven but one of the great sonatas or concertos, and the performer not Mr. Kagen but Schnabel. So with the volumes of violin music recorded by Alexander Cores (Set E-3) and 'cello music recorded by Bernard Greenhouse (Set E-4); and I would question the choice of music in the 'cello volume.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Unfair Attacks on Wages

Dear Sirs: The sense of fair play of the American public is being unfairly exploited by certain employer spokesmen in what seems to be an attempt to reduce the percentage of national income that labor will receive during the war boom.

One line of attack assumes that if prices are to be frozen, it would be only fair to freeze wages also, by government action. It implies that this would be equal treatment for labor and capital. Actually, as war orders increase the volume of sales, percentage profits will greatly increase even if the sale price of individual items remains constant. And while profits thus soar, the wage-earner with frozen wage will have no such multiplication of his income.

Another widely broadcast attack upon high wages, this time with patriotic appeal, assumes that fair play should prevent workers from receiving high wages in safe jobs back home while the drafted men are getting ready to risk their lives on a mere pittance. It would seem more logical for the draftee to say, "I am giving up all chance of good wages to serve my country in defense of American democracy and living standards. In compensation, my country should let my father and brothers back home have higher wages than ever to protect my family and our wage standards while I am away."

PEVERIL MEIGS

Chico, Cal., April 27

Negroes in Defense

Dear Sirs: No fair-minded man can object to Jonathan Daniels's complaint published in your issue of April 26 that the South is not getting its fair share of defense contracts. But the same complaint applies with even greater force to the utter failure of defense industries to provide jobs for Negroes in anything approaching their proportion of the total population. In one vitally important line of defense production, aircraft manufacturing, the companies absolutely refuse to hire Negroes. As a result of this discrimination, joblessness persists in Negro communities just as before the defense program started, and the country is deprived of the use for defense purposes

of an important section of its labor force.

This situation has another terribly serious aspect. As a trade unionist I am fully aware that the life or death of organized labor on the continent of Europe depends on the outcome of the war. As a Negro I know that our struggle for genuine justice and full democratic rights irrespective of race, creed, or color will be set back a generation or more if Hitler, with his vile racial ideas of a master race and slave races, wins the war. But the failure of colored Americans to gain any jobs from the defense program has left them a prey to the propaganda of supporters of totalitarianism of all kinds—Nazism, communism, anti-Semitism.

It should be plain that the defense of democracy must be in the hands of those who truly believe in and live up to democracy. Those who practice or light-heartedly ignore race discrimination are not genuine believers in democracy. The continued presence of such people in high government positions—Mr. Knudsen, for example, who refused to see a delegation of representative Negroes protesting against job discrimination—affords a basis for the propaganda of fifth columnists among Negroes.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH,

Editor, Negro Labor News Service
New York, May 5

Sandburg and Halifax

Dear Sirs: Lord Halifax on a Horse, Carl Sandburg's article in *The Nation* of April 26, would please Hitler, for it ridicules English aristocracy. As for Mr. Sandburg's scorn of English fox-hunting—a sport which, incidentally, is not in England confined to aristocrats—in the days of Andrew Jackson this attitude might have been considered red-blooded Americanism, but now such petty provincialism is generally left to demagogic politicians.

Mr. Sandburg also seems to object to Lord Halifax's traveling in a private car. This, however, is often done by Americans without unfavorable comment. Finally, he suggests that in America Lord Halifax should not ride a horse in a fox hunt because in Europe some people lack horse meat.

Why all this animus? Is it because

Lord Halifax was born an aristocrat? Or—since Mr. Sandburg notes that he is an Anglican—is it because throughout a very busy life he has attended religious services before breakfast every day in the week? Perhaps some cannot forgive either aristocracy or piety.

The Nation fights valiantly against Hitler. It is a pity to aid him, even remotely, by awakening old prejudices.

FRED R. BRYSON

Little Rock, Ark., May 3

Dear Sirs: Carl Sandburg suggests that Lord Halifax and his fox-hunting antics in the United States were "merely indicative of a fraction of the British embassy which lives in the past and hopes the future will be the same." Blotched leaf after blotched leaf of the record of the British government since 1931 lends some credence to the suggestion that perhaps Lord Halifax, with his values and interpretations, constitutes more than a small fraction of the British embassy and its home government. To permit a license, a great deal is to be said for the proposition that it is an improper fraction—altogether improper in view of the increasingly "all-out" position being taken by the American people and government.

It may come to pass that a considerable part of the population of Great Britain will see that there was logic in the dispatch of Halifax to the United States, Hoare to Madrid; that the forces behind the "renounced" policy of appeasement linger on. If this should come to be the prevailing opinion, something may happen to shock both Lord Halifax and Mr. Sandburg. It is not at all inconceivable that Lord Halifax and his horse and all they represent may be torn apart and eaten.

MARTYN C. CLAPP

Chicago, Ill., May 4

Deferment and Strikes

Dear Sirs: Donald Olson, an employee of the Hanson Whitney Machine Company at Hartford, Connecticut, received draft preferment because he was engaged in defense production. When he and other employees of the company went on strike, the local draft boards declared him eligible for service. If this ruling is upheld, it may act as perpetual

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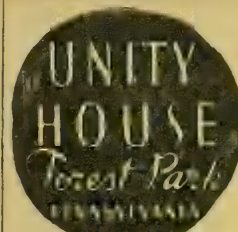
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coercion on the workers in any plant. However much one may regret strikes in defense industries, the facts have often proved them justified. Certainly it should not be in the power of a draft board to interfere, directly or indirectly, with the right of labor to strike.

The regulation permitting deferment to a person engaged in a defense industry, if it is to be interpreted in this way, may prove to be a Damoclean sword over the head of organized labor, and might better be abolished. If it is continued, the national draft board should promulgate a ruling to the effect that no worker deferred because of his employment in defense shall lose that deferment merely because he joins his fellow-workers in a strike.

LINCOLN LAUTERSTEIN

Cambridge, Mass., May 2

C. D. A. A. A., Jr.

Dear Sirs: In recent years the more prominent leaders of the youth organizations of this nation have prostituted their programs and members to a defense of the foreign policy of the U. S. S. R. As a result, American youth as a whole has come in for a great deal of unwarranted criticism. Some accuse us of being wholly divorced from any belief in democracy or trust in the American way of life. We are viewed contemptuously by many as skeptics drifting without a compass. Yet in spite of some false leaders, youth has still an unqualified faith in the promise of America.

There are, I admit, many reasons why youth should be critical of some of the aspects of our system. We have the right and the duty to point to the shortcomings of a political democracy which refuses to recognize the need for economic democracy. However, only by battling for the major tenets and basic axioms of a free society can we hope to arrive at a time when we can abolish the inequalities in America. This is a time for positive democracy. American young people should recognize their responsibilities.

When peace comes, American youth must demand (1) that no vindictive peace be written; (2) that some new form of world organization more effective than the League of Nations be created; (3) that America play a leading role in this new state and be not duped by isolationists into retreating once more from the battle for a New World Order based on the triumph of reason and justice.

In the minds of those whom I represent, the only assurance of the continuance of liberalism as a force in world politics is a victory of Great Britain and its allies. The least American youth can do is to present to the aggressors a united front of an aroused but critical student youth ready to defend a theory of government which gives it the right to be critical. Unless we are willing to battle the forces which would deny us this right, we shall lose the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity. Let us guard the right to be critical! Let us help those who are fighting for that right!

For the purpose of clearing youth's name of the stigma cast upon it by false representatives and to solidify the opinion of high-school students behind America's policy of all-out aid to Britain, the Committee to Defend Democracy has been organized as a junior division of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Briefly, our program is this: (1) to oppose isolationism in all its manifestations; (2) to encourage people of foreign ancestry whose home lands have been overrun to support the exile governments of these nations; (3) to work for a just and lasting peace after the defeat of the aggressors. A complete statement of this policy will be sent to all who request it.

We would welcome the formation of associate committees in any part of the country. Anyone interested in our movement is urged to write to the Defend Democracy Committee, 516 Davis Street, Evanston, Illinois.

WILLIAM YOUNG,

Vice-Chairman

Evanston, Ill., May 6

India Is Calling

Dear Sirs: India is calling for help. Not audibly and not officially because that it cannot do. Nevertheless, the long-suffering Indian people are calling to our consciences.

Civil disobedience is on again. Jawaharlal Nehru has been imprisoned since the fall of 1940. Soon all British-Indian jails will again be filled to overflowing. How does it all agree with the slogan "We fight for freedom and democracy"?

Britain needs America's help and should get it, but it is our privilege and our duty to use the tool which Providence has placed in our hands. We should demand a solemn promise from the English to grant freedom to the Indian people when their own battle for "freedom" is over.

Exploitation of peoples or countries belongs neither to the progressive spirit of the twentieth century nor, I hope, to the coming democratic world order. It is in its way just as evil as fascism or dictatorship. Our great sympathy and respect for the British people should not dull our deeply felt compassion for our Indian friends. We are indeed our brother's keeper; let us not forget it even in this tense hour.

ERICA KARAWINA-HSIAO

Cambridge, Mass., May 6

CONTRIBUTORS

LOUIS FISCHER, for many years *The Nation's* Moscow correspondent, has just published his autobiography under the title of "Men and Politics."

BRYANT PUTNEY is a staff writer for Editorial Research Reports, a Washington newspaper service.

WILLIAM ZUKERMAN, for many years the European correspondent of the New York Jewish *Morning Journal*, is the author of "The Jew in Revolt."

ALFRED VAGTS, author of "A History of Militarism," is connected with the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN is assistant professor of French at Columbia University and author of "The Novel of Adolescence in France."

CHRISTOPHER LAZARE, formerly art editor of the *North American Review*, is now assistant editor of *Decision*.

RUSTEM VAMBERY, Hungarian criminologist and sociologist, has written extensively on European political problems.

THOMAS REED POWELL is Story professor of law at the Harvard University Law School.

GEORGE JOEL is on the staff of the Dial Press.

DOUGLAS HASKELL, formerly on the editorial staff of the *Architectural Record*, has written regularly for *The Nation* on housing and architecture.

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Editor and Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor
ROBERT BENDINER

Washington Editor
I. F. STONE

Literary Editor
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Dramatic Critic

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Business Manager and Director of Circulation
HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager

MARY HOWARD ELLISON

The Shape of Things

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ADMIRAL DARLAN and the Nazis are still in progress. So far, the concessions obtained by the Vichy representative do little more than give France the privilege of being squeezed to death rather more slowly than heretofore. In accordance with Marshal Pétain's demand for the blind trust of the French people, nothing is being published about the price of German "generosity." Clearly the use of Syrian air bases is only a first instalment. Attempting to justify the accommodation offered to the German air force, which openly violated Pétain's many pledges against taking any action detrimental to France's former ally, General Dentz, Vichy's henchman in Syria, declared that the Nazi planes were all the victims of "forced landings." This impudent excuse is worthy of Goebbels's office and, indeed, may very well have originated there. It is hardly surprising that the British ignored it and proceeded to bomb the bases used by the Germans. By the time this issue appears, undeclared war may have broken out between the French in Syria and the British, for there is every reason to suppose that the former have already gone far beyond refueling Axis planes and are providing equipment to German troops brought in by air. It is also credibly reported that large quantities of French military stores have been dispatched to Iraq. However, despite the backing of the Axis, General Dentz's position is by no means secure. His much-reduced army has been carefully weeded of anti-Vichy elements, but it is doubtful whether it can be relied upon to fight the British. Moreover, while many Syrian Arabs sympathize with the Iraq nationalists, they have their own quarrel with France and may well seize the present opportunity to rebel.

★

AT THE SAME TIME THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE British in the Near East have been multiplied by French treachery, and despite some local successes their position is serious if not critical. The arrival of German planes and troops in Iraq, even though in limited numbers, has raised the flagging spirits of Rashid Ali and his followers and is helping to prolong a campaign that Britain can ill afford with so many other vulnerable spots to be

guarded. It also increases the danger of a general Arab revolt, although this hope of the Axis may be thwarted by the many religious and political rivalries that have long cut across the pan-Arab movement. Some account of these factors is given by Raoul Aglion on page 607. Meanwhile it is worth noting that Ibn Saud, the most astute ruler in the Arabian world, is imitating Brer Rabbit. He has been intensively and expensively wooed by Germany and Italy, but undoubtedly he is well aware of the worth and purpose of their proffered "friendship."

★

WITH THE SURRENDER OF THE DUKE OF Aosta at Ambi Alagi the Italian East African empire vanishes, and the King of Italy's title of emperor becomes an empty one. No doubt the simultaneous announcement that a prince of the house of Savoy has been named King of Croatia is intended to compensate Italy by providing it with a new colony. For although Croatia is proclaimed as an independent state, the treaty which it has signed with Rome clearly gives it the status of a vassal. It is deprived of its natural outlet to the sea—the Dalmatian coast, which is now to be annexed by Italy—receiving only special facilities at Spalato and Ragusa, and has undertaken not to create a navy. Further the "independent Kingdom of Croatia," under its terrorist puppet dictator Ante Pavelich, has agreed to "collaborate" with Italy in everything concerning the organization of its army and has promised not to maintain any defense works which might interfere with Italian control of the Adriatic. Finally, Croatia is to be completely dependent economically on Italy and Germany. Already workers are being shipped to the Reich, and both the Axis powers are reported to be requisitioning huge quantities of raw materials, food, and other goods. Prices are soaring, and the peasants, distrusting the currencies offered them, are refusing to deliver commodities to the market. It is certain that the majority of Croats, however much they may have been irked by their former domination by Belgrade, will not welcome independence in this guise. Born in terror, the new kingdom seems doomed to a bloody, though probably brief, history.

★

TWO OBSERVERS WHO KNOW THEIR NAZIS give expert views, on other pages of this issue, concerning the mystery of Rudolf Hess. Whether his flight was the simple escape of a gangster who was about to be liquidated or part of an elaborate new attempt to revive appeasement is a matter of opinion. It cannot be a matter of known fact, though in either case it seems clear that, as one guesser remarked, the lone Nazi eagle is less confident of a German victory than the lone American eagle. Churchill's delayed statement may clarify the riddle. Meanwhile we are glad that the strange tendency to make something of a hero of Hess has shown a sharp decline.

ONE OF THE MORE ELOQUENT CONTRIBUTORS to this tendency was Hermann Rauschnig, who has achieved great prestige as a man of insight and a defender of democracy because he discovered after two years of hand-in-glove collaboration with Hitler that the Nazis were dangerous fanatics. In a long dispatch to the *New York Times* he described Nazi No. 3 as a "desperate patriot" and a "man of the highest bravery" who deserted Hitler when he saw that he was leading Germany to destruction and/or an alliance with Stalin.

Herr Hess was not only an opponent in war . . . but also a man of good-will, however little I want to whitewash him for his mistakes [*sic!*] and his complicity in Nazi crimes.

Rauschnig, of course, is defending himself. That is one phase of his career. But we prefer to his sultry sentimentality the statement of Ernest Bevin, simple and sharp as lightning, which had the effect of clearing the air.

You will understand my feeling about Hess [he said] when I say it was he who collected every index card of every trade-union leader in Germany, and when the time came they were either sent to concentration camps or murdered.

★

ALL KNOWLEDGE OF THE ZAMZAM'S FATE was at first denied by Berlin, but after the press had voiced the mounting anxiety and indignation of America, the Nazi authorities thought it better to admit that the vessel had been sunk by a raider, but that all aboard had been saved. This mitigates an act of piracy but does not excuse it. The Zamzam sailed under the flag of Egypt, a neutral state which the Axis powers had pressed to stay neutral. A majority of its passengers were American missionaries, but there were also on board twenty-four volunteer American ambulance men with their equipment, going to aid the Free French forces in Africa. The German communiqué declares that the ship carried contraband, but this is very positively denied by the American agents for the Egyptian Line. According to Berlin, the passengers and crew have been taken to "somewhere in occupied territory." We trust that the State Department will insist on the immediate release of all Americans among the captives.

★

THE PRESIDENT'S RECENT ORDER FOR A tenfold increase in bomber production indicates that he regards heavy bombers as at least a partial answer to the convoy problem. A few hundred of them might enable Britain to carry the war to Germany instead of having to fight chiefly over the British Isles. Even fifty "flying fortresses" in the hands of capable pilots might turn the tables for China against Japan. But the most important thing about heavy bombers, as far as the immediate situation is concerned, is that they do not need to be convoyed. They can be flown directly across. In fact, they can

be used for convoy work, thus sparing more costly ships. Passage of the Administration bill permitting use of the foreign ships, including the French, recently seized in our harbors, promises to relieve somewhat the existing shipping shortage, and the intercoastal lines have recently placed forty freighters totaling some 300,000 tons in the hands of the Maritime Commission. But more effective means will have to be found for safeguarding vessels if Britain is to pull through the coming fall and winter. If bomber convoys are the answer, a way will have to be found to speed bomber production to a far greater extent than any yet proposed. *

VICHY'S ENTRY INTO ACTIVE ECONOMIC AND political cooperation with the Axis makes it necessary for the United States to reconsider its resources for giving immediate assistance to Britain, since Vichy's aid to Germany will be immediate. To increase production will not be enough, vital though that is; supplies must be released that we have hitherto considered indispensable for our own defense. And beyond the general question of aid to the Axis, Vichy's capitulation raises serious problems regarding Martinique and the other French possessions in the Western Hemisphere. Under the decisions taken at the Havana Conference last year the American nations are committed to the policy of preventing the Axis powers, directly or indirectly, from gaining a foothold in this continent. What action is to be taken in the face of this threat is of course a matter for the Inter-American Committee set up at Havana to decide. Unilateral action by the United States would be wholly unjustified. *

SECRETARY OF STATE HULL'S SPEECH IN observation of National Foreign Trade Week was perhaps more noteworthy for its spirit and intention than for its substance. In the main it was a call to the kind of easy-trading world which Hull has doggedly championed for the past two decades: an end to the dominance of economic nationalism with its excessive restrictions on trade, and to discrimination in commercial relations among countries; availability of raw materials to all nations; protection of consuming countries by regulation of the supply of commodities; and the reorganization of international finance to aid the development of all countries and make possible repayment of debts through trade. The formula may prove too simple for the world that will emerge from the appalling chaos of this war, but the address was none the less of prime importance as the first pronouncement by a responsible American official which could reasonably be considered a statement of war aims. There are plenty of social-minded isolationists in this country who demand war aims without recognizing that one ingredient of war aims is war; there are, on the other hand, plenty of interventionists who think only of beating

Hitler and are willing to leave the future to chance. Hull falls into neither of these dangerous fallacies. He made it perfectly clear that the peace he envisioned could never be had without a defeat of the Nazi regime. In this he had the able backing of the President, who opened National Foreign Trade Week with a speech asserting that trade in a totalitarian world "would be merely another weapon for further ruthless aggression," and of Secretary of Agriculture Wickard. Whatever the merits of the Hull proposals—in the main they are good—we rejoice in the inclination to state peace aims now. Americans should know what they are sacrificing for and what they may have to fight for; Germans should know what to expect when they are rid of Adolf Hitler.

*

"TRADE UNIONISM IS AN EXTENSION OF democracy from the political into the industrial field. But trade unionism in the narrow sense, indeed even modern industrial unionism, will not be enough unless organized labor assumes certain fundamental responsibilities and for that purpose undertakes an even broader extension of the principles of democracy." We quote a passage from a speech by John Brophy of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which was remarkable for more than one reason. It committed the C. I. O. to full aid to the defenders of Great Britain; it recorded the specific and impressive plans that the C. I. O. has offered for more efficient production, devised out of the expert knowledge of men whose lives are bound up with production—the Murray plan, the Reuther plan, and the steel-production plan; and finally it projected an extension of production of both guns and butter that would not only fill the immediate needs of defense but insure the nation against another epidemic of post-war misery, economic and social. It was, in other words, an important statement of C. I. O. policy—a policy which might be defined as the determination to turn the imperialist-capitalist war into a struggle for an international democratic economy of abundance. In our opinion that is the only policy by which Hitler can be defeated. Yet Brophy's speech received little or no publicity in a press that hugs its view of labor as a band of irresponsibles exploiting the defense program; just as labor's constructive plans for increased production have had little or no attention from the OPM.

*

SOME REVISION OF DRAFT PROCEDURE SEEMS inevitable within the next few months, but reports as to the nature of the changes are conflicting and unreliable. Criticisms of the present draft system concern both the law and its administration. The chief weakness in the law, as shown by experience, is the drafting of men over thirty who have become settled in their careers while there is an abundance of younger men who have

not yet obtained their first job. General Hershey has asked Congress to authorize the Selective Service to defer older men at its discretion. More serious than the matter of age have been the admitted blunders in administration. Local draft boards have differed widely in their interpretation of dependency, with the result that some have deferred all married men and others accepted them unless dependency was established beyond reasonable doubt. Most serious of all has been the practice of many draft boards of taking skilled workers from the defense industries merely because they did not press for deferment. Local draft boards have recently been specifically instructed to avoid such practices, but the instructions were not sent until shortages of skilled workers appeared as a result of thousands being inducted into the army. A broader conception of the purpose of the draft seems to be needed. At the moment the first line of our defense is in the factories and skilled professions. The draft should be modified to serve this need as well as to provide men for our armed forces.

Now We Must Act

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

IT IS no longer possible to fool ourselves. The small remaining outlying areas of compromise have shriveled into non-existence. The deal between Vichy and Berlin has wiped out the last pretense on which the appeasers could base their miserable maneuvers. The France we honor and love lives only in opposition and latent rebellion. And the France of Darlan and Brinon and Pétain has met its appointed destiny; despite its denials, it has become openly the France of Abetz and Ribbentrop and Hitler. Mr. Roosevelt's appeal to the people of France to resist collaboration with the enemy was strong and moving. But it will mean nothing unless it is backed by actions in this country that speak at least as loud. The seizure of the French ships in American harbors may be a portent of such actions. But time presses; and the people and the opposition leaders in France can be expected to resist the traitors and tyrants who rule them only if they are given reason to hope that resistance can succeed. We must give them solid support, not only noble words. Too many noble words have been spoken in the past; too many hopes raised. The time for that is past, too.

Let's look at the record for a minute: it may clear our brains and strengthen our purposes for the days to come.

The present agony of the world was made by the appeasers. The failure to apply effective sanctions against Italy when it invaded Ethiopia in 1935 not only doomed Ethiopia to defeat; much more important, it notified Hitler that he could go into the Rhineland in 1936, and Japan that it could move into China in 1937. The treach-

erous non-intervention policy applied to Republican Spain did more than give Hitler and Mussolini their first victory over democracy on the Continent. It led directly to the catastrophe of Munich and to all that has followed. The futile gestures at Geneva against Japan's aggression succeeded merely in driving the Japanese out of the League while assuring them that their plan of conquest would be opposed only by China itself.

It is useful today to recall this history, and to consider American policy in its ugly light. Useful and disquieting. For one also recalls that the policy of the Roosevelt Administration toward the depredations of the dictators, from the invasion of Ethiopia to the capitulation of Vichy, has been a confusing mixture of outspoken condemnation and mealy-mouthed concessions and surrenders. At each crucial milepost on the way to disaster the appeasement state of mind has ruled. In the Ethiopian crisis we combined smug disapproval of Fascist aggression with a refusal to cut off Italy's oil supply. After all, why should we? Neither the oil companies nor the British Foreign Office wanted us to do it. Such an act would have exposed the pretenses of the great powers, which had never seriously intended to implement sanctions but rather, as the Hoare-Laval pact amply revealed, to sell Ethiopia for a mess of Fascist promises.

And what did we do about Spain? An unheard of thing. Our precedent-ridden State Department defied precedent to aid the overthrow of republicanism in Spain. We passed a special resolution, after the rebellion had started, prohibiting the shipment of war supplies to either side in a civil war. That made it possible to do what we had never done before—cut off arms from a legitimate, friendly government facing a military revolt. And so, of our own will, we shared the treachery perpetrated by the French and British appeasers and insured the victory of Franco and his Fascist backers. We might have saved the Spanish Republic. We could certainly have shown up the shameless farce of "non-intervention." But we preferred to trail the Chamberlains and Hoares down the broad road toward Munich. And when, along that road, Chamberlain made his ill-fated pact with Mussolini, the deal received the personal blessing of President Roosevelt. I have often wondered who in the State Department wrote that unbelievable note of congratulation.

Meanwhile Japan continued, as it continues today, to destroy the undefended villages and cities of China with bombs made out of American scrap dropped from planes fueled with American oil. Some women in the United States stopped buying silk stockings, but no oil companies stopped selling oil. And the United States government refused to embargo sales of war material to Japan.

It isn't a policy. It is a state of mind. It prefers to risk total catastrophe rather than an immediate, minor danger or even mere dislocation. Better play safe, is the guiding

principle of the appeasement state of mind. So it "plays safe" until the nation and civilization itself are threatened with extinction.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt is not an appeaser. But he has acquiesced in the acts of appeasers in both the State Department and in the European democracies. And he must accept responsibility and blame for his acquiescence. His own desires have been on the side of resistance, and it was because the people sensed this that they voted him into office again last November. Every bold move he has made has brought an overwhelming response from the country. Every sign of hesitation or withdrawal has produced a quick reaction of anxiety. The people feel that in these days the safest policy is the boldest. They want no hesitation—and most of all they want no appeasement.

But appeasement still rules a broad area of our national policy. We still sell oil—all but the very best grade—to the Japanese. We still sell scrap—all but a few select varieties—to the Japanese. And at the very same time, while the bombs drop on China, we assure the Chungking government that they can count on our support, and we lend them \$50,000,000 to stabilize their currency. But no other help can even approximate the help that an embargo on oil and metals to Japan would give to China.

Why don't we establish an embargo? Because, say the appeasers, Japan would seize the Dutch East Indies if we embargoed oil. (The appeasers had other reasons that satisfied them just as well in the days before Holland was overrun by the Nazis.) And the oil companies would lose a lot of business. And anyhow we are not at war with Japan, and an embargo would be looked upon as an unfriendly act. So the reasons pile up, and Japan is able, with our active help, to go on conquering China and preparing to conquer the Dutch Indies and the Philippines and the rest of the Pacific territories, and ultimately to fight us.

We send food to France, and up to the day of Pétain's capitulation we continued the pretense that the men of Vichy were the rulers of a nation instead of the agents of a conqueror. We have tried, by a diplomatic concession here and a food ship there, to buy Vichy out of the clutches of the German Armistice Commission and the German army. No wonder even the recipients of our bounty sneer at our "humanitarian" gestures. Those gestures are contemptible because they are neither honest charity nor successful strategy.

We send food to Franco's Spain. An important American diplomat in Central America said solemnly to me a month ago: "Thank heaven our State Department has the sense to discriminate between the Axis dictators and Franco. Spain deserves our sympathy and help, and Franco, after all, is a gentleman." I tried to remind him of the hundreds of thousands of Spanish Republicans

tortured, executed, or shut up in jail. I mentioned the presence in Spain of uncounted Nazi agents and soldiers and the German guns at Ceuta and Algeciras. He was unconvinced. Spain was a victim not an accomplice; we could win its good-will and save it from the clutches of the Axis. And when the Nazis on the spot and their Spanish supporters usher in the German troops for the occupation of Gibraltar and Spain's bases on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, this American diplomat and his hundred counterparts in the musty offices of the State Department will be shocked as they were shocked the other day by Vichy's capitulation—and when they have recovered, it may be too late to keep the Nazis out of the Azores and the Canary Islands.

It all goes together, because it is a state of mind. You placate Hitler and Mussolini and Franco and the Japanese. You prefer soft words to hard ones, and words to acts. You try to buy what you dare not command. You refuse to recognize facts when they are uncomfortable; and you always prefer diplomatic maneuvers to sturdy resistance.

Now it is over. The gentlemen of Vichy, whose robes of office have won such unctuous admiration, are finally admitted to be stark naked even by the bemused officials in Washington. Nothing is left for us but the necessity to act, and to plan our actions in the light of one cold, shining fact. In Europe we have only Hitler to deal with. There are Frenchmen left, and no doubt 90 per cent of them hate Hitler with an intensity we cannot even imagine. But there is no France. There are Spaniards, but no Spain. These and the other lands that have been conquered and occupied are no longer nations; they are raw materials and factories and above all bases; and they belong to Adolf Hitler.

Our job is immeasurably difficult and absolutely inescapable. We can no longer dodge and prepare ourselves to act at some remove in the future. Our job is to combine today with Great Britain—and with every existing anti-Nazi element in every country—to defeat Hitler by all the forces at our joint disposal. If this means sending an army to England or Africa we must do it. Certainly it does not mean that now. We have no army ready to send, and if we had, the sending of it would interfere with tasks that need doing immediately and at top speed. But it may mean supplying warships and planes, both to protect the goods we ship to Britain and to prevent the Nazis from seizing new strategic points of attack. Specifically it may mean collaborating with the British fleet and the forces of General de Gaulle to occupy the Portuguese and French islands and the French African ports before the Germans get there.

It means, too, producing goods for the war faster than we have done or thought we could possibly do. It surely means using American ships to carry those goods to the

fighting fronts; and this in turn makes it necessary to wipe out the last legalistic pretense of "neutrality" that stands in the way of our full aid. It means freezing the credits of the Axis powers and ruthlessly preventing goods from reaching them, by whatever round-about routes. It means breaking off diplomatic relations, which no longer serve even as a useful source of information, and throwing out the agents of our acknowledged enemies. Perhaps more than all, it means carrying on an imaginative political war, in which we make use of every anti-fascist group and individual still free in any country on earth; giving them encouragement and support—and arms, where possible. It means, in short, an acceptance of the total meaning of total war; and this, I am afraid, demands a revolutionary change in Washington. The appeasement state of mind must be blasted out of the places of power or the fascists will win the battles of the future as they have won every major battle in the past.

But this we need not allow. We, the citizens of a free republic, can end the policy of dodging and cringing. We have only to say what we want—out loud and in one voice.

Up to Mr. Roosevelt

THERE are signs that the President's desire for full-capacity operation of our productive machinery for defense is slowly beginning to percolate through the bureaucracy of the OPM. But the response of the dollar-a-year men is still "too little and too late," in the manner of their counterparts in the democracies abroad. I. F. Stone's recent series of articles stressed the necessity for compulsory subcontracting and the utilization of the automobile industry's capacity for defense purposes. The ideas expressed seem to be making headway, for we note in the *Wall Street Journal* of May 13 a report from Washington that a new "twin drive to speed defense production is in the making." One phase of this drive, according to the *Journal*, will be compulsory subcontracting; the other, "compulsory diversion to defense manufacture of productive facilities now devoted to the production of civilian goods."

Despite industry's hostility to them, the main ideas of the Reuther plan, first disclosed in *The Nation* last December 21, retain their vitality. "One OPM official," the *Wall Street Journal* went on to say, "points out that the automobile industry could divert a substantial part of its facilities to defense work even though much of its machinery is the single-purpose type. By using the output of its machine shops and whatever machinery in its production lines is suitable for uses other than automobile manufacture, the industry could contribute considerably more to the defense program than it is at the present time . . . the same is true of practically every other in-

dustry." But there is no indication as yet that the automobile industry is to be asked to make these contributions to defense. The industry's resistance is easily explained. One of the greatest sellers' markets in its history is developing, and despite the current production boom dealers' stocks have dropped below those of a year ago. The automobile manufacturers hate to give up any part of this business for defense. Moreover, they probably make a good deal more money on their normal business than on defense orders, which is not true of many other industries. The latest National City Bank report shows that General Motors, Knudsen's company, is still averaging a shade less than 25 per cent a year on its investment. It does not seem to do so well on defense. While defense sales last year were 3½ per cent of total sales, the profits on defense sales were only about 1½ per cent of net profits.

The reluctance of the OPM to mobilize the automobile industry is matched by its reluctance to end the concentration of defense orders in the hands of a comparatively few great companies and speed up production by subcontracting. It is significant that the first hint of compulsory subcontracting came not from the dollar-a-year men but from the labor end of the OPM, in an interview with Sidney Hillman. Even then it seems to have been only in answer to a question that Hillman said it "might" be necessary to put something in defense contracts to require subcontracting. A few days later Joseph L. Trecker, co-chief of the defense-contracts service, which is in charge of subcontracting, uttered a similar hint at San Francisco. He told a regional meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers there that "if necessary" we might have to "take steps" to force subcontracting. The necessity is sufficiently demonstrated by his own admission in the speech that—one year after the launching of the defense program—we are still operating at only 50 per cent of capacity.

The Nation believes it the President's job to order an investigation of productive capacity in every industry that will show what it can do for defense and what pooling of its facilities would accomplish toward increasing productive efficiency. Obviously the dollar-a-year men cannot be trusted to make this survey alone, for they have fought against the suggestion and its implications. They must be aided by representatives of labor and independent engineering technicians. Obviously also, the President, if he wants to achieve the full operation he asked in his press conference of May 2, must take the initiative on subcontracting. We need an executive order providing for compulsory subcontracting and reallocation of orders where backlogs are so swollen that delivery cannot be made in any reasonable time. The fate of the world depends on the battle of production in America, and the President as commander-in-chief must take over personal direction of the fight. Not to do so is to risk disaster.

Their Monopoly, Right or Wrong

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 17

THE extraordinary story on aluminum unfolded here this week before the Truman committee investigating national defense has been meagerly reported in the press, but it is one that the people of this country and their President dare not ignore. On Wednesday morning Richard S. Reynolds, president of the Reynolds Metals Company, testified that early in the summer of 1939 Philippe Levelle, one of the officials of the French Aluminum Company, visited him at his home in Richmond, Virginia. "I had become quite concerned," Reynolds told the Senate committee, "over the knowledge that Germany was buying more bauxite from France than the French were reducing to aluminum metal, and I asked Mr. Levelle in regard to this, and he said that Germany was short of brass and was using the excess aluminum for making things like window frames and door knobs." Reynolds wondered whether this was the real reason Germany was buying so much bauxite. "I stated to him at that time I thought they were using it for airplanes and that France would later hear about it." But Levelle was as complacent about bauxite sales to the Reich as our steel and oil men—and some of our admirals and State Department officials—are about our continued steel and oil exports to Japan.

Men like Levelle control production of most of the basic war materials in this country, and we risk the fate of France so long as we leave them in control. In May of last year, after the *Blitzkrieg* began, Reynolds came up to Washington to see Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, a member of the Senate Military Affairs Committee. "I had become convinced in my own mind," Reynolds testified, "that this would be a light-metal war, and I had figured from my inadequate source of information that Germany, her allies and conquered territories, including France if conquered, could produce one billion pounds of aluminum, while the total production in the United States at that time was less than one-third of that amount." Senator Hill asked what could be done, and Reynolds said he would see Arthur Davis, chairman of the board of the Aluminum Company of America. Reynolds went to Davis and told him that "he should inform our government of the true situation and not permit us to be caught in the same position as France." Reynolds, whose company at that time merely fabricated aluminum, suggested that Davis ask the government for funds to enable the Aluminum Company of America to raise its output to one billion pounds of aluminum a year. Since so vast an

expansion of aluminum capacity would lessen its scarcity and lower its price, thus interfering with the Aluminum Company of America's monopoly policies, Reynolds thought Davis could ask the government for "full protection to his company . . . these emergency plants should be closed at the end of the emergency so as not to embarrass the Aluminum Company." Even on this basis, however, Davis did not care to cooperate. "Mr. Davis felt that I was unnecessarily alarmed," Reynolds said, ". . . stating that in his opinion there was ample aluminum and that there would be no shortage." Davis's optimism turns out to have been as fatuous as Levelle's.

The most favorable picture of our aluminum situation was presented to the committee by W. L. Batt, who came to the OPM's production division from the SKF roller-bearing company. Batt said that if all present plans for expansion work out perfectly and "100 per cent on schedule," we shall have only 1,209,000,000 pounds of aluminum next year, although our "direct" military needs on the basis of present plans will be 1,400,000,000. This does not include "indirect" military needs. A more pessimistic picture was presented by Leland Olds, chairman of the Federal Power Commission, who indicated that he felt the OPM estimates of productive possibility were much too high. The production of aluminum is closely tied in with production of power, and that in turn is affected by rainfall. Olds said that if weather conditions adversely affected the hydroelectric plants supplying the Aluminum Company of America, it would be able to produce only 500,000,000 pounds of aluminum. Even under average water conditions, Olds said the Aluminum Company would be able to generate only enough power for the production of 642,000,000 pounds of aluminum in 1942.

This is a terribly serious situation, but it will be less so if we shake loose from the grip of the business-as-usual crowd. With RFC help, the comparatively tiny Reynolds Metals Company was able to build an aluminum plant and two metal-reduction plants in six months' time. Reynolds felt that the Aluminum Company of America could beat that record if it wanted to. "It is evident, in my mind," Reynolds testified, "that the production of aluminum ingots should not be allowed to embarrass or interfere with any possible requirements of defense. Aluminum ingots can be increased and multiplied as fast as aviation, automobile, and other defense contractors can expand their facilities." The way to get aluminum is to begin construction of a chain of government aluminum plants that will give us planes now and cheaper pots later.

The dollar-a-year men who make a great to-do about coming here to serve their country should be criticized even more severely than Mr. Davis and his Aluminum Company. Of these men, the one who bears the heaviest share of the responsibility for hiding the true facts on aluminum from the American people is Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. The testimony before the Truman committee provides a damning bill of particulars. Admissions wrung from the Aluminum Company's arrogant vice-president by Hugh Fulton, chief counsel for the committee, disclosed that at the time Stettinius was assuring the country that we had plenty of aluminum, the Aluminum Company of America was already unable to fill orders on its books. Moreover, according to the testimony of Grenville R. Holden of the Eastman-Kodak Company, a dollar-a-year consultant on light metals, Stettinius and the men around him tried to discourage Reynolds Metals from entering the aluminum-manufacturing field. They pigeon-holed an offer from a Swiss company to build an aluminum plant here at its own expense. They ignored offers of other companies to build aluminum-manufacturing plants, and they offered to help the Aluminum Company get around the Federal Power Commission's licensing regulations for the construction of a \$37,000,000 power project at Fontana, North Carolina. The OPM in Octo-

ber announced that the Aluminum Company as its contribution to national defense was going to construct this power project to expand manufacture of aluminum. But the company abandoned the project rather than submit to the uniform-accounting and unearned-increment provisions of the Federal Power Act.

The subordination of public need and the country's safety to considerations of profit and monopoly was likewise disclosed in testimony on the priorities setup in aluminum. Priorities can be used by big business in war time to put smaller and less favored concerns out of business. One of the two civilian representatives on the Priorities Committee comes from General Motors, the other from a small aluminum-fabricating company completely at the mercy of Alcoa for its supplies. Senator Mead of New York expressed surprise that officials of companies using aluminum were allowed to determine priorities. "I can't imagine a Senator who was an officer in an aluminum company," he said, "participating in the tariff discussions of the Finance Committee and voting on that particular schedule in the Senate." In New York, he went on, the director of a private corporation was forbidden by law to vote on questions in which he had a private ax to grind. There has never been a bigger grinder of private axes than the OPM as now constituted.

The Mystery of Rudolf Hess

Hitler's Alter Ego

BY WILLIAM L. SHIRER

REGARDLESS of *why* Rudolf Hess made his fantastic flight to Scotland—and we must wait upon Mr. Churchill for the all-important answer—one fact stands out after an orgy of speculation and guessing such as this confused world has seldom indulged in before. It is simply that the Nazi regime, in the midst of a life-and-death struggle for existence, has lost one of its key men, and that Adolf Hitler, who is carrying the main burden of that struggle, has been deprived of an aide who was considered in inner Nazi Party circles to be indispensable to him.

Whether Hess flew to Britain with or without the connivance of Hitler does not alter the fact that he is lost to the Third Reich for the duration of the war. Nor does the contradiction in these two hypotheses detract from the importance of the weird journey. For if Hitler knew of it and approved it, his gamble must have been for high stakes. Otherwise he would not have sacrificed a man who was closer to him than any other and whose arrival in Britain, regardless of how Dr. Goebbels might explain it, was bound to spread consternation among

party leaders and further bewilder the German people. If he did not know of it, then Hess's defection was even more important. It could not possibly be the result of another personal squabble—so common among the Nazi leaders—because Hess, whatever other characteristics he possessed, was neither vain nor ambitious. Moreover, he had been fanatically loyal to the Leader for nearly two decades. If, as C. Brooks Peters, in a dispatch from Berlin on May 7 to the *New York Times*, suggested, with a skill which evoked admiration from one who has worked under Nazi censorship, Hess's flight was the "carefully planned resolve of . . . one man," then it would seem reasonable to conclude that it was provoked by very serious dissension in the Nazi hierarchy.

Hess was not considered, even in Germany, a great man. And his position in the nation and especially in the party was by no means what many writers in this country have made it out to be in the last few days. He was not the boss of the party. Hitler was the boss. It is true that Hess had the title of Deputy Leader, and he also was chief of the party's Central Political Committee. But this committee had neither power nor influence in the affairs of state. It was not even all-powerful in the Nazi Party. Equally strong, if not in many respects

stronger, was the so-called Political Organization (P. O.) of the party, headed by Dr. Robert Ley. In the mad jungle law of Nazi politics any post is what you make of it. And in recent years, as chief of the P. O., Dr. Ley, a ruthless, hard-drinking brawler, appeared to most observers in Berlin to have more control over the machine than Hess, who in his complete lack of jealousy was somewhat of a phenomenon in the party's upper ranks.

I think there is no doubt that in recent years Hitler regretted that his protege did not develop more of those traits of character by which all the other Nazi paladins have reached their present positions—jealousy, ambition, ruthlessness, cynicism, imagination, drive. For after the purge of June 30, 1934, which rocked the party and nearly cracked Hitler's already frayed nerves, the Leader let it be known that he intended to make Hess his successor. And it was one of Hitler's greatest disappointments that this shaggy-browed young man, who had first attracted his attention because of proved ability as a bouncer, never quite took on in the ensuing years the stature necessary for a job so exacting as that of dictator of the Third Reich.

Until about 1937, however, Hitler clung to his idea of having Hess succeed him. Most party bigwigs in Berlin were sure Hitler had already written it down in his will. Until 1937 it would have been impossible for Hitler to nominate Göring as his successor, because of the bitter rivalry between the fat Marshal and the club-footed little Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Goebbels. Perhaps it is not generally realized in this country that that rivalry scarcely exists today. Göring, since September, 1936, when he was put in charge of the Four-Year Plan and in effect superseded Dr. Schacht as economic dictator of Germany, has been out-distancing Goebbels. By the time the war started, Göring was definitely the Number Two man in Germany, with the Propaganda Minister scarcely in the running for third place. Both Ribbentrop and Himmler were crowding him out for this position. It was logical, therefore, for Hitler to name Göring to take his place in his speech to the Reichstag on September 1, 1939. It caused no surprise in Germany, where it was commonly accepted that the bemedaled Field Marshal was the only man who could carry on the regime if Hitler departed this world. Hess was named second in line to thwart any ambitions which may have lain in the breasts of such self-pushers as Ribbentrop, Himmler, Goebbels, or Ley. But no party leader in Berlin believed that Rudolf Hess would ever take over supreme power in the Reich or that, if he did, he would last long.

If this was Hess's position in Germany, then why is he such a loss to Hitler and the Reich? Hess was important for two reasons: first, because of his relationship to Hitler; second, because of his carefully built-up reputation as the one pure, unsullied, "idealistic" man in the top Nazi hierarchy.

To take the second point first, it must be remembered that even a people as gullible as the Germans have few illusions about the type of men around Hitler. Before 1934 they knew that Röhm was a homosexual. Today they know about Goebbels's affairs with many of the leading film and stage stars who are dependent upon him for their careers. They know about them and resent them, as they proved a couple of years ago when they hissed a beautiful young film star off the screens of Germany after they learned that Goebbels had taken her away from her husband.

Germans know that Dr. Ley drinks too much, that Himmler is cruel to the point of perversion, that Ribbentrop is a vain and unscrupulous man who will stop at nothing to advance himself in the Führer's eyes, that Göring spends millions to maintain a fantastically medieval personal life.

But they have never known any scandal about Hess. To them he was quiet, retiring, sober, incorruptible, and devoted to his family. And in time he came to be the pattern of Nazi virtue and the idol of German youth. It was in this role that he was important in Germany, a key man who could not be easily replaced.

But his greatest importance lay in his peculiar relation to Hitler. I think Hitler resolved after his break with Strasser in 1932 and with Röhm in 1934, both of whom were shot on his personal orders during the purge, that it would be wiser in the future not to take any of his "strong" men completely into his confidence. Though Göring is his right-hand man and furnishes much of the drive that is back of Germany's war effort, Hitler even today does not speak his mind fully to him. Nor does he confide completely in Ribbentrop, Goebbels, Himmler, or his military chiefs, such as General von Brauchitsch or General Keitel. They all get a part of the picture in Hitler's fiery mind, but not the whole picture.

And yet like any other human being, Hitler *has* to confide in someone. And until a fortnight ago that "someone" was Rudolf Hess. Hitler trusted him implicitly, as he trusted no other. And sometimes for hours on end the Great Man unburdened his torrid mind to his patient confidant. His words, Hitler knew, never went any farther.

In the earlier days of the party Hess of course made considerable contributions to Hitler's education, being second in this only to Alfred Rosenberg. It was he who introduced Professor Karl Haushofer to the Führer and probably to a greater measure than the famed *Geopolitiker* himself, drove into Hitler's mind the vaulting historical concept of *Lebensraum* which Haushofer had evolved.

Haushofer's influence on Hess, and through him on Hitler, raises a hypothesis advanced by many American observers last week—namely, that Hess flew to England in a last, desperate effort to achieve peace before Hitler

inexorably fused the Nazi revolution with the Communist revolution for a final Russo-German assault upon the Western world. There may well be something in this, but if so, Hess was not only deserting his Leader but also his great mentor. It was Haushofer who ever since Versailles had preached two great things above all else—that England was the arch-enemy of Germany's drive to *Lebensraum* and that a German rapprochement with Russia was both desirable and possible.

Professor Haushofer was overjoyed with the Soviet-German pact which Ribbentrop brought back to Berlin in August, 1939. If his pupil Hess was not, the news never got out in Berlin. The only Nazi who declined to indorse it publicly was Rosenberg, who thereby lost his last hold in the upper party ranks. Hess remained loyal to Hitler on this great departure from Nazi orthodoxy, as he had on all other similar occasions. In fact, his greatest intolerance, and one that Hitler loved, was of those who even mentally wavered from the strict party line, whatever the Leader happened to make it at the time.

Munich in Reverse

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

RUDOLF HESS'S Wellsian—or shall I say Wellesian?—invasion of Britain from the skies has let loose an unprecedented flood of wishful thinking. The same people who only a few days ago were submerged in gloom are now jubilant. Overnight they have come to see Nazi Germany cracking up, a new blood purge in the offing, Hitler's vital military secrets turned over to the Berlin Intelligence Office.

I cannot understand how anybody can seriously think that Rudolf Hess, if he really wanted to escape from the gang with whom he has been associated for a lifetime, would have tried to do it in this manner, or have succeeded. A man whose face is known to every schoolboy in Germany, let alone to air-field guards and plane mechanics, takes off in a military plane and escapes to the enemy. He chooses for the start, not some obscure air field near the border, but the Augsburg airdrome, in the very heart of Germany, adding to all the other hazards of such a venture the quite unnecessary risk of a two-hour flight over German territory. And the Gestapo and the German military intelligence service see nothing, hear nothing, know nothing—until the fugitive has arrived on enemy soil.

We can pick up another small clue in this super-thriller. It has been officially established that Hess, on his hop to Britain, took with him photographs and documents to prove his identity beyond doubt. Obviously, then, he had no intention of concealing his identity. Yet when a slight mishap in landing brought him down, not on the estate of the Duke of Hamilton, for which he

was headed, but near the cottage of a farm laborer who had probably never in his life heard of Deputy Führer Rudolf Hess, he said he was Horn, not Hess. Why?

The answer, I think, is that the strange parachutist wanted to hide his identity just a little while. We know now that Hess, after his discovery, asked first to be taken to the Duke of Hamilton. Until he reached there he wanted to be Horn, not Hess. The police constable or rural guard who, he must have reckoned, would take him into custody might have an idea who Hess was and feel he must turn him over to the authorities at once. That short-lived alias, I believe, was intended to serve just this one purpose: to bring Hess to the Duke before anyone else started asking questions.

If Rudolf Hess really was fleeing from Germany, why should he so carefully select his landing place? He didn't drop haphazard or wherever he found suitable conditions for a descent. Why didn't he fly to Eire instead? That would have provided safer landing fields and still have been out of reach of his pursuers. He headed, skilfully and methodically, for a specific place—the estate of the Duke of Hamilton, who happened to be an acquaintance. Everything went according to plan, except that he bungled the parachute landing.

Now if Hess was not running away, what did he go to Britain for? Obviously, he went there on a mission, and I believe that he did so with the full knowledge and approval of Hitler and the German High Command. I don't think Rudolf Hess dropped from the sky as a bearer of peace proposals alone, but as a messenger carrying an ultimatum. This ultimatum, accompanied no doubt by fairly reasonable suggestions for a negotiated peace, was not addressed, in the first place, to Prime Minister Winston Churchill. It was addressed to the Duke of Hamilton and his kind—the aristocratic and moneyed classes of Britain, the eternal Cliveden set of yesterday, today, and tomorrow.

Hitler has not made many miscalculations in this war. And there is one thing he should have learned by now—that he cannot beat Britain. He has proved that his mechanized juggernaut is irresistible everywhere on land, but he has also discovered that it is not amphibian. It will not take him across the Channel.

Britain ought also to have learned one thing by now—that it cannot beat Hitler. After Norway, Flanders, and Greece I cannot see how anyone today can hope that Britain will be able to wrest the Continent from Hitler's grip; perhaps in five or ten years, but not this year or the next.

As one clear-minded observer has expressed it, Great Britain and Germany have about as much chance of one defeating the other as an elephant has to beat a whale or vice versa. Hitler knows it, the Nazi Party knows it—and the Cliveden set knows it. One man doesn't know it, because he doesn't want to know it. That man is Churchill,

superb embodiment of the Briton who doesn't know when he is licked. That is why Hess did not parachute on Downing Street but chose the estate of the Duke of Hamilton for the approach. In doing so he returned the courtesy of Chamberlain flying to Godesberg. Chamberlain flew the terms of the Cliveden set to Hitler; Hess flew Hitler's terms to a successor of the Cliveden set. They landed in somewhat different fashion, but, then, one was an appeaser and the other is a firebrand. One went to Munich; the other came from there.

Rudolf Hess's message to the upper class of Britain was, I should venture to guess, succinctly, this: We know and you ought to know, you can't beat us and we can't beat you. Meanwhile we are destroying the very foundations of each other's wealth and power—*und der Teufel* (Stalin) *lacht dazu!* Hadn't we better patch it up now? The Continent for us, the Empire for you, and then with your permission we'll turn on Russia. Now here, for the last time, is our outstretched hand. If you take it, we share the world; if you leave it, Germany goes into the closest alliance with Soviet Russia, welding the continents of Europe and Asia together for a thirty-year war, if necessary, against Anglo-Saxon sea power.

Deputy Führer Rudolf Hess was just the right man to carry such a message to the British ruling classes, above the head of their crusading Premier. As Hitler's deputy he has authority and knowledge, but he is not an indispensable cog in the Nazi war machine. Unlike Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, or even Ribbentrop, he is a man who

can be sacrificed and one who is willing to sacrifice himself. He is a member of the Nazi Party's inner circle, but he never belonged to the German High Command. London's boast that Hess is "talking" now is probably bluff. Even if Hess wanted to talk, even if he were forced to talk, he could not spill a first-class war secret. What he could and probably would do is sacrifice himself. That would be entirely in keeping with the man's character. Like no one else in the top ranks of the Nazi Party, Hess is self-effacing, fanatically devoted to the cause, and mystically loyal to his leader.

I think it was a masterful plan, and if it had succeeded, you might have read in a few weeks the sudden announcement of a British-German armistice, followed by a smashing drive into Russia. That may still happen, but I doubt it since Churchill is now forewarned.

If the scheme has failed, what next? Undoubtedly, the great unholy alliance between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. Hitler doesn't like the idea, his highest military and political advisers loathe it, but what can he do? The coming stalemate in the West, turning a *Blitzkrieg* into a war of attrition, makes it imperative for Germany to seek the Russian alliance. Stalin is all set for it. At the last minute before signing the pact of "eternal" friendship Hitler, through his best friend and confidant, made a desperate bid for peace in the west and war in the east. His armies were ready for the job, from Bulgaria to Finland and Sweden. When Rudolf Hess sprained his ankle, Stalin scored his greatest triumph.

Allah's Divided Children

BY RAOUL AGLION

TO FURTHER their drive to the East the Germans are doing their utmost to stir up the Moslem peoples to a "holy war" against Great Britain; they have even induced the Mufti of Jerusalem, one of their satellites, to announce that the revolt in the Near East has already begun. Actually, any report of a revolt of more than a mere fraction of the Moslem peoples can be discounted. In the last war the Sultan of Turkey, spiritual leader of the Moslems, tried vainly to bring about a *Jehad*, or holy war, against the Allies. The Mohammedans of North Africa remained faithful to the French, those of India to the British, while the Arabs of his own realm rose in revolt. Today with no Ottoman Empire, no Caliph, and the reforms instituted by Ataturk still a dividing issue, there is not the slightest possibility of anything approaching an all-inclusive Moslem uprising.

Many tribes and peoples, as followers of Mohammed, are grouped together under the term "Moslem." In

North Africa and southwestern Asia the Moslems are often referred to as Arabs, but this is an inexact use of the word. In Morocco the natives are Berbers, blond with fair skins and blue eyes, and are supposed to be descended from some of the barbarian invaders, Goths or Visigoths, who settled in North Africa a thousand years ago. In Egypt the so-called Arabs are of pure African origin. They are Hamites in the Biblical sense. The term "Arab" is applied to all these people because Mohammed, the founder of the Islamic religion, came out of Arabia, a sword in one hand and a Koran in the other, planning to convert the whole world.

The spread of the Koran's influence has been prodigious. Even today many people in the Far East are being converted to Mohammedanism; the growth of Islam in China, where there are already 25,000,000 Moslems, is extraordinary. All the natives of North Africa from Morocco to Egypt are members of the faith, as are

large numbers of blacks in Central and even in South Africa. In Asia the Moslems form huge majorities in Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Transjordan, Iran, and Afghanistan; India has 80,000,000 Mohammedans, and Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and the Dutch East Indies have considerable numbers. The only European country in which Moslems are in a great majority is Albania, but small communities of them are found in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Finland. The whole Soviet state of Turkestan is of Islamic faith. In all, the Moslems number 250,000,000, representing one-eighth of the total population of the world.

Because of this racial and national heterogeneity a common language and faith have not sufficed to bring unity to Islam. Economic, ideological, and dynastic wars have been common. Turkey can no longer be considered a truly Moslem country, for the government has banned all religion, and is even attempting to root out all Arabic words from the language. Persia also has seen the passing of the old ways. Its present ruler, Riza Khan, an officer of the Persian Cossacks of the Russian army during the last war, seized the government by force in 1923 and made himself dictator. Two years later he called a constituent assembly, had himself declared Shah, changed the name of the country to Iran, and took steps to modernize the state. He conserved, however, some of the ancient Islamic rules concerning marriage and divorce.

Riza Khan has acted with extreme vigor to drive out all foreign influences. One of the secretaries of the Iranian embassy in Cairo told me that no state official or high-ranking officer may associate with European women or attend receptions given by foreigners. All British officers were turned out of the Iranian army, and sheiks who had been under British influence were forced into line. Russian influence has been eliminated in the north, where a few years earlier the Soviet Republic of Gilan had been established. The new Shah very cleverly played off the ambitions of the British against those of the Russians and conducted a dramatic and successful fight against the powerful Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Always cautious, he did his best to refuse all offers of German collaboration, and when he needed Western technical help for the modernization of Iran he called in only Americans, French, or Belgians, whose countries had no political ambitions in that region. German agents, however, have recently been extremely active and have stirred up anti-European feeling among Iranian provincial sheiks.

Iran has a well-trained army of some 70,000 men whose patriotism and morale are very high. But it could of course do nothing against a modern mechanized force. The Shah well knows that if the British are defeated, his country will be handed over by Hitler to Stalin.

Three years ago the heir to the throne of Iran married the beautiful sister of the King of Egypt, and the ties

between the two nations have grown steadily stronger since that time. But the influence of Iran in the Moslem world is not great. In the first place the Iranians belong to a particular sect known as the "Shiites"; and in the second the modernization of the country has alienated the devout Moslems of Afghanistan and India.

In Afghanistan, where the Russians and British have always vied with each other to gain the ascendancy, King Amanoullah endeavored to copy the Western reforms of Ataturk and Riza Khan, but his subjects were more religious than the Turks and Iranians and turned him out in 1929. The young king, Nadir Shah Ghazi, is torn between English and Soviet influences. But here, too, the Nazis are playing an active game. An uprising in Afghanistan would endanger the hold of the British on India, and the Nazis have been spending money freely to prepare such an event. It is not improbable that Hitler has offered Afghanistan to Stalin as a reward for remaining a friendly neutral while the Nazis advance toward India.

The rest of southwestern Asia—Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and the kingdoms of Arabia—is Moslem and Arab. Before the First World War Iraq, then known as Mesopotamia, was a part of the Ottoman Empire. The British conquered it and after the war governed it by a mandate from the League of Nations. At the Cairo conference of 1921 Winston Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, recognized the independence of Iraq and signed a "treaty of alliance" with it. As a result the British withdrew their army but retained a few air bases.

Feisal, the first king of Iraq, was a very religious Sunnite Moslem. His wife and daughter were kept in traditional seclusion, though his son and his young brother were sent to England for their education. Adopting modern techniques, he traveled by plane and car, but he never enforced any reform that interfered with the laws of the Koran. His son, King Ghazi I, was faithful to the treaty of alliance with Great Britain, signed in 1923, and as soon as England declared war on Germany, severed diplomatic relations with the Nazis. King Ghazi died last year in a strange automobile accident. After his death his six-year-old son, King Feisal II, was placed on the throne and a regency was organized, but the government was no longer in strong hands.

The oil fields of Iraq are connected by pipe line with Tripoli in Syria and with Haifa in Palestine. The British Mediterranean fleet is almost entirely supplied with fuel oil from the base at Haifa. After the Franco-German armistice the British cut the pipe line to French Syria. Since early April of this year the Nazis have been organizing riots all over the country, and as a result the supply of oil to Haifa has often been interrupted. I have recently received private information concerning the continual infiltration into Iraq of agents appointed by von Papen, who has turned his embassy in Ankara into head-

quarters for Arab disaffection. The so-called "German Lawrence," an archaeologist named von Oppenheim, has been in Syria since the French armistice using that country as a base for repeated trips into Iraq. He has been in constant touch with Ali Beg Gailani, who recently seized control in Bagdad and whose puppet government has already been recognized by Vichy and the Soviet Union. Along with Ali Beg a number of semi-independent sheiks to whom the Nazis have promised power and money have risen in rebellion.

In Syria since 1920 the French have had to face one uprising after the other. Inspired by the example of Iraq and Egypt, the Syrians demanded independence and the withdrawal of French troops. France agreed at one period and signed a treaty to that effect, but the French Chamber of Deputies refused to ratify it. After the outbreak of war the country was kept calm by the presence of General Weygand with 100,000 men, but since the armistice this powerful force has been largely demobilized and sent home, and the French army in Syria now numbers about 35,000 loyal colonial troops led by new officers sent out by Vichy. The Nazis have sent in "armistice" and "commercial commissions," so-called, whose principal work is to organize uprisings among the Arabs of the Near East. The French authorities have been induced to release all Arabs who have been sentenced to prison, and the Nazis have systematically collected and trained these ex-convicts in a camp near Damascus and then sent them, with arms and money, into Iraq and Palestine.

It has been easy to stir up trouble in Palestine, where before the war many Arabs, under the leadership of the Mufti Husseini, were hostile to the Jews and fighting was constant. For the past year the Mufti has been in Bagdad, where he spends much of his time at the Italian legation, and where only a few days ago he had a meeting with the mysterious von Oppenheim. Arms are being constantly smuggled into Palestine to arm the Arab mountain tribes, and with the British occupied in Iraq civil war may break out at any time. Since the Jews and the loyal Arab population are completely disarmed the result is bound to be a massacre.

In Transjordan the ruler, Emir Abdullah, remains loyal to his old allies and has helped organize an Arab legion to fight under General Wavell. His second son, obviously under the influence of the Nazis, who have promised him the throne of a "Greater Palestine," tried not long ago to murder him.

Ibn Saud, King of Hedjaz and Nejd in southern Arabia, enjoys great prestige among Moslem peoples because he is the ruler of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina. An active and clever politician, Ibn Saud signed treaties of "good neighborliness" with the nearby Arab nations a few years ago. Since the Abyssinian war the Italians have been busy throughout the Arabian Penin-

sula helping native tribes to arm. They have poured considerable sums of money into Yemen, but so far not one of the Arab countries near the Red Sea has done anything to help the Axis. That situation may change at any time, however, for the spectacular advance of the Germans in the Balkans has greatly enhanced their prestige.

Egypt, unlike Turkey and Iran, has always been a very conservative, orthodox Moslem kingdom. The university of Al Azhar, which was in existence centuries before any of the European universities were founded, is the center of the Islamic world, and its head, the Sheik Mustapha-el-Maraghi, an extremely wise man, is spiritual leader of Islam. When I was in the diplomatic service in Cairo, I twice had the honor of a long conversation with him. He was clearly opposed to any dictatorship and to any form of racial distinction. "Islam preaches the brotherhood of all human creatures," he told me. Sheik Mustapha-el-Maraghi answered with great dignity Mussolini's boasting speech at Tripoli in which he claimed to be the "Sword of Islam." The Grand Sheik replied that only a Moslem could take that title and then only if he were ruler of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

Another of the old sheiks, Hedji Suleiman, who has a world-wide reputation for knowledge and wisdom, said to me when I went to see him at Al Azhar, " 'The Faithful are brethren,' says the Koran, 'therefore make peace between your brethren and fear God.' " He emphasized the fact that the unity of mankind was an essential part of Mohammed's doctrine. "Our faith is opposed to any racial hatred. No other civilization has been so equalitarian as the Moslem. We have never made any distinction between whites, Africans, or Asiatics." "We never forget," he added, "that Mohammed often said, 'The Arab does not excel the non-Arab unless he is the more pious of the two.' "

The members of the Egyptian government are all loyal to the terms of the treaty of alliance signed with Britain in 1936, in which their country was declared completely independent. Members of the various political organizations have often assured the British, "Your war is our war." So far this has meant nothing in the way of military aid on the battlefield; no Egyptian soldier has fought in this war despite the physical invasion of the country. The Egyptians are pathetically ill equipped to fight and fear the bombing of Cairo and other cities should they formally enter the war. They have severed diplomatic relations with the Axis, however, and are giving the British every aid short of actual participation.

As to the Moslems of India, they are today more loyal to Great Britain than ever before. They form the largest Moslem community in the world, though with their 80,000,000 they are in a minority beside the 270,000,000 Hindus with whom they live. England has always protected them in India and has often clashed with the

Hindus over their rights. Their loyalty will prove extremely important in future political developments in Afghanistan and Iran. I met in Cairo Prince Ali Khan, son of the Agha, supreme ruler of the Ishmaelite sect. He had enlisted in the French Foreign Legion and had been garrisoned in Syria. After the French armistice he crossed into Palestine and placed himself at the disposal of the British. He has since proved very able at organiz-

ing and training Indian troops and I believe is to head an army that he has just recruited in his country.

Nazi and Fascist agents will always find groups of malcontents, jealous local sheiks, or ambitious tribal chieftains whom they can win over to their side through bribes or force of arms, but in the main the world-wide Moslem communities will remain loyal to the cause of the democracies.

Luxury or Liberty?

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

WE ARE about to shift our defense program into high gear. During the first six or eight months after the collapse of France we operated in low. In the past few months we have been in intermediate—gradually gaining speed but still not ready for the all-out effort the President promised. The delays have been inevitable. A year ago the United States did not have, in any sense of the word, an armament industry. Factories had to be built or reconditioned, tools made, raw materials obtained, and the errors and breakdowns that go with any new enterprise overcome. Now that the construction has been completed in large part and production has started, we are faced with the real test of what we can achieve. For it is plain that if Britain is to be saved, and our own defense assured, we must reach productive heights during these next few months undreamed of a year ago.

During the first year of the defense program it has been widely assumed that the United States, unlike Germany, could have both guns and butter; that no essential sacrifice would be required. All we had to do, some argued, was to put our nine or ten million unemployed to work in the armament industries. We would then have the greatest armament industry in the world without any interference with the production of goods for everyday living. They completely disregarded the fact that the unemployed were mostly unskilled, and that we lacked tools and equipment for the defense industries. As a matter of fact, we did expand our production of consumers' goods during the period in which our armament program was in low gear. Our clothing and shoe industries operated at well above their 1939 levels. Meat consumption rose sharply, despite higher prices. The production of automobiles in the last quarter of 1940 was more than 30 per cent higher than in the last quarter of 1939. This situation continued into the early months of 1941. Consumer purchases of luxury articles increased even more rapidly than production. Instead of making a sacrifice for national defense, the American people as a

whole were profiting from it. In that sense they deserved the Nazi gibe of being war profiteers.

Even in money terms America's contribution to national defense and aid to Britain has so far been insignificant in comparison with the contributions made by the British or with those wrung from the German people for war purposes. In the fiscal year just ending we spent approximately \$6 billion for defense. In the coming year the amount may reach \$20 billion. Even this last figure is less than one-fourth of our national income. In contrast, England is spending £4 billion a year, or 60 per cent of its total income. Canada also is devoting considerably more than half its national income to defense. Germany is spending at the rate of 72 billion marks a year, or nearly two-thirds of its national income. And this is not half the story. In any discussion of relative sacrifices it must be remembered that the German economy has been on a war basis since 1933. This has given the Reich a tremendous head start. If the democracies are to win, they must not only match present German armament production—including that of the occupied countries—but they must make up the lead that Germany gained while they slept. In the long run American plus British capacity will greatly surpass anything that Germany can hope to achieve, even through the exploitation of the New Europe. However, it is not capacity but present production which counts. The war will in all probability be won or lost by production in the next six or eight months.

URGENCY AND LIVING STANDARDS

If we had eight years to build up our armaments, as Germany has had, there would be no reason why we should not have both guns and butter. A national income of \$100 billion is well within our reach. With a quarter of this devoted to defense, we could have the greatest war industry in the world. And the \$75 billion which remained would give us, at present prices, a standard of living appreciably higher than has yet been at-

tained in this country. But we do not have eight years; it is more a matter of eight months. Barring inflation, the national income this year will be in the neighborhood of \$85 billion. If we are to get \$13 billion worth of defense materials, plus \$7 billion worth for Britain—and these are minimum figures—it is evident that we shall have to cut deeply into that section of our income which now goes to provide consumer wants. In other words, we shall have to curtail our standard of living. The cut, on the basis of the foregoing estimates, would be some \$5½ billion, or about 8 per cent. It may turn out to be much greater. It ought to be greater during these next six or eight crucial months. If our aid to Britain and the empire is to offset German arms superiority, it should average approximately \$1 billion a month. It has yet to reach a third of that amount.

Any suggestion that the American people must cut their standard of living provokes a violent reaction in certain circles. By many it is regarded as a betrayal of liberalism. Some even see it as a threat to democracy, arguing that since democracy depends upon voluntary cooperation rather than compulsion, we must demonstrate its superiority by providing both guns and butter. Those who argue in this manner ignore the time element. They either deny or disregard the plain mathematical facts outlined in the preceding paragraph. Yet, to a certain extent, we must admit the truth of what they say. It is clearly against the interest of national defense, to say nothing of the more general objectives of democracy, to impose sacrifices which will undermine the health and efficiency of the American people. The third of the nation which the President has described as ill fed, ill clothed, and ill housed cannot be further deprived of essentials without the basic strength of the country being undermined. Already steps have been taken to improve the diet and housing conditions of these groups in the interest of defense. Further steps will doubtless have to be taken; and this may require some increase in the production of essential articles for consumption.

But there are many ways in which the "American standard of living" can be cut without sacrifice of essentials. It is not only the poor who have benefited from the war-time expansion of business. The well-to-do have gained as much or more. Net corporation profits, after deduction of taxes, were 27 per cent higher in 1940 than in 1939. They have continued to rise in 1941. Although complete statistics are not available, it would seem fair to say, on the basis of such figures as automobile sales, that there has been a relatively larger gain in expenditures for luxury goods than for necessities. It is somewhat startling to find that well over 15 per cent of our total manufacturing production last year consisted of what is known technically as consumers' durable goods. These include automobiles, electric refrigerators, furniture, heating equipment, musical instruments, radios, and

jewelry. To cut down the production of such goods for a year or two could hardly cause hardship. For we have enormous stocks on hand. There are some 27,000,000 passenger automobiles on the roads today. Half of these are less than five years old, and nearly three-fourths are new enough to possess a substantial amount of unused mileage. The stock of durable goods in the hands of consumers exceeds \$30 billion in value. With this reserve to go on we should be able to divert as much as \$4 billion worth of durable-goods production to national defense annually. To strengthen further the case for such action, it happens that the consumers' durable goods industries are among our most efficient. They possess a disproportionate amount of the country's skilled labor and effectively harnessed horse-power.

FOUR WAYS TO CUT DOWN BUYING

Mere realization that consumer sacrifices are necessary is not, however, enough. Much depends on the way in which they are effected. The four methods most commonly used for limiting consumer purchases in time of emergency are (1) high prices, (2) direct control of production, (3) priorities, and (4) rationing. The first, which is also the one most frequently employed—allowing prices to rise and thus curtail consumption—is the least satisfactory. Although there can be no doubt of its effectiveness, the goal is achieved almost entirely at the expense of the low-income groups. The well-to-do pay the increased prices, grudgingly perhaps, and pare their savings accordingly. This runs counter to the government's plan for financing defense by tapping the savings of individuals. A more serious objection is found in the fact that increased prices under present conditions are bound to lead to inflation. A rise in the cost of living is certain to be followed by demands for higher wages, and any substantial rise in wages would make further price advances inevitable. Thus the cycle of inflation is started.

A much more reasonable method of attacking the problem is for the government to restrict or prohibit the output of the things that compete with defense production. It should take such action regardless of whether the competition is in machine tools, necessary raw materials, or skilled labor. The most obvious example of such competition is that offered by automobiles. Here our record is disgraceful. Whereas Germany stopped the production of private cars in the first week of the war, American automobile production for the week ending May 11, it has just been announced, was 132,000 cars, the highest for any week since 1937. We have been told that production of 1942 models will be cut 10 per cent and possibly 20 per cent. But why should it not be cut 100 per cent?

So far we have been able to conserve crucial commodities for defense uses merely by applying a system of priorities. But although priorities should be rigorously applied to cut down, say, the use of aluminum in con-

sumer goods, they are ill adapted to bring about a general reduction of consumption. They may lead to sudden and marked price increases in the restricted articles; and they cannot bring a general reduction in consumption. They merely divert purchasing power from the restricted articles to others which are perhaps less crucial to the defense effort. If people cannot buy aluminum pans, they will buy some other kind. Enamel ware is, as a rule, cheaper than aluminum, but most people will spend the difference on something else—thus maintaining the total drain on the country's productive resources.

In an effort to avoid undue hardship while effecting a general reduction in consumption, the European belligerents have employed an elaborate system of rationing and price-fixing. Although it is perhaps the most satisfactory of the methods commonly used to restrict consumption, rationing also has its limitations. It has the advantage of being fair, but it is by far the most cumbersome and costly means of limiting consumption; and, like priorities, it fails to strike at the root of the evil. For if the amount of money that people can spend for many essential articles is restricted, they will tend to spend the amount they have thus saved for other things, chiefly luxuries and non-essentials—which is precisely what we should seek to prevent.

THE DIRECT ATTACK

The best way to avoid this is to attack purchasing power directly. This may be done by a combination of three methods: namely, taxation, compulsory savings, and restrictions on consumer credit. It must be noted, however, that curtailment of purchasing power would supplement, not replace, direct cuts in production.

Of the three methods, taxation is undoubtedly the most important. Taxation not only curtails consumer buying power but diverts to the government money that would normally be spent for everyday living, permitting the government to use it directly for defense. This is exactly what we should seek to do. The effectiveness of this method depends, however, on the *kind* of taxes which are imposed. Taxes which fall primarily on the low-income groups are undesirable because they tend to curtail expenditures for food, health, and other essentials while leaving the demand for luxury articles, which are bought chiefly by the well-to-do, virtually untouched. Progressive taxes, on the other hand, such as income, inheritance, and excess-profits taxes, which fall chiefly on the higher-income groups, tend to cut into savings and to restrict expenditures for luxuries. In theory the necessary curtailment in the consumption of durable goods and non-essentials could be accomplished solely through an increase in progressive taxes. But if we are at all realistic, we must recognize that there are definite limits to the tax increase that any Congress will vote. And that limit at the moment is far short of the English tax rate.

Compulsory saving provides a supplementary method of tapping excess purchasing power. This rather unique device was strongly urged upon England at the start of the war by John Maynard Keynes, Britain's most celebrated economist. Keynes early saw that the volume of consumer goods would have to be cut, and urged that the government reduce the amount of money in people's pockets to correspond by deferring a part of the wages and salaries of all persons with incomes above a specified level. By this means he sought to avoid the undesirable social consequences of financing the war by conventional loans. The Keynes plan, in modified form, has been adopted in England. It might well be tried here.

The third approach to the problem is peculiarly adapted to America. It happens that a very large proportion of our consumer purchases, particularly of durable goods, are made on credit. The total volume of consumer credit in the United States is probably well over \$9 billion and may have risen as high as \$10 billion. Automobile financing alone accounts for more than two billion, excluding the cars bought on loans obtained from commercial or personal finance companies and credit unions. Loans to encourage the purchase of household equipment account for another billion or billion and a half. Advances by regulated small loan companies and industrial banks, and the personal loans of commercial banks total considerably more than \$1 billion—of which a large part is used to finance retail purchases. Since the total production of consumers' durable goods is less than \$6 billion a year, it is safe to say that more than half of these goods are sold on time. It seems therefore that restrictions on consumer credit would go a long way toward achieving the cut in consumer expenditures that is necessary to match cuts in production. And the reduction would take place precisely in the area where it is most desirable.

NO MORE INSTALMENT SELLING

Complete elimination of instalment selling would seem justified under the circumstances. We might start, however, by outlawing it in certain fields, such as in the sale of new automobiles. In addition, a very considerable reduction in the amount of consumer credit could be effected if banks were compelled to curtail their advances to the various consumer-credit agencies. Most of these agencies are dependent on the commercial banks for a considerable proportion of their funds. Possibly as much as one-third of all our consumer credit rests on short-term bank loans. Since the banks are already subject to strict control by the Federal Reserve System, restrictions on this type of loan would be relatively easy to apply and enforce.

To be fully effective the restrictions on the banks should be supplemented by direct limitations on instalment credit. It would be desirable, for example, to stiffen the requirements for down payments. Or the length of

time allowed for payment might be cut. If a down payment of 50 per cent were required for all instalment purchases and the length of the repayment period were cut in half, it is probable that a 50 per cent reduction in instalment sales could be effected. In automobiles alone this would mean a reduction of \$1 billion a year in sales. The total curtailment in the demand for durable goods would probably be nearly twice this amount.

A similar tightening-up process might be applied to charge accounts and cash loans. Department stores could be instructed to insist on all charge accounts being paid within thirty days. Since most accounts run considerably longer at present, such a provision would bring about a substantial contraction in the volume of time sales. Restrictions on cash loans present somewhat greater difficulties. In some instances they might cause real hardship. But inasmuch as personal loans are often used as a substitute for instalment financing, some kind of parallel limitation is clearly necessary. Shortening the period of repayment would perhaps be the least objectionable means of achieving this purpose. An increase in interest rates would hardly lead to any appreciable reduction in the number of loans, and would place an undesirable burden on many needy families.

The only objection to restrictions on consumer credit is that their effectiveness may be temporary. Given time, many families could save up enough money to pay cash for a new car or a new refrigerator. And since they would save interest and instalment charges, they would have more money than ever to spend. But it would not always work out this way. Experience has shown that most families simply do not save for large expenditures unless they are compelled to by some such device as instalment selling. Barred from instalment purchases by rigorous down-payment requirements, such families would probably spend more for food, clothing, health, and other day-to-day necessities. This, of course, would work in the interest of national defense. In general, the families which are able to pay cash for large purchases are to be found in the high and upper-middle income groups. Left to their own devices, they would undoubtedly spend a substantial part of their income for automobiles and other types of durable goods. Spending of this type could be discouraged by imposition of a heavy tax—possibly as much as 100 per cent—on such articles, coupled with direct curtailment of the production of durable goods.

Adequate defense cannot be secured if our desire for comfort must be pandered to. Even less can we furnish the aid which Britain and China so desperately need and which we must give them for the sake of our own future. Unless we deprive ourselves voluntarily of needless luxuries at this time, we may find ourselves compelled to make vastly greater sacrifices later on—sacrifices comparable to those imposed on the populations of the Axis countries.

In the Wind

LIKE THE NEWSPAPER GUILD of New York, the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America (C. I. O.) placed on trial a union member who criticized the leadership. The offense was a statement published in the opposition paper saying that the union had opposed conscription both before and after the law was passed. The trial is over, and the decision, which will soon be handed down, may result in expulsion.

LOUIS MACNEICE, the London correspondent of *Common Sense*, was recently criticized by a reader of that magazine for dwelling in a poet's ivory tower. Just as the reader's complaint arrived, the editors received a letter from MacNeice saying that he was spending much of his time in the tower of St. Paul's Cathedral observing the air raids.

BANKNOTES for one and two kroner recently introduced in Norway are popularly known as "uslings"—the Norwegian word for scoundrel—and "quislings." If any one asks the explanation of these nicknames, the reply is that obviously it takes two "uslings" to make a "quisling."

CLASS ANGLE: Searching for an explanation of the Hess affair, the *Daily Worker* played up in its headings only Duff Cooper's statement that Hess was "not unwelcome." An editorial said: "Hess is being whitewashed. Embraces greet him. . . . There is no essential difference between the ruling cliques of Berlin, London, and Wall Street."

TOLEDO, OHIO, has in recent months been the center of an anti-Negro campaign. A Negro applicant for a teaching license was officially forbidden to take the examinations on the ground that a Negro could under no circumstances get a teaching appointment. The Toledo school board has proposed the erection of a Jim Crow high school. A committee of the National Association for the Protection of Colored People sent out a questionnaire to thirty-one employers asking whether they would employ skilled Negro help in defense production. Only one replied, and he said no.

AN AMERICAN SCHOLAR visited Benedetto Croce in Naples while the philosopher was working on the proofs of his last book, "History as the Story of Liberty." The American talked with Croce about the state of affairs in Europe and the evil days upon which scholarship and philosophy have fallen. Then he remarked consolingly that life in Italy was at least a bit less harsh and violent than in Germany. "Yes," Croce said. "It is a bit better. In Germany they had illusions and lost them. Here we had no illusions."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Laughter from Simon Legree

IT IS easy to see the progress of the Negro in Dr. Robert C. Weaver, who has the responsibility under Sidney Hillman of getting jobs for Negroes in defense. He sits well dressed in an office in the huge new building which holds the expanding forces of both Federal Security and OPM. In the room next door efficient-looking Negro secretaries put in long-distance calls for him to Chicago, Connecticut, the West Coast, to which his people by the hundreds of thousands have gone, and the Black Belt, where by the million they remain. He is well educated, energetic, intelligent. He could have been a college president.

As much as almost anybody I know, Dr. Weaver looks like security in America. Only his job is a symbol of the insecurity of his people. Defense has made dramatic the fact that in important particulars the Negro in the United States is worse off now than he almost ever was before—and I'm not forgetting Simon Legree in the old days.

Maybe Booker T. Washington seems now to some members of his race an "Uncle Tom" Negro or, in the more colorful Negro phrase for the same thing, "a handkerchief head." But he said a long time ago something important today—that the only way a white man could keep a Negro in a ditch was to stay there with him. When people talk today about using the whole manpower of America, the ditch seems even deeper than it used to be. And more of us than ever before seem to be in it.

Now it sometimes seems at least as deep as the hole which WPA makes in the Treasury, a hole that begins to look bigger and bigger as money is needed for defense. No people are more dependent upon WPA than the Negroes. Congressmen hoping to cut its appropriation heard testimony in Washington recently about the continuing necessity for it in both the black slums of great cities and the black belts of the old South unless Negroes can break the economic color line and get jobs. And that was approximately the point at which Dr. Weaver went into his job to try to help them to do it. How hard a job that may be is indicated by the situation in which the 13,000,000 Negroes in America find themselves. A Southern white student of the subject staked it off last month.

"Eighty per cent of all Negro farm operators are tenants," Dr. Guy B. Johnson said at Chapel Hill, "and the ratio of farm ownership is actually lower today than it was thirty years ago. Social customs, race prejudice, and even labor unions have operated to keep the Negro out of the skilled trades and white-collar jobs and even to displace Negroes from some of their traditional occupations, such as janitor work and hotel work."

He might have gone farther. Almost any job which pays decent wages is under white pressure and white threat. Wage-and-hour laws have meant white workers instead of Negroes, or have brought the quick introduction of such machines as the "Big Mama" in peanut processing, which will do the work for which four black human mammas drew little wages before. Not even tenancy is certain on the land. The migration to the towns which has crowded 100,000 Negroes into each of a dozen American cities was as often a movement of the pushed as of the hopeful. The best hope at the end of the push, North and South, has been the WPA. The cost of WPA is in part the price democracy pays for the luxury of its prejudice.

In the field of labor the prejudice is relatively new. That makes Dr. Weaver almost more significant as an ironical symbol than as an idealistic actor. As an agent of defense in crisis in 1941, he is discovering that finding places for skilled Negroes in defense industries is not easy even in the states where the Abolitionist societies were thickest in the past and where the need of skilled workers is greatest at present. But Dr. Weaver's great-grandfather was a slave and, even more important, a carpenter. Long ago in the slave South he found the time and the skilled jobs, outside the slave labor required of him, in which to make enough money to buy his freedom.

In 1941 it is not easy for the free to find skilled jobs. It is not easy even for the skilled slave's great-grandson, a Ph.D. backed by the power and prestige of the OPM, to help them find places where they can work for the arming of democracy. Democracy has made a lot of progress, but it seems to me either funny or sad—probably both—that the very necessity for Dr. Weaver's work makes it appear that in the matter of skills in defense freedom has got to move to catch up with slavery.

I don't at all like the way Simon Legree might laugh at that.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE HISPANO-AMERICAN'S WORLD*

BY WALDO FRANK

DIVERGENCES

MALAISE clouds the good-will with which our country turns to the peoples south. We have the intuition that we should be close, not for mere reasons of defense and commerce, but because we are close; and yet that we lack the key for understanding. America Hispana is a world enormously farther from us in culture than Europe; at the same time it is a world deeply and dynamically closer to us than Europe. This is a paradox—a truth, that is, hidden under divergent symptoms. And the best way to get at it is to know the differences: which means, first of all, to cut beneath the rhetoric and sentimentalism, vague or vicious, that are supposed to "unite," but merely dupe, us.

Ethnic: Our dominant stock, of course, is European; our minor elements were Europeanized before they came here (like the Jews), or are held in strict subjection (like the Negroes), or are long since nullified (like the Indians). The ethnic scheme south is infinitely more complex, not only because of the many strains which have been kept culturally alive, but because these strains have created new ones with new psychological traits. In Mexico, Central America, except Costa Rica, and the Andean countries, the mestizos and Indians are dominant. Along the Pacific coast down to Chile, mixtures of Negro with Indian (*zambo*) and of Negro with mestizo (*cholo*) have significantly shared in history and culture. And in Brazil a new Afro-Creole race that is neither Negro nor Portuguese shapes the life and, although it has not yet wrested political power from the "Aryan" minority centered in six southern states, *must rule the destiny*—if it is to be more than colonial—of the vast nation. None of the important countries is predominantly Western European except Chile and Argentina; and even here there are significant suffused non-European forces. The Chilean temperament, for instance, reveals traits of the Auracana Indians—as distinct from the Indians of Argentina as the Andes from the pampa; the Negro strain in Buenos Aires, entirely assimilated because never suppressed, continues to nourish and form the people in that profoundest of folk-dances and folk-complines, the tango. (I am not referring to the corrupt concoctions of our radio and night clubs.)

Cultural: Our country's culture stems from the late stages of the English Protestant Reformation and its bastard children—empirical rationalism and the Industrial Revolution. It has, therefore, in the main, the traits of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and is indigenous to our dominant race. The culture of America Hispana, in so far as it is European, derives from the Catholic Renaissance of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hispana (the term includes Portugal); in energy and values it is a direct transplantation of Queen Isabel's crusade against the Moors. It is therefore much older and enormously different. But its European parts were at once complicated by the deep Indian cultures closer to Asia than to Europe—Aztec, Toltec, Maya, Chibcha, Quechua, Aymara—which the Conquistadores encountered from Mexico to north Chile and Argentina. Even this is too simple. The effect of Protestantism, which soon made alliance with empirical rationalism, was to suppress ethnic intuitions and personal emotions that did not conform with the march of the pioneer. The Hispanic Renaissance, although it conquered, at the same time preserved and transfigured.

Strictly speaking, there are no true survivals of Indian cultures, even in the remotest Andes; there are *transformed* beginnings of a culture with Indian and Catholic roots. Neither Spain nor pre-Conquest America exists in America Hispana. This holds with the Negro elements. The blacks, for instance, who fought in the wars of independence against Spain were already American; the "African" note in arts as distinct as the intellectual prose of Cuba, the folk-music of Brazil, the courtly verse of Peru, is not to be found in Africa. A unique virtue of Hispanic imperialism, setting it high above that of Britain, was that its ruthless "charity of the sword" kept alive, in new forms, the intuitions and spiritual tongues of the conquered and exploited peoples.

Geographical: There were other complications. Our Thirteen Colonies were a comparatively flat and friendly expanse of temperate forest and low mountain. The men who settled there, and on the way had to fight Indians of low resistance, took two and a half centuries to reach the Pacific. The Spaniards—they were ahead of the Portuguese in sailing from the Andes down the Amazon—in fifty years flung their passionate search from Chile to California. And they were opposed not only by stubborn

* This is the fourth and last of a series of essays on A New World Literature. The other three were contributed by eminent writers of America South.

native cultures that submitted and never surrendered but by some of the vastest mountains, jungles, and deserts in the world. Still another barrier opposed them: the stern purpose of the mother country to prevent colonial intercommunication. Each colony was dependent on the metropolis and otherwise self-sufficient. And within each frontier were these huge accumulations of conflict—ethnic, cultural, economic, enhanced by natural divisions.

Psychological: As the new generations were born, *all these conflicts came to be stratified within every individual.* This is a point difficult, yet absolutely essential, for us to grasp. A citizen of Mexico, Brazil, Peru, may be of "pure" Hispanic descent or "pure" Indian; he may be entirely of West European stock (Italo-Hispanic-German). He has nevertheless within him the whole complexity of his country and his continent. Past differences of race, religion, culture, have become actively present traits in a new human nature.

Political: By 1776, within our comparatively simple, expanding world, the people were divided into three great sections: the North with its free-labor farms and free-artisan towns; the slave-planter South; and the frontier. It took less than three generations to fuse them in the final act of civil war. Cultural homogeneity had already long been more than potential. Our entire people, able to read the same papers and listen to the same speeches, going to churches whose variety canceled them into impotence against the prevailing economic trend, was ready for political democracy. And with the directly inherited political genius and empirical philosophy of Britain, they got it. The revolutions from Mexico to La Plata were bewilderingly different, and far less simple. True democracy is a goal inherent in the aims of a literate, economically integrated, culturally harmonious people. We were not ready for it in 1776, nor have we achieved it now—nor ever will achieve it until we outlive *both* our economic system and our shallow vision of life. But the main elements were there, and had been prepared by two centuries of simple growth. The trend was in us. Britain was preventing a homogeneous people from going ahead. Our revolution freed us so the trend toward integration could proceed. The revolutions south freed the people into chaos. Spain, with her iron laws that forbade trade except from each colony to her, with her controlled church that fought the contact of the native clergy with the people, with her clumsy military rule, was holding the peoples from what had to be their first stage of growth: acceptance of the turmoil and conflicts within them. Worlds are born from chaos. And this was literally a new world in the making. America Hispana had to be free of Spain and Portugal in order to enter into the creativity of chaos.

And now another tragic paradox. The Hispanic colonies, boiling over with unsolved problems of religious, economic, and social life, had to take on some political

form. None of their own was ready. They accepted the political design imposed on them by their soldiers, who, unlike ours, were political romanticists and idealists schooled largely by *our* statesmen. Our republic from the start was an organic form in which we proceeded to grow up. Their republic, at best, was a defensive armor against reaction—a theoretic form in which the people could at least begin to work out their chaos.

THE CENTURY OF THE MESTIZO

This is the key to the first century of the southern republics. We might call it the "century of chaos," if the thousand proofs were clear to us that this is a chaos pregnant of a great world. I prefer "the century of the mestizo," because the mestizo, born of the marriage of Spain and Amerindia, is the incarnate symbol of this creative chaos. Not everyone has liked this term; and when I first used it in my book "America Hispana" many a critic from Mexico to Argentina objected. Of course, there are whole nations, among the most important, with little mestizo trace; and there are other mixtures. But in the dynamic character of the marriage of the European with the Indian girl—a union part lust, part tenderness, part devil, and part Christ—I see the perfect symbol for the inward complexity of all Hispano-Americans, and of their first century of independence.

The reader must not suppose that this chaotic gestation period—a very brief one, in view of the immensely complex elements involved—had no cultural fruits, no moments of political peace. There were significant arts in the republics; fascinating projections of the high genius of colonial and pre-colonial days. And lands as remote as Mexico and Argentina produced successful statesmen. But the expression was of primitive parts of the whole, as the folk music and dance, or of simplifications of the chaos, as the work of a Juárez in Mexico, of a Sarmiento in Argentina. Neither in its political nor in its cultural life was America Hispana ready before our generation to come to grips with its whole self as an organic, potentially integral culture.

The world of the Hispano-American writers is still largely this "century of the mestizo." Nevertheless, their *essential* conditions for work are better than ours. For these reasons among others: *a.* The Catholic culture creates an atmosphere of respect for literature and art that was already waning in Britain at the time of Swift. *b.* It impregnates the people with that tragic sense of life, inherent in all great art (including comedy), which our sleazy eighteenth- and nineteenth-century optimism rubbed out; and with a receptivity to general ideas conspicuous for its absence in our historians, our critics, our anti-philosophical philosophers. *c.* Most important of all, it prepares the mind to conceive life as organic and whole. *d.* This Catholic attitude survives the Catholic faith (not many of the best writers of America Hispana have been

church members; most, even in the nineteenth century, were radicals or socialists) and harmonizes with the intuitive values of the Indian and mestizo peasant, with the pantheism and aesthetic genius of the pre-Conquest cultures. From all this is derived a fact of paramount importance: the Hispano-American student can *speak* with the illiterate peasant. In the knowledge of the unity and of the tragedy of life, in the knowledge of the immediate conduits between the self, the soil, and the cosmos, peon and intellectual are close together. This knowledge, the source of all aesthetic work, prepares the Hispano-American writer for the overwhelming problems of his people, and tends to humanize and deepen his adaptation of economic and political creeds from Europe.

On the other hand, as both Sánchez and Mallea made clear in their essays, the *environmental* condition of the Hispano-American writer is far worse than ours. The peasant, although instinctively and spiritually close, cannot read him; the lack of communication which, until the airplane, made the shortest line between Mexico and Panama run through New York, often restricts his public to a few friends within his own frontiers.* Only Brazil and Argentina have thus far produced writers, not the best, who can live by their literary work. Every good Hispano-American writer is a journalist, a professor, a lawyer, a government clerk—unless fame gives him a consular or diplomatic position.

But, on the other side of the picture, every educated man in America Hispana tries to be a writer. The poetic ferment has been stupendous. I am no statistician, but I'll wager that more little sheaves of verse are published in a year in America Hispana than in England and the United States in a lustrum. Most of it, of course, appears in humble, privately printed volumes; but if little is important, surprisingly little is emotionally or technically dead. And from this ferment has issued the greatest poetry of the Western Hemisphere.

José Hernández in 1872 created "Martín Fierro," the rebellious epic of the gaucho against "respectable" Buenos Aires over which the schoolmaster genius, D. F. Sarmiento, author of "Facundo," was presiding. "Martín Fierro" is the best modern folk poem in the world; to find its equal one must go back to the dawns of English, Spanish, and German narrative verse. A generation later, Rubén Darío appeared in Nicaragua, possibly the one poet of indubitable first world rank that the Americas have produced.

Novels and tales are also often privately printed, and of late years have become a flood almost equaling the verse. So that it might be said that America Hispana has had more writers than readers. It has no novel equal in

depth and furious power to "Moby Dick"; no colossus of virtuosity like the later Henry James. But it has far more profoundly expressed the frontier. Our best in that field, I suppose, is "Huckleberry Finn." Compare it with "Don Segundo Sombra," by the Argentine Guiraldes. Here too is the tale of a boy, wandering, not down a symbolic river, but on horseback through the pampa. His companions, instead of being adults of equally infantile soul and mind, are gauchos of whom the leader is a noble, unsentimental man whose great dignity, without transcending the rough terms of frontier life, reveals the depth of the potential American culture.*

THE ORGANIC CENTURY

History, needing dates, may say that the "century of the mestizo" began to die about 1910. The Mexican Revolution under political leaders like Madero, Carranza, Obregón, and, greatest of all, Lázaro Cárdenas, under cultural leaders like Vasconcelos, Manuel Gamio, Reyes, Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros, Chávez, Revueltas, marks the beginning of an organic movement that has its counterpart in other nations—for instance, in Argentina, under President Hipólito Irigoyen. The reader will have noted the difference in the generations of poets described by Reyes and Mallea. For a Darío the abyss was too huge between the chaotic actuality and the ideal forced on his world by the romantic soldiers—of whom Bolívar was only the greatest among many. Hence literary power took a perpendicular and prophetic trajectory. With the generation of Pablo Neruda, the creative energy tends to suffuse and illumine the daily life of the people.

In the literary art most dependent on an immediate audience, the drama, America Hispana barely begins—in Buenos Aires, as was to be expected. In criticism the lack of communication between artist and readers has worked a havoc of false perspectives almost as bad as, with us, the atmosphere of ballyhoo and the refusal to face life in its depths, which are at once unitary, tragic, and divine. Nevertheless, men of creative critical power appeared in the "century of the mestizo"; and always they were men of action. In Argentina there were Alberdi, Sarmiento, the socialist Estebán Echeverría. Peru at the close of the nineteenth century produced the socialist poet Manuel González Prada. In Cuba, José Martí and Enrique José Varona; in Puerto Rico, Eugenio María de Hostos, inspired a whole generation of keen historical and cultural critics. Mexico gave, among others, José Vasconcelos, who, as Secretary of Education under Obregón, was midwife to a painters' renaissance, founded the still thriving rural schools, and wrote books whose passionate amalgam of Christian, Hindu, and socialist ideas made him a leader of youth in all America Hispana, until his political ambitions betrayed him. From Colombia came the essayist Baldomiro Sanín Cano, spreading, not only

* Until very recently most of the bookshops in all the great cities were owned by Spaniards of the sort who sided with Franco; who, encouraging the sale of books from Spain, refused their shelves to the works of even neighboring countries. Of the many forces that struggle against this poor intellectual circulation, one deserves to be singled out: *El Repertorio Americano*, the weekly journal published for years by Joaquín García Monge in San José de Costa Rica.

* An adequate translation of "Don Segundo Sombra" has been made by Farrar and Rinehart.

with his works but with his warm personal contacts as a diplomatic envoy, his noble continental vision. Finally Peru produced a man whom Mallea might have named, even if he did not live to carry out his promise. José Carlos Mariátegui (1895-1930) wrote in "Siete Ensayos de Interpretación de la Realidad Peruana" a treasure store and a model of revolutionary American criticism. His awareness of the primacy of religious, aesthetic, and psychological factors in the organic problem of social reconstruction teaches a lesson that our socialists and liberals have yet to learn.

THE COMMON GROUND

The three earlier articles in this series have shown that, despite barriers and divisions, a deep common spirit unites the writers of America Hispana and makes of their works a common ground. Identity of problems and of aims has preestablished harmony between them. Even in mood, they are brothers. They share the dilemma of the rifts between ancient religious and modern political-economic needs; they share confusion within ethnic contrasts and an unwieldy opulent world that is overborne and menaced, more than ever, by foreign lusts; they share the sense of destiny—to create a true new world—and bewilderment before the enormous forces, internal and external, they must master to create it.

This harmony of the Hispano-American writers reveals a basic harmony with ours. (I have meant, throughout, of course, by *writers* the creative men, the artists, the knowers, the seers; not the clowns, the "informers," the dealers in slick shoddy who crowd every modern literary market.) No wonder the writers of the South read Jefferson, Whitman, Emerson, Thoreau, as soon as ours. And we too, like them, have our voiceless masses struggling for a true new world, although the jungle that overwhelms us is the jungle of the machine, the jungle voice of radio-movie-journal. And our masses are even more remote from our writers than the illiterate Indians of the Andes are from the makers of their potential Word. So the circle closes: harmony between our writers and theirs; harmony between our publics, who can know themselves and each other chiefly through the writers. Here is the body of a true alliance.

The Hispano-American writer has his enemies chiefly at home (this must not be forgotten: foreign imperialisms can never succeed without domestic allies). They are the same categories there as here: the foes, aggressive or implicit, of creative experience and creative thinking; the exploiters, the money-men, the political lackeys, the professional and professorial parasites, the prostitute-artists. In America Hispana you will find them, as here, in the usual places of power—from government bureau to rich journal, from church to school. There as here they are the rule, with occasional illustrious exceptions.

Most of our efforts for "better inter-American rela-

tions," including plans for defense against Europe's fascist forces, have been negotiations between members of these suspect categories: between men and institutions who stand *between* and implicitly *against* the interests of the peoples. Hispano-American business men and politicians are just as little concerned for the happiness and health of their people as are our own business men and politicians. But men of these categories in the southern republics will go along with their North American brothers as long as the going is good. If Hitler loses, if the United States emerges as the dominant power in an Anglo-Saxon axis, they will come to us anyway; and we could have saved our money. If Hitler wins, or a fascist Europe, our money is wasted. Facts—facts of trade and price, in so far as they mean pesos in the pocket—are what count with these minorities; even as dollars, and the power of which the dollar is the symbol, are what count with the oligarchy that sits firm in the American saddle. And let us not fool ourselves: in so far as men of these categories in *both Americas* are concerned with ideology at all, their hearts belong to reaction, even though they fight Hitler: they distrust democracy, even though they quote Jefferson and Bolívar.

Our true allies in America Hispana are the people; and their true spokesmen are the writers. Our efforts to make alliance with them, to undertake nutritive exchange with them, have been criminally weak. In this urgent need America Hispana has been more advanced than we. Its writers have learned from our teachers, have been nourished by our poets. They have shown aptitude and capacity to digest our strengths, far beyond ours even to guess at their values. Perhaps this is only natural, since their life is rooted in deeper cultures; since, for all their divisions, they have been far less disintegrated by the machine—or rather by our shallow philosophies that let the machine be master—and have preserved far better the contact with self, with soil, and with the people that is life and the beginning of wisdom. But it is time we did something about it.

The Trinity of Materialism

DARWIN, MARX, WAGNER: CRITIQUE OF A HERITAGE. By Jacques Barzun. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.75.

MR. BARZUN has a lively, learned, and catalytic mind. This he uses, as he uses intellectual history, as an instrument for contemporary understanding and criticism. He is not simply a historian; he is obviously greatly concerned with the incidence of past ideas in present consequences. He is not a dazed admirer of grandiose nations—quite the contrary. He is never dazed by, and always skeptical of, the pompously systematic. He is patently interested in distinguishing the ancestry and lineaments of ideas from the cloud-cuckoo land of their popularizers and of their fanatic descendants. Many readers will recall Mr. Barzun's aseptic

inquiry into influential nonsense in his book on "Race," and his eloquent historical analysis of the intellectual requisites for liberty in his book "Of Human Freedom."

In this book on Darwin, Marx, and Wagner the author examines, with no less remarkable scope and detail than animation, three nineteenth-century figures. These three are, in his erudite and documented judgment, central as symptoms and as symbols, and decisive as influences in the patterns of both actions and ideas in our own day. Darwin, Marx, and Wagner are important, not because they were original or because any single work of theirs was a masterpiece. In Mr. Barzun's handling, all three men turn out to be strikingly derivative and suspiciously second-rate. Not one of the three is a "hero" of the author's. His reasons for spending such loving care upon figures for whom he loses no love are those of a critic and a historian. The point is that, implicitly or explicitly, each of these three men has been the "hero" of a cult, and has, directly or indirectly, shaped the pattern of much that passes for "scientific ideas" in the last three-quarters of a century. Mr. Barzun clearly thinks it is high time that the isms which these three men propagated—though they did not originate them—be reexamined.

It should be stressed at once, especially because at first sight Wagner seems to fall oddly into this trio, that Darwin, Marx, and Wagner are, for Professor Barzun, three facets of the same tendency, three variations on a common and dangerous nineteenth-century theme, the worst consequences of which are with us still. They are responsible, in considerable measure, for our heritage of confusions, fanaticisms, and despairs. It is a tribute to the author's cogent marshaling of unassailable materials that by the end of the book one wonders why no one earlier discerned with such revealing clarity the common atmosphere which these men breathed, the identical idols which, for all their differences, they worshiped.

The unity of which this trinity are the expressions is Science, with a capital S, and Science as System, as Necessity, as Truth, with the implication of a fatal necessity and an unmanageable progress. "Science" revealed to Marx the "laws" of history which determine the process out of which the classless society was to emerge.

Darwinism yielded its basic law, and its name, when viewed historically, was Progress. All events had physical origins; physical origins were discoverable by science; and the method of science alone could, by revealing the nature of things, make the mechanical sequences of the universe wholly benevolent to man.

Mr. Barzun's summary of the Wagnerian idea is an example of his brilliant condensation:

... the pattern is the same. Art has its evolution, which follows the development of races and nations, the progress of culture ultimately requiring the union of the arts in a popular synthesis of sociological import. The "Ring" accordingly celebrates in turn the superman-to-be, the fall of the old gods through the curse of gold, and the triumph of Germanism, in one long tale of blood, lust, and deceit. The individual meanwhile finds surcease from a harsh world in the music drama which was the goal of the Greeks, and, dimly, of a few moderns now surpassed.

In Darwin "history was a sieve that worked. Man was the residue." In Marx the sieve was history too; "the proletarian

Utopia was the residue." Similarly in Wagner, but here the residue was "the artwork of the future," Wagner's own grandiose term for his own work.

These conclusions—they occur in pages 351 to 355 of a four-hundred-page work—are the distinctive contribution of the book, an ordering not into a system but into a clear point of view of biography, history, methodological analysis, and aesthetic criticism. To these conclusions are added certain consequences. These three men invented slogans which are in our mouths, and their slogans had many sources and one character: that character was, in an age of materialism and machinery, the predominant faith in mechanical law and in a fatal burgeoning of history in terms of these mechanical laws.

Much of the book consists of highly entertaining and edged pictures of these three teachers and their doctrines, their personal histories and the sources of many of their alleged originalities in thought. These provocative sketches do not add, and are not intended to add, cubits to the stature of any of the three men. But the book, like "Of Human Freedom," is in a high sense a tract for the times. The conception of Progress in the fatal and external terms of "mechanical law" has led, as Professor Barzun sees it, to many grave distortions. It has distracted us from the really fruitful business of specific inquiry into the diversity of processes natural and human. It has clamped down on the minds of men reasons for despair that flow from the fatal necessities of science, allegedly discovered, but really self-imposed. It has generated dogmatisms of race and nationalism and waves of a future dialectically guaranteed. It has substituted system for inquiry in science, pseudo-science for flexible understanding in society, and elaborate contraptions and devices for genuine and organically living art. And we are paying for these things in brutality in world politics, enthroned obscurantism in science, and pastiche deceptions in art.

The elevation of scientific system, moreover, has blinded us to the insights provided by the great romantics, because we have been taught by alleged realists to ignore their awareness of the interior realities of feeling and of thought. One of the most interesting and original themes of this book is that of the close affinity between the celebration of all diversities of experience in the romantic poets, painters, and musicians, and the pragmatic emphasis on the many kinds of things current, and the many kinds of dealings with them necessary, in the world.

In the interest of making Mr. Barzun's theme briefly clear, I have been compelled to omit much: the happy and encyclopaedic range of illustration, the shrewd analysis of the Marxian theory of surplus value, the engaging malice of the epigrams, the obvious passion for human individuality and for human freedom, the contempt for fake "culture," and the fresh, non-idolatrous critiques of the three non-heroes. There are pictures, too, of the author's own heroes, too long, he thinks, obscured: Lamarck, Samuel Butler, and Berlioz, among others. Those who think these choices for admiration are reactionary or obscurantist show themselves particularly in need of this book. Those who have mouthed slogans as science, dialectic as discovery, and artifice as art need it even more.

IRWIN EDMAN

Moscow Purge

DARKNESS AT NOON. By Arthur Koestler. Translated by Daphne Hardy. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

"THE cell door slammed behind Rubashov." Thus bluntly, with the slam of a prison door, begins the grimly absorbing story of N. S. Rubashov, former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, former Commissar of the People, former division commander in the Revolutionary Army, presently to be purged for the greater glory of the U. S. S. R. because of his lack of enthusiasm for the policies of "No. 1." It closes no less bluntly: "A second, smashing blow hit him on the ear. Then all became quiet. There was the sea again with its sounds. A wave slowly lifted him up. It came from afar and traveled sedately on, ■ shrug of eternity."

Between this beginning and this ending lies a compelling narrative, told with an appearance of detachment that masks Mr. Koestler's acute sense of the irony of history as revealed in the notorious Moscow trials and the events that led up to them. Details from the lives of many of the Communist leaders who publicly confessed to egregious crimes against the state and went to their death are doubtless mingled in the career of Comrade Rubashov, who was guilty of no treason except the heinous crime of independent thought and of occasionally wishing that the state did not have to crush so ruthlessly every individual who did not jibe with its pattern. But the exquisite irony of his case, aside from his complete innocence of the charges brought against him, lies in the fact that his own logical, realistic mind has convinced him that all opposition elements, including himself, must be annihilated without regard to the sincerity or the degree of the opposition. His own fate, since the party naturally could never admit that it had made a mistake in arresting him, hinges on an almost academic question: Should he sign a "confession" of crimes he never committed and, by a show of abject repentance, bolster the faith and morale of the people, or should he indulge in the bourgeois whim of retaining his individual integrity and thus force the state to deal with him "administratively"—in other words, to have him shot secretly rather than executed by public decree?

Since the steps by which he resolves this quandary are the story, I shall not give away the answer here. But don't think that Rubashov's predicament is any the less agonizing for

being a Hobson's choice; even the shrewdness with which he reasons out his position in relation to the state and to "No. 1" does not disguise the fact that he is, after all, ■ human being who, all other things being equal, would rather live than die. By deft, dramatic touches the writer induces the whole proceedings with a stark, grotesque reality, leaving etched on the mind the feel and smell of the prison and sharply outlined portraits of various men with whom Rubashov comes in contact: the examining magistrate and his cold-blooded assistant, the jailer, several fellow-prisoners, one of whom Rubashov never sees but only communicates with by tapping out a code upon a steam pipe. The most amazing thing about the book, in fact, is the austere economy with which Mr. Koestler has compressed one of the most crucial dilemmas of totalitarian political philosophy into ■ compact, meaty novel of less than 270 pages, presenting at once ■ vividly conceived personal tragedy and an ideological conflict of the first magnitude.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

An Exposure of Big Business

BIG BUSINESS, EFFICIENCY, AND FASCISM. By Kemper Simpson. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

THIS little book is a "must" for persons interested in economic reorganization. It is a popularization and amplification of ■ study, "Relative Efficiency of Large, Medium-Sized, and Small Business," made by the Federal Trade Commission under Mr. Simpson's direction and issued by the Temporary National Economic Committee. The conclusions, supported by convincing statistical data covering both capital-goods and consumer-goods industries, are important. The "efficiency" argument used to justify big corporations has been highly exaggerated; it is not their efficiency, by and large, that gives them dominance but their financial strength, their power to suppress competition, their use of government influence. In terms of costs and of their willingness to use new processes and to expand, as well as in other respects, the most efficient enterprises in most American industries are often of medium or small size. A big corporation may get advantages over a smaller concern which is just as efficient by spending a lot of money on advertising. And the big corporations do not necessarily pay the highest wages. The highest wages in the automobile industry are paid by the smallest and least integrated of the big four—Chrysler; the lowest by the second largest and most integrated—Ford.

Mr. Simpson's introductory argument relates big business to fascism in three ways: big business prevents a solution of the economic crisis that gives fascism its chance to get power; it directly helps fascism by giving financial support to its struggle for power; and fascism uses the monopoly relations of big business to build the corporate state. All this is true, but Mr. Simpson has not observed that fascism destroys capitalism as it consolidates its power. Nor do I believe that his suggested solution, the restoration of competition within capitalism, is a feasible one. But the problem of size which his discussion illuminates is important from the angle of both efficiency and democracy. Any program of economic reorganization and planning must include measures to break up the larger units and strengthen the smaller—to make

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them more efficient and to bring them closer to democratic control. The problem, as we move toward a regulated economy, is so to arrange institutions that the largest amount of economic freedom flourishes within the framework of limited socialization and planning.

LEWIS COREY

Africa from the Skies

FOCUS ON AFRICA. By Richard Upjohn Light. Photographs by Mary Light. American Geographical Society. \$5.

THIS book is a record in words and pictures of an air journey from Cape Town to Cairo during which Dr. Light handled the controls and kept the log while his wife doubled as camera man and radio operator. But it is a good deal more than that, for these travelers observed Africa through wide-angled lenses with a scope beyond the merely scenic. They brought back magnificent pictures of the great mountain ranges of Central Africa, particularly of Kilimanjaro and the Ruwenzori range, the latter seldom photographed from the air because most of the year it is covered with heavy cloud. Their portfolio includes also some fine shots of big game. But most of the pictures illustrate the geography of the terrain covered and the social and economic problems of the peoples who inhabit it. So, too, Dr. Light in his text refers continually to water supply and soil erosion, to land settlement, native agriculture, health, and education. These questions all impinge on Africa's struggle to maintain a balance between an expanding population and a declining fertility. As Dr. Isaiah Bowman says in his short but thought-provoking foreword: "To put the matter in extreme form: if millions are saved from tribal war, malaria, and tsetse fly, only to be permitted to die of starvation, the controlling white has not improved the status of the population; he has only changed the categories of the vital statistics."

Dr. Light provides some interesting data on the tsetse-control work being carried on in Tanganyika. The methods employed include destruction of the bush which harbors the fly, but which also serves to anchor the soil. Removal of the fly brings the land into cultivation, for people crowd in from adjacent infested areas. Hence it is essential to carry on a simultaneous program of education in soil conservation.

Many devoted scientists and administrators, to some of whom we are introduced in these pages, are working on such African problems. But lack of men and money prohibits any long-range or inclusive program to reestablish on humanitarian lines a balance once crudely but effectively maintained by nature. Until far higher standards of education are introduced, the soil in most parts of Africa will not produce much more than subsistence for the native population. The exploitation of mineral wealth, on the other hand, does create a surplus for capital investment, though most of this now drains into the pockets of absentee owners. Britain has adopted the principle of trusteeship in relation to its African empire, and impartial witnesses, such as the Lights, offer evidence that this principle is not merely honored in the breach. But if it is to be fully implemented, Britain will have to recapture for the native population the continent's capital fund—its mineral resources.

KEITH HUTCHISON

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

MICHIGAN. American Guide Series. Oxford. \$3.

HONORABLE ENEMY. By Ernest Hauser. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$2.50.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI. Edited by Lieutenant-Colonel Edgar Erskine Hume. Johns Hopkins. \$4.50.

EDITH CAVELL. By Helen Judson. Macmillan. \$2.50.

THE MANYOSHU. One Thousand Poems Selected and Translated from the Japanese. University of Chicago. \$7.50.

AMERICAN RENAISSANCE. By F. O. Matthiessen. Oxford. \$5.

THE ARMED FORCES OF THE PACIFIC. By W. D. Puleston. Yale. \$2.75.

BELLE STARR: "THE BANDIT QUEEN." By Burton Rascoe. Random House. \$3.

DEMOCRACY'S BATTLE. By Francis Williams. Viking. \$2.75.

CONTRIBUTORS

WILLIAM SHIRER, Berlin correspondent of the Columbia Broadcasting System, will soon publish his "Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent, 1934-1941."

JOACHIM JOESTEN is an exiled German journalist.

RAOUL AGLION was formerly legal attaché in the French legation at Cairo. He has in preparation a book entitled "War in the Desert."

WALDO FRANK is the author of "America Hispana—a Portrait and a Prospect," of which a new, inexpensive edition has been recently brought out under the title "South of Us."

IRWIN EDMAN, professor of philosophy at Columbia University, is the author of "Philosopher's Holiday."

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Pan-Americana

Hollywood, May 14

AT A recent showing of the musical film "Argentine Nights" in Buenos Aires, the audience rioted in protest at Hollywood's representation of Argentinian customs, and further performances of the film were banned. The industry has responded to this and similar little hints by announcing the imminent release of another batch of musicals with a Latin American background, bearing such titles as "The Man from Brazil," "Carnival in Rio," and "Down Mexico Way." Apparently it is hoped that with increased research and more authentic touches of local color Hollywood's comic-opera conception of Latin Americans will win their appreciation. Meanwhile, John Hay Whitney, head of the Motion Picture Division of the Council of National Defense and expert on South American relations, is suggesting that certain films about unpleasant aspects of American life are most unsuitable for South American consumption. "The Grapes of Wrath," for instance, and "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington" he considers dangerous implements for Nazi agents and poor publicity for the United States. As a precautionary measure he suggests an "export control," operated either by the Hays office or the Whitney committee, to supervise the sale of productions to Latin America. Since South America is the only large foreign market now available to the industry, any kind of export control could be pretty effectively used for home as well as foreign censorship, and the idea seems thoroughly suspect.

RECENT FILMS

Joan Crawford has bravely taken the step which in Hollywood leads to heavy

dramatics for life and the Academy Award: she appears in "A Woman's Face" with her beauty considerably, though temporarily, marred. It was Bette Davis in "Marked Woman" who first discovered the full dramatic impact of a distorted visage, though compared to Miss Crawford, who plays through half the picture with only one good profile, she was positively half-hearted. The horrid scar which Miss Crawford carries is the result of a childhood burn, and had she not had a nasty fall in the operating theater of a brilliant plastic surgeon (Melvyn Douglas) whose wife she is attempting to blackmail, she would have remained scarred both mentally and physically for life. The remainder of this melodramatic tale concerns regeneration by kindness, and the struggle between Good (Melvyn Douglas) and Evil (Conrad Veidt) for possession of Miss Crawford's embittered soul. Miss Crawford appears to have a poor choice: Good is rather a bore, and Evil is suffering from the new cinematic form of megalomania, the Hitler complex, and confesses in the final sequences to an overwhelming desire to rule Sweden. The story is enlivened by a good deal of action and excitement, including attempted murder, a chase by sleigh, and sudden death. Miss Crawford certainly has no need of a facial disfigurement to prove herself a talented actress.

For those who find badinage amid falling bombs acceptable and in good taste, "One Night in Lisbon" should prove highly enjoyable; but they must be stubbornly xenophile as well, for the English as they are represented in this picture can be relied upon to alienate the most ardent affections. The title is really a little teasing, for the audience is not transported to Lisbon until the American aviator hero (Fred MacMur-

ray) has extracted every ounce of fun there is to be had out of a London air raid—quite a lengthy process. Madeleine Carroll plays a coy but classy English miss who meets the aviator in an air-raid shelter and proceeds to defy convention and war-time regulations with amazing impunity. With the encouragement and cooperation of the British government she flies to Lisbon for the night to see the aviator off on his journey home and captures some spies on the side. For the purposes of this story the English people are divided firmly into two classes—titled folk plus their friends, and Cockneys who react to condescension like cats to valerian. It is to be hoped that not many people accept this reading of the English character; otherwise the Lease-Lend Act will shortly be in the waste-paper basket.

"Affectionately Yours" exploits the humor of a custard-pie two-reeler in a supposedly sophisticated setting. Merle Oberon and Dennis Morgan fall about and get wet with as much grace as possible, but the screen play touches a new low in poor dialogue and dull situations.

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RECORDS

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This is the finest of Victor's May orchestral releases; but a good one (Set 769, \$2.50) is Vaughan Williams's beautiful Fantasia On a Theme By Thomas Tallis for string orchestra, well recorded by Boult with the B. B. C. Symphony (the first side of my review copy wavers badly in pitch). And on one side of a single disc (13597, \$1) is a good performance of Johann Strauss's waltz "Voices of Spring" by Szell and the Vienna Philharmonic, with the less enjoyable "Songs of the Danube" of Johann Strauss, Sr., played by the same orchestra under Alwin, on the reverse side.

The set (762, \$4.50) of Brahms's Third Symphony made by Kindler with his National Symphony offers a richly sonorous recording of an expansively rhetorical performance that for the most part gives the work good effect of the expansively rhetorical kind, with a few instances of the apparently inevitable vulgar excesses of expansive rhetoric. I still prefer the effect of Weingartner's unrhethorically straightforward treatment of the work, and its freedom from vulgar excess.

Victor also offers a fine recording of what appears to be an excellent performance by Böhm with the Saxon State Orchestra of Bruckner's Fifth Symphony (Sets 770 and 771, \$10). The point about this performance is that it gives us the work as Bruckner originally wrote it, without the changes and cuts by the Schalks and Loewe that were incorporated into the published score used in performances until now. And the point the Bruckner propagandists make is that a Bruckner symphony with these changes is like a Rembrandt with the additions of some well-meaning bungler; and that to go back to Bruckner's original is to remove the faults which have alienated listeners from the music and to reveal a beauty which they will now find irresistible. Years ago we were told the same thing about Mussorgsky's "Boris Godunov" without the alterations of Rimsky-Korsakov; and hearing a performance of the Mussorgsky original one did in fact hear at once—without having seen it on the printed page—what Rimsky

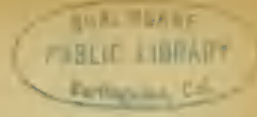
had changed in melodic contours, harmonic texture, and everything else that contributed to essential emotional quality. The Bruckner propagandists now contend that one has merely to hear a Bruckner original to be struck in the same way by the differences from the altered Bruckner; but listening to these records of the Symphony No. 5 I have, on the contrary, been struck by the absence of any apparent difference from the ways of thinking that I have previously found boring and—after an hour of persistent symphonic pretentiousness and impotence—unendurable. I am therefore inclined to believe the writer—I think it was Herbert T. Peyser—who contended that these changes which the Brucknerites were making such a to-do about were in many instances the corrections in scoring and texture which a conductor suggests and a composer agrees to at rehearsals of a new work in order to produce the effects in actual sound which the composer has miscalculated on paper. As for the cuts, even Tovey, who is generously sympathetic to Bruckner, says of a cut made reluctantly by Bruckner himself, presumably at the suggestion of a conductor, that it removes a redundant passage and leaves a perfectly balanced movement. And I would suspect that other cuts were also made to correct the miscalculations of a man whose principle of large-scale construction seems to have been to keep shoveling in chunks of material until the desired huge dimensions had been reached.

The remaining orchestral releases from Victor comprise one of Brahms's dullest products, the Serenade No. 2, competently performed by an Alumni orchestra of the National Orchestral Association under Richard Korn, and well recorded (Set 774, \$4); the collection of technical formulas and stylistic mannerisms that Debussy threw together into the incidental music for D'Annunzio's "Martyre de Saint-Sébastien," excellently recorded by the Paris Conservatory Orchestra under Coppola (Set 767, \$2.50); and on a single disc (17900, \$1) the lurid collection of sound-effects, including the inevitable gong dying out at the end, which Stokowski has made of Mussorgsky's "Night on Bald Mountain."

B. H. HAGGIN

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How to Invade Europe

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

IN THE end, it is clear, Hitler must be overthrown in Europe. He can never be defeated except on the Continent, and if he is able to make himself secure there he will effectively control the world. Most of us like to blink this fact, for it is an ugly one. We prefer to stress the fact that Hitler will not have won this war until he has conquered England; for that is also true. But it is true only because an unconquered England is an essential base of operations against the Continent—against the New Europe which is taking shape even under British bombs.

Europe must be invaded and the Axis defeated there. Only then will the war end. Until that happens, the most the anti-Axis forces of the world can do is to prevent a Nazi-Fascist victory; and that is not enough.

Winston Churchill has promised that with American aid Britain's magnificent resistance will finally be transformed into an offensive, that the war will be carried to the Continent, Hitler's control smashed, the captive nations freed, and the populations rescued from slavery to the Nazi machine. The United States has promised to provide in ever-expanding quantities the aid required to enable Churchill to fulfil his promise. As I write this article the President has yet to make his fireside talk; but it takes little prescience to know what he has decided to say. I am confident that when these words are read, the American people will have been called to uncompromising struggle against fascist terror. We have needed and awaited that call for many slow weeks; and we are ready to throw our whole national strength into the struggle because we know from the example of Europe that such half-hearted resistance as we have so far offered is even more dangerous than surrender.

So let us consider it settled. The debate over methods may go on, but the decision as to purpose has been made. We are out to defeat Hitler, and we are determined to do whatever that purpose requires.

What does it require? Just what must we do to help Britain carry the war to the European continent and

defeat Hitler on his own ground? That is the question our nation must answer and answer quickly. So far it has hardly been faced—either by Prime Minister Churchill or by President Roosevelt, and even less by the men of smaller wisdom and courage who make up the majority of their collaborators. It is a question whose full answer carries implications from which politicians run as from a time bomb.

Hitler can be defeated only by revolution. That is the simple fact. But it has a corollary, equally obvious: revolution will never even get under way unless the economic-military struggle is carried on with unrelenting vigor. So far the men in power—army and civilian leaders alike—have relied on the production and use of arms as almost their sole answer to the question. Today they can no longer afford to do so. However much they may dread it, they must somehow be forced to face the fact that revolution can only be fought with revolution. And the anxiety haunting all persons who accept the need of revolution as a weapon against Hitler is that we in this country don't know how to use it. Slowly, but on a major scale, we are becoming prepared for a war of bombers and ships and armed men. But where and how do we prepare for a war of democratic revolution? Every tradition of our services and of our State Department is rigidly set against the methods we must learn to use if that absolutely crucial war is not to be lost. And if it is lost, the whole war will be lost. Revolution is the prerequisite not only to a democratic victory but to victory itself. Can our leaders learn that in time?

Revolution today does not imply anything so simple as men with rifles crouching behind barricades in city streets. That technique, which our brass hats could easily master however they might scorn it, has no meaning today. The revolutionary struggle against fascism is a world civil war; and it is as much a political war as a military and economic one. To win that war calls for a revolution first in the official mind. Boundaries must be

forgotten, national political divisions ignored or used only as strategic fronts, people accepted as allies or enemies according to their allegiance to principles of action without regard to their national origin. In that war words must be used as weapons and social change as a *Panzer* division.

Let us look for a moment at France. Almost all the people of France are against Hitler. That is admitted to be true, but it is a fact the momentous importance of which has so far been practically ignored in the United States and Britain. Some modest uses have been made of it, to be sure. The organized supporters of de Gaulle put out propaganda against the Vichy collaborationists; the short-wave radio station in Boston and the BBC in London send messages of appeal and encouragement to the French people. But while Britain continues to support de Gaulle's military efforts, it has recognized no anti-Vichy, anti-Axis French government. And the United States recognizes Vichy and until yesterday continued its futile gestures of compromise and appeasement.

How are we to help the French people organize their smoldering resistance to the Nazis? There is only one way. Washington should send funds and help to every center of dissidence in France—to every local labor organization, to the Masons, to the surviving shreds of political opposition. Washington should send in agents—democratic revolutionary agents—to find what is going on and encourage resistance, to sow seeds of discontent even in the ranks of Vichy officialdom. France is not solidified in the Nazi mold; it is a ferment of potential rebellion. It is not impossible that with sufficient encouragement from Washington a new French government might be created, even now, which would win the confidence of the people and around which the forces of de Gaulle and the anti-Vichy elements in the French North African army could rally.

The same technique should be adapted to every occupied country. In this day of mechanized warfare, the best revolutionary weapon is industrial sabotage. It is being used throughout the Continent, but its efficiency could be immensely increased if organizers from the United States and Britain—particularly refugees with experience in the anti-Nazi struggle—were financed and sent to Europe to help coordinate this effort. Sabotage against Hitler's economic war machine should be organized on a Continent-wide scale. And the spoken word should be used with more tactical skill. The two Western democracies are brilliantly supplied with trained anti-fascist propagandists from Europe, men and women known to their fellow-countrymen. Why aren't they used—systematically and all day long—to penetrate the barriers of the captive nations with promises of help and reassurance? The radio can be made a deadly weapon of anti-fascist revolution; so far its use has been timid and correct and

largely ineffective. Only by bold and imaginative collaboration with the democratic energies of the people can the ground be prepared for a final successful invasion of Hitler's conquered Continent.

Appeasers can't do that job. But let us assume that the Roosevelt Administration, openly committed to a finish fight against Nazism, relieves the appeasers of their power; it will have to do so if a strong policy is to be carried through. But neither can conservative bureaucrats do it, however honestly they may desire the defeat of Hitler. A democratic counter-revolution can be made—need it be said?—only by men and women who combine uncompromising democratic convictions with political wisdom and an aptitude for revolutionary technique. When Poland was invaded, the most important army leaders clung to their belief in the offensive value of the cavalry charge. Nazi tanks rolled that tradition into the Polish earth. But it was no more ridiculous than the attitude of our own officials toward Nazi political warfare. They see it going on and deplore it; but do they understand that it can never be combated by ordinary diplomatic and juridical methods? Not yet. They have not accepted the full meaning of the war. They still think in terms of the production and transportation of weapons and of battles on sea and land. They refuse to understand that the terrible power of the German army has other sources as important as these: that Germany is strong because its enemies are weak; that the hunger and inequalities of modern capitalism have given Hitler his political strength. Does it matter that what he offers is only a brutal falsification of the creed of social decency? It is enough that he offers something new, while the old bureaucrats cling to the belief that the existing system is basically sound and after the war can be mended here and there and used again without serious alteration.

It is this belief that places the democratic cause in mortal danger today. The men who run our country and run our defense program are unprepared to make a revolution. They don't even recognize the need for it. They know that we face a crisis, and they accept the necessity of a defense program which will in some measure temporarily dislocate business and our national life—though if possible without reducing profits. But the idea of committing this nation to an "all-out" effort to create a system which offers the people security as well as freedom and counters the Nazi political attack with an impregnable social defense is beyond their reach.

It is not too much to say that if such men continue to run the war, here and in Britain, the war is lost. But we should not for one moment assume that they must continue to run it. In Britain their control has been at least weakened by the vigor and imagination of Winston Churchill and by the effective work of the Labor men in the Cabinet. In the United States they face opposition

from the genuine New Dealers—including the President himself—in the national Administration. More and more, and as rapidly as possible, we must bring to positions of power men who understand that the people of the world—Americans included—will wage a successful war against Nazi domination only if they feel under their feet the solid earth of democratic reality; who know that we are fighting to make a new world, not to save an old one. Only such men can win the war, because only they can in honesty set up a standard for democratic revolt.

This is the challenge the last democracies face in their hour of greatest danger.

The Shape of Things

THE BITTERNESS WITH WHICH THE STRUGGLE in the eastern Mediterranean is being fought, on its scattered fronts, is sufficient evidence of its importance. The war will not be won or lost there, but its outcome will at least be forecast by the result of the campaigns in Crete and Iraq and Syria and East Africa. As we go to press, the desperate battle for Crete is still in the balance. The skies continue to rain down Nazi parachutists, and the Germans are reported to have succeeded in equipping them from the air with light tanks and guns. On land the battle continues to sway bloodily but indecisively. The British and Greek forces under General Freyberg have recaptured control of Candia and Retimo in the center of the island, but the Nazis have maintained their hold on the Maleme airport and have begun a drive toward Suda Bay. The Nazi claim that they have destroyed the cruiser section of the British Mediterranean fleet is undoubtedly exaggerated, but reports from London admitting the loss of two cruisers and four destroyers and damage to several other ships testify to the terrible efficacy of the Nazi air arm even against powerful naval units.

★

THE BATTLE FOR CRETE IS ONLY A PART OF the larger struggle for the control of the Mediterranean. Crete itself is important as a base of operations within easy flying range of Port Said and Alexandria; it could be used by the Germans to guard the sea route to Syria. And, most important perhaps, its capture would prove that troops can be landed and supplied from the air even under the guns of powerful shore and naval units. This all-out battle between bomber and warship may not only decide the control of the Mediterranean but provide crucial information on which the Nazi High Command can decide whether or not to attempt the long-delayed invasion of England.

THE HOOD HAS BEEN RAPIDLY AND AMPLY avenged by the sinking of the Bismarck. This is more than a blow for a blow, since the Bismarck was much newer and more powerful than the British battle cruiser. Moreover, Germany has but few battleships and can spare the loss of one less easily than Britain. It is rather ironical, though, that the British victory should have been made possible by air power rather than sea power, and study of the battle ought to encourage furious thinking on the part of naval strategists. Every naval battle in this war makes it clearer that command of the seas cannot be secured by monster battleships unless they are supported by a large and powerful air fleet.

★

IT WAS PROBABLY NO COINCIDENCE THAT immediately after the sinking of the Hood within the American patrolled area Admiral Erich Räder gave an interview to a Japanese journalist threatening America. Warning against any attempt to convoy ships carrying contraband, Admiral Räder said that German naval forces would "if need be resort to arms if American warships should try to prevent them from exercising their right" to sink enemy merchant ships. The Admiral also complained against the American patrol system and hinted that American communication to the British of the positions of German naval units might be treated as an act of war. At the same time he protested that Germany had no intention of invading the Western Hemisphere. This mixture of threats and blandishments is a well-trying Nazi recipe for softening intended victims.

★

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER, WRITING IN THE *Chicago Daily News* and the *New York Post*, presents what he says are the authentic terms of the German ultimatum accepted by Vichy. We quote them in full:

Defend your empire; retake those portions of your empire which you have lost; supply yourself freely and fully from your empire—and, at the coming peace conference, Germany will permit France to preserve its empire intact because you will have proved your right to keep it. If, however, France fails to do any of these things, then the victorious Axis powers will strip conquered France to the bone.

As Mr. Mowrer points out, those few words describe all Hitler now needs in the way of French subservience and assistance. The ultimatum obligates Vichy to reconquer the Free French territories which have acknowledged the leadership of General de Gaulle, and to protect French ships attempting to run the British blockade with goods from the colonies. And this, in turn, means certain war between France and Britain. It is a clever formula, and it leaves Vichy few fields on which to defend that "honor" so often upon the tongues of the men who betrayed it.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SIGNED THE FULMER BILL which raises the rate of government crop loans to 85 per cent of so-called "parity" in exchange for a cut of some \$200,000,000 in direct parity payments to farmers. The huge crop loans, together with \$212,000,000 in parity payments and \$500,000,000 in soil-conservation payments already approved by both houses of Congress, would bring the farmer's return on his crops to a full 100 per cent "parity." On the surface it seems only fair that farmers should share in rising prosperity by obtaining full "parity." Many labor unions have won increases in pay, and industrial profits are at boom levels. Actually, however, the "parity" that the farmers are demanding—and are apparently in a position to obtain—is an unjustifiable standard. It is based on a brief pre-war period when farm prices were relatively higher than in any other period in our history owing to a series of crop failures abroad. Since that time there have been striking increases in the output per farmer of many of the leading crops as well as a catastrophic change in marketing possibilities. An agricultural policy which ignores these changes is unsound in normal times; in a defense emergency such as the present one it may be disastrous. Farm leaders concede that the program will increase the cost of living at least 5 per cent. Most economists believe that the rise will be at least 10 per cent. Such an increase can hardly fail to provoke a whole new series of defense strikes, which will lead, in turn, to higher prices for manufactured articles, if not uncontrolled inflation. This would bring the farmers back to the pork barrel again, little, if any, better off for their haul. The Fulmer bill should have been vetoed. Since it has become law, we must steel ourselves for a repetition of the price spiral of 1915-16.

★

HIGH LIGHTS AND RANDOM THOUGHTS AT the America First rally in Madison Square Garden: John T. Flynn warning that war will put American fascists in power, and at the same time wondering querulously why Bundsmen and fascist riffraff had come to cheer at his keep-America-out-of-war meeting. . . . Norman Thomas, the Socialist, conjuring up a Utopia for Americans Only, resigned, presumably, to letting the International, which, in the words of his party's battle song, "shall be the human race," shift for itself in a Nazi Europe. . . . Citizen Lindbergh hinting darkly that the country demands "an explanation of what happened at the elections last November"—an election he compared to a German poll in which Hitler should run against Göring. . . . Senator Wheeler giving Lindbergh an object lesson in rabble-rousing by pretending that his opponents, in quivering panic, fear *Panzer* divisions on Broadway and parachutists in Montana. . . . Chairman Flynn boasting that all the speakers were Americans in contrast to the shameful rally of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding

the Allies, at which representatives of the conquered European countries had the audacity to speak in public. . . . The insistence of all the speakers that England should win but that we must risk nothing to help it win; that we are in grave danger of defeat if we fight alongside England but can never lose if we face a fascist world alone; that we are doomed to fascism if we fight; that interventionists are defeatists for saying we are doomed to fascism if we don't fight; that what this country needs is clear-headed leadership—in fact, their leadership.

★

THE NATIONAL NUTRITION CONFERENCE FOR Defense, held in Washington this week, tackled one of the least spectacular but one of the most urgent aspects of the defense problem. In these days when everything from athletic contests to church socials is cloaked in the magic word "defense," there is a tendency to ridicule that tag when it is attached to activities not immediately connected with the training of soldiers or the production of guns and tanks. But the emergency has aroused an understanding and appreciation of the importance of nutrition such as never before existed. Adequate nutrition would not only save millions of man-hours of labor that are now lost through unnecessary sickness but would increase the efficiency of almost all workers. With the aid of new diets and vitamin-enriched foods it is possible for the American people to achieve adequate nutrition standards without excessive cost and without serious interference with present food habits. This goal cannot be achieved, however, as long as a third of America's families have incomes of less than \$800, or as long as educational facilities are as poor as they are in many parts of the country. There is every evidence that the Nutrition Conference recognizes the breadth of its problem, and its recommendations should be heeded.

★

BY SMOKING OUT DR. KURT RIETH, GERMAN Minister in Vienna at the time Premier Dollfuss was murdered, the New York *Herald Tribune* has scored a beat and performed a public service. Like Dr. Westrick, the Nazi agent exposed by the same newspaper last summer, Dr. Rieth appears to be interested in oil, and one of his missions here, it is reported, is to persuade American oil companies to sell their European properties at bargain prices. Standard Oil of New Jersey has, for instance, a large Hungarian subsidiary which the Nazis would like to take over, as well as important distributing interests in most of the occupied countries. The Germans, of course, have full use of these properties, none of which are returning a penny at present to their American owners. Hence it is supposed in Berlin that an offer to pay, say, 25 cents on the dollar, to American companies which have kissed these investments goodbye would be accepted

as a generous gesture. The necessary dollars could, presumably, be provided out of the gold and loot of the occupied countries. There is no doubt that many American oil concerns would be glad to cut their losses in Europe, but their executives are extremely chary of dealing with Nazi agents. Dr. Rieth has been introducing himself around town as the "very dear friend" of Walter C. Teagle, chairman of Standard Oil of New Jersey, who denies ever having met or communicated with him. Barricaded in his \$600-a-month suite at the Waldorf-Astoria, Rieth has explained by telephone that he is on "a purely personal financial mission." But no German is allowed to take more than ten marks abroad unless the Nazi government expects to profit by his journey. Won't the Dies committee subpoena Dr. Rieth and ask him to explain his business, including his Latin American activities, in detail?

★

HARRY BENNETT, WHO HAS RULED THE FORD kingdom these many years, greeted the overwhelming victory of the United Automobile Workers in last week's Labor Board election with a statement rich in spleen. "It's a great victory," he said, "for the Communist Party, Governor Murray D. Van Wagoner, and the National Labor Relations Board." He went on to say, presumably with a straight face as well as a long one, "The law provides that we must live with them and *we never violate the law* (italics ours)." I. A. Capizzi, Ford counsel, who never goes anywhere without his pet red herring, said that the objective of the U. A. W. is to prepare for the "Communist seizure of governmental power." He also said the company would deal with the automobile workers "because the law says we must," but declared as well that it will continue to denounce the Wagner Act as tyrannical in concept, theory, and practice. The U. A. W. has suggested that bygones be bygones. If Henry Ford wishes to regain the prestige and the sales he has lost in four years of consistent violation of the law he will relegate his two leading bygones, Bennett and Capizzi, to one of his museums. And he might throw in W. J. Cameron for good measure.

★

LAST WEEK THE *SATURDAY EVENING POST* either abandoned its isolationist crusade or reaffirmed it. We don't quite know which. It printed an editorial saying in bold and unequivocal language that it still believed everything it had printed in opposition to the Lend-Lease law and all other steps in support of Britain; that it considered the United States hopelessly unprepared to carry out the obligations it had assumed; but that since the country had none the less blundered into war against the *Post's* advice, the *Post* would support the government. It would do so because a refusal now to join in the struggle against Hitler would expose us to

the possibility of "national death." "If we turn back," says this astonishing pronouncement, "we shall be remembered forever as the Falstaff nation of the world, boasting of a power it did not really possess. . . ." So, hooray—from last week on—for the war we are unprepared to fight. This is the *Saturday Evening Post's* position. But one is tempted to apply a Freudian test to its sincerity, because the words quoted above did not actually appear in the magazine; they are taken from a press release. The words the *Post* printed were these: ". . . boasting of a power *it did really possess.*" Were the editors, perhaps unconsciously, repudiating their own expressed contempt for the nation's strength? The psychoanalytic friend who pointed out the discrepancy insists this is so; we are inclined, more prosaically, to blame it on a patriotic or careless compositor. Whatever the explanation, the truth is as it appears in the magazine. The United States does possess the power it boasts of; it has only to organize that power and throw it into the balance against fascist tyranny, in defiance of the defeatist pleas, past and present, of the *Saturday Evening Post*.

Wall Street's Two Wars

WARS are won by courage, not complacency, and the pessimism which envelops Washington as the defense program passes its first birthday is a hopeful sign. It was time that we came out from under the spell of our own headlines and began to realize that there is more to the job of arming America than working out programs on paper and clearing enormous contracts. The aluminum shortage discussed by our Washington editor last week seems to have done more than any other single event to shock even conservatives into a recognition of the need for government participation in production. The most sensational revelation as to this shortage was made last Saturday in a Washington dispatch from the New York *Herald Tribune's* aviation expert, C. B. Allen. Allen reported that work on the great Boeing bombers "ceased entirely early this month and will not be resumed until some time in July." Although Allen says that "no actual shortage of aluminum is or has been involved in this situation," work ceased for lack of aluminum. We confess that the subtle distinction between a lack of aluminum and a shortage of aluminum is beyond us.

Whether there is a lack of aluminum or just a plain shortage, the Administration seems determined to remedy it, despite OPM hostility to any moves which endanger the Aluminum Company's monopoly. R. S. Reynolds of Reynolds Metals explained at a press conference in Washington last week that the RFC is preparing to spend \$300,000,000 on government aluminum-producing plants to be operated by the Aluminum Com-

pany, Reynolds Metals, and Bohn Aluminum. The last, hitherto a fabricating company, will now become Alcoa's second government-encouraged competitor in a field Alcoa has monopolized since 1903. Since the \$20,000,000 loan made last summer to Reynolds has increased our aluminum-producing capacity for next year by 100,000,000 pounds, presumably the \$300,000,000 program will boost production by 1,500,000,000 pounds. This begins to sound like planning on the right scale.

Estimates of our need for aluminum seem to be rising steadily. Since last week's issue appeared, William S. Knudsen has said that we would need 1,600,000,000 pounds next year for direct military purposes alone, excluding civilian and British needs. Though Mr. Knudsen now, months later than he should have done so, at last recognizes an aluminum shortage, he is still opposing expansion of steel capacity. He turned thumbs down on Henry J. Kaiser's proposal for a \$150,000,000 new steel plant on the Pacific Coast. Mr. Knudsen's remark that "we wouldn't know what to do with 30,000,000 tons more of steel if we had it" is likely to rank high among the fatuities voiced in this war. A shortage of structural steel is already delaying the new Midwest bomber assembly plants, and as Mr. Stone's Washington letter this week reveals, a shortage of steel plates haunts our ship-building program. Runner-up to Knudsen's remark among the week's inanities was Hugh Johnson's statement, "If there is one slight, solitary case of holding back of all-out effort by any industry or any group or unit of industry, I have yet to hear it." Old Iron Pants must be in seclusion.

The temper of the Administration is to let the needs of defense tread on the tender toes of monopoly. A bill adding \$1,500,000,000 to the lending power of the RFC and allowing it to enter any business whatsoever at home or abroad in the interest of defense quietly passed the Senate a week ago last Friday and is now in the Rules Committee of the House. True, it was amended in the Senate so that none of the funds might be spent on St. Lawrence, Passamaquoddy, or other power projects, and there were a few cries of "socialism" and "fascism," but much less opposition than one would have expected. The Truman committee hearings on aluminum showed conservative Republican Senators like Ball of Minnesota and Brewster of Maine prepared to countenance vigorous government interference with monopoly in the interests of defense.

A battle may yet break out in the House during the coming week over the RFC bill, but we believe it will pass. This measure and the new plans for aluminum expansion have stirred misgivings, and the Charlie McCarthys of monopoly are beginning to issue plaintive sounds. Mark Sullivan rises to ask in querulous tones whether the New Dealers are most interested in defeating Hitler or bringing about socialism, and David Law-

rence sees "favoritism and special privilege" in the determination of the government to arrange more aluminum for us and some competition for the aluminum monopoly. In the *Wall Street Journal's* opinion the government's decision "to invest \$300,000,000 in aluminum manufacturing adds to the evidence that there are two wars that are troubling private finance, the one abroad and the one at home." The one at home seems to give some of our dollar-a-year monopolists more concern than the one abroad.

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Editor and Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor
ROBERT BENDINER

Washington Editor
I. F. STONE

Literary Editor
MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors

KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART

Dramatic Critic

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HUGO VAN ARK

Advertising Manager

MARY HOWARD ELLISON

Shipping and Admiral Land

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 24

NOW that Admiral Emory S. Land, chairman of the Maritime Commission, has told the Truman committee how big and bold he would be in breaking the San Francisco shipyard strike, I think he ought to be recalled and asked how big and bold he is prepared to be in dealing with the private interests which are slowing up our construction program. Admiral Land thought there was "justification for every possible step the government can take, up to and including the use of United States forces, to take those picket lines away so people who want to go to work can go to work." The force of this call to arms was somewhat weakened when Senator Brewster, Maine Republican, asked him if the picket lines were preventing men from going to work. "Not to my knowledge," was the Admiral's answer. The Admiral's own enthusiasm for forthright measures abated visibly when Senator Connally of Texas said he believed the government ought to conscript the shipyards. "I believe that the government ought to be producing ships itself," the Senator declared. "I don't know about that," was the Admiral's alarmed reply.

I am not prepared to make a report on the strike itself, though I notice that our old friend, and the Admiral's old friend, Bethlehem Steel, is right up in front with the principal trouble-makers. Whatever the issues in the other San Francisco yards, the strikers certainly seem to have a clear grievance against Bethlehem, which has refused to sign the master agreement for the Pacific Coast and declines to make any agreements with the unions. It may be that Assistant Secretary of the Navy Ralph Bard was referring to Bethlehem when he said the strike was caused by "selfish or subversive interests," but on extended consideration I am inclined to doubt it. Bethlehem can kick the navy in the teeth on contracts, provoke strikes by refusing to obey the laws, and generally comport itself like a cave man of industry—the navy loves it just the same. One sometimes wonders whether Bethlehem exists to supply the navy or the navy to supply Bethlehem. Admirals who know the right answer enter into their reward on retirement by becoming Bethlehem's consultants. There is nothing like a hereafter to make men behave themselves.

I think that this would be a good time for the Truman committee to examine the mote in Admiral Land's own eye. I have in mind the story of the Admiral's failure to utilize idle shipyards in the Great Lakes—and elsewhere—at a time when ship construction, his responsibility, is

among the most urgent of our needs if we are to save Great Britain. On the basis of the four months ended May 1, the British are now losing shipping at the rate of 6,400,000 tons a year, as compared with the 4,500,000 tons they lost in the first two and a half years of the last war. We have a shortage of shipping to bring bauxite from the Guianas for the manufacture of aluminum, and to bring rubber and other materials from the Dutch East Indies. A bill introduced by Senator Brown of Michigan a few days ago to end the American monopoly of shipping in the Great Lakes is supported by data showing that we have not enough ships to carry the Lake Superior ore needed by our steel mills. Our two-ocean navy program is not scheduled for completion until 1947; its urgency is indicated by a Navy Department report issued the first of this year revealing that our total combatant tonnage of 1,250,000 is topped by the 1,835,000 of the German, Italian, and Japanese navies combined. If the French navy is added, the total is 2,145,000 tons. These figures prove that we need the British as badly as they need us.

Yet despite these enormous needs, and despite the fact that the shipbuilding capacity of Hitler's New Order is reported as seven times our own, the scandalous fact remains that we have idle shipyards—and not only on the Great Lakes but even along the coast—while the big shipbuilding concerns are glutted with orders. The New York Shipbuilding Company, for example, with a half-billion-dollar backlog, has as much work as it can handle for five years. In shipping, as in other fields of defense, we tend to forget that figures on orders placed are not the same as deliveries obtained. Of 54 cruisers authorized, the latest figures show 9 on the ways, 45 on the order books. Of 205 destroyers authorized, 26 are actually being built. This is wonderful business for the big yards, but it spells trouble for us. In a critical emergency the big companies and the admirals who see eye to eye with them are in no mood for emergency measures. We had 1,099 slipways working in 223 yards during the last war; we have only 84 in 23 yards today. A New York Times editorial last December 21 stressed the urgency of the problem and at the same time threw a curious light on the role of our steel companies, which control many of our big shipbuilding companies and sell themselves steel. The Times said that only two of the old World War shipyards were being used and that a "relatively simple reconditioning" would place the others back in production. "It is true," the New York Times reflected, "that

we may have a shortage of steel plates for shipbuilding, partly because of our naval program, *partly because of our sales to Japan*, but wooden ships would be just as serviceable today" (my italics). If our steel magnates go on selling steel plates to Japan, they might at least be good enough to let us build a few wooden ships.

On the Great Lakes are ten companies which can build steel ships and a much larger number which can build wooden ships. Four of the Great Lakes yards have been building lake carriers comparable in size to destroyers and cruisers. These companies have extensive auxiliary facilities—engine works and electrical, ironworking, boiler, and pipe shops. There are many idle and abandoned yards which could easily be reconditioned. In the last war the Lakes yards produced 286 small cargo vessels, more than sensational Hog Island produced. Some of the obstacles to use of these yards are serious; some are laughable. Spokesmen for smaller shipping interests on the Lakes have been trying since the war began to get Admiral Land to wake up to the part they could play

in construction. I have a file of their correspondence. The War Department built the Chicago ship canal with drawbridges but has yet to put in lifting facilities; when these are added boats can go through the canal and be floated down the Mississippi on pontoons. Admiral Land ignored the idea until a suggestion even more dangerous to the steel and shipping crowd made its appearance on the horizon: one of the arguments for the St. Lawrence waterway is that cruisers, which take three years to build, could be shifted to Lakes yards; the waterway would be ready for the cruisers by the time they were completed. Space would then become available in the great coastal yards for cargo boats, which can be built much faster; we could get five cargo boats for every cruiser. But the steel companies, which control the big yards both on the Lakes and on the coast, are opposed to the suggestion. And so is Admiral Land, who dislikes the St. Lawrence project anyway because he dislikes public power. As I said, Admiral Land is ready to do anything to speed shipbuilding—well, almost anything.

Russia's Threat to India

BY W. E. LUCAS

FOR three-quarters of a century the Russian bogey has gibbered at India across the mountainous wastes of Afghanistan and disturbed the peaceful dreams of the British military strategists at Simla. The preoccupation of the army staff in India with the problem of a Russian invasion always seemed to me, during my stay in India, to be rather childish, but perhaps the bogey had internal political uses, since it was often cited as an excuse for keeping about 70,000 British troops in the country. Certainly in the days following the last war the Russian threat struck me as something left over from a bad dream of another age. Apart from the fact that the Soviets were heavily engaged on their own home front and had been driven from their bridgehead in northern Persia, the geographical obstacles to an invasion seemed insuperable. How was an army to be transported five hundred miles from the nearest Russian railhead across the desolation of Afghanistan, and how could it bring up the equipment to assault the well-fortified British lines at the Khyber Pass and Quetta?

The same geographical difficulties exist today. But now the Russian threat forms part of a formidable totalitarian offensive on the British Empire in the East. Today India's safety cannot be taken as axiomatic; the battles now developing on the fringes of the eastern Mediterranean will have a direct bearing on its future.

The Soviet Union is evidently beginning to bestir it-

self in the Middle East. Russian pilots are reported to be volunteering for the Iraqi air force, and Soviet pressure on Iran is increasing. Unrelated to anything else, these developments would not be important, but when they are coupled with indications of a closer Berlin-Moscow alliance and with the Nazi drive in the Near East they take on a special interest. Russia is a vast, almost landlocked continent which must naturally seek outlets to the sea, and its recent surrender of rights on the Danube may well have been induced by the promise of access to the Indian Ocean through Persia. This would mean that the movements in Iraq and Iran are the opening stages of a two-pronged Nazi-Soviet drive toward the East, Germany taking the low road via the Suez Canal and Mesopotamia and Russia the high road via Persia, to join hands perhaps with the Japanese in India.

At the moment the German Command can merely hope that India will become an embarrassment to the British, forcing them to weaken the military forces under the command of General Wavell in the Nile Valley and Mesopotamia. If another potential battle front can be created in India, more British man-power and equipment must be concentrated there than heretofore. How far the Nazis can succeed in this plan will depend upon the effect on the 78,000,000 Moslems in India of events now taking place in the Arabic world of Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Egypt, and upon the ability of the Russians to goad into

activity the extreme elements of the Congress Party and to stir up the turbulent tribes of the Northwest Frontier Province.

The pro-Axis coup d'état in Iraq was something more than a palace revolt in a minor Oriental state. It had repercussions from Morocco to the Jumma Musjid in Delhi. It was potentially one of the most serious blows yet struck at the hard-pressed British Empire. Hitler has put his finger into the Arab lake and churned up a storm. The oil wells in Iraq and Iran are of immense value, but with the Moslem world in turmoil still richer prizes are within his grasp. By this one stroke the Nazis softened the mortar that holds together the wall of British defenses guarding the two great routes to the East, via Suez and the Persian Gulf. While Hitler masses his forces against the British positions in the Middle East, it may be expected that he will expand to the utmost his fifth-column activities in India, a country upon which this defensive line depends.

At first glance India would seem an admirable place in which to stir up hostility to the British. A vast country with three times the population of the United States, it is a welter of languages, religions, and customs, with deeply divided loyalties. For decades a growing Congress Party has been fighting the British rule in India and pressing for independence. Nevertheless, and this is the fundamental point, it does not favor giving aid to the Nazis. India is a country of startling contrasts, but there could be no stranger spectacle than that of the great Indian nationalist leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, being haled off to jail with a prayer for a British victory on his lips.

It is often difficult for the Westerner to follow the logic of Indian thought. It seems inconsistent that now, when the Congress Party has a golden opportunity to force a complete British capitulation to its demands, Mahatma Gandhi refuses to take advantage of England's plight. In spite of his insistence on complete independence for India, he recognizes the necessity for cooperation with England; but it must be a cooperation on Indian and not on British terms. He has promised to do nothing that will hinder Britain's full prosecution of the war, and as long as he remains the head of the Congress Party it is difficult to believe that Nazi attempts to penetrate its ranks will have any success.

It is for this reason that the job of fomenting trouble in the extreme left wing of the party will be left to the Soviets. Although the Comintern has never exercised much influence in India, the Communist ideology has made an appeal to the extreme socialists. Jawaharlal Nehru, viewing the poverty among the peasantry of the United Provinces, has advocated a fundamental reorganization of the rural economy patterned to some degree on the Soviet model, although he can in no sense be con-

sidered a Communist Party follower. Chandra Bose in Calcutta, who has always been an extremist as well as an opportunist, leads a section that believes in a revolution by violence. The terrorists in Bengal, who, though disowned by Gandhi and the more moderate Congress leaders, were the main thorn in the British side in the serious days of a decade ago, had certain affiliations with the Communists, and it is this group which might provide a fertile seed bed for Soviet intrigue. At the present time there seems little likelihood of the Moslems in India answering the call to a holy war against the British. During the First World War the Ali brothers with their large Mohammedan following were one of the main props of the Congress movement for national independence, but today there is no such unity. The constitutional reforms of recent years have emphasized the political split between influential Moslem groups and the main body of the Hindus under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The Moslems are a minority race, and they owe their present privileged position in the provincial and federal political setup to the British overlordship in India. It is only through a British victory that they can expect to maintain or improve the constitutional and economic advantages they now enjoy. And it is they who form the great reservoir of fighting men for the Indian army.

But outside India in the far north are the restless tribes of the Northwest Frontier, whose passions can always be played upon to produce open warfare, not for any political ideal, but for the possible loot in the fertile plains of the Punjab. While the Indian police forces may be fully competent to deal with civil disorders inspired by terrorist groups, the Northwest Frontier can present problems of a serious military nature. The campaign waged in this district after the end of the Great War was of major proportions and kept a very considerable number of British and Indian troops busy for more than a year. The same thing might happen today. It is highly probable, in fact, that the Axis and its Soviet partner, profiting from Mohammedan reaction to events in the Near East, will make every effort to foment an attack on Britain from this quarter. With a complete understanding between Hitler and Stalin, Russian volunteers might be employed, as they were in Spain, to stiffen the morale of the local tribal levies and to provide the technical knowledge required by the use of modern weapons. If Soviet troops were concentrated on the Persian frontier and in Turkestan the Afghans also might be encouraged to undertake a military venture.

The Russian bogey is again peering over the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayas. Even if the long dreamed-of invasion is not attempted, British awareness of the danger is a valuable asset to Nazi plans in the eastern Mediterranean. The British forces defending the Middle East are spread dangerously thin.

Judgment Day for Radio

BY D. A. SAUNDERS

WHEN President William S. Paley of the Columbia Broadcasting System uses such phrases as "calculated to torpedo the existing broadcasting structure" and "the first paralyzing blow struck at freedom of the air" to describe changes in the organization of radio broadcasting recently ordered by the Federal Communications Commission; and when President Neville Miller of the National Association of Broadcasters chimes in with "usurpation of power . . . which menaces the freedom of the American system of broadcasting," you can be sure the broadcasters feel that their vital interests are affected. The entire radio field is indeed facing changes whose far-reaching implications can as yet barely be discerned.

Before the annual convention of the National Association of Broadcasters opened in St. Louis on May 12, many persons expected that the much-discussed feud between ASCAP and the major networks might generate some heat, but there was no premonition of three events which were to rock the radio industry and make the ASCAP affair look like a Sunday-school spitball fight. The first explosion occurred when the Federal Communications Commission on March 20 issued its Order No. 79, announcing the opening of a broad investigation into the question of whether the ownership and operation of radio stations by newspapers were in the public interest. The investigation would concern itself with both frequency-modulation (FM) applications and the acquisition of future standard broadcast stations by newspapers. Though the public has shown little awareness of the interlocking of newspapers and radio stations, the FCC has long been awake to the danger of a possible monopoly of the channels of communication. A few years ago, when two qualified applications were made for a station in Port Huron, Michigan, the FCC granted the application of the non-newspaper group on the ground that the community deserved "a medium for the dissemination of news and information to the public which will be independent of and afford a degree of competition to other such media in the area." In the twenties about 10 per cent of the radio stations were owned by newspapers; today more than one-third of all stations are so owned. Moreover, newspaper radio chains, such as the Gannett chain of eight stations, have been developed. In nearly a hundred communities the one local radio station is owned by the one local newspaper.

The next bombshell was the issuance of a long-delayed FCC "Report on Chain Broadcasting." It was

this which called forth the trumpetings from the presidents of the NAB and CBS quoted above. Dated May, 1941, the report ordered eight changes of great importance. (1) The operation of more than one nation-wide network by a single organization was prohibited. In its accompanying remarks the commission particularly condemned the NBC Blue Network as being chiefly a fictitious network operated for bargaining purposes, observing that 100 stations are shifted indiscriminately from Blue to Red Network and back again, and that NBC makes little distinction between the two in its operating and auditing departments. Since NBC is the only company which operates two nation-wide networks, the Blue Network is apparently earmarked for dissolution. (2) The commission stated that the ownership by one network organization of two stations in the same area, or of a single station completely dominating an area, was not in the public interest. At present NBC owns two stations in New York, Chicago, Washington, and San Francisco, and of these eight stations seven broadcast on the highest power now allowed—50,000 watts. Columbia owns eight stations, but no more than one in any city; Mutual owns no stations at all. Thus by the terms of the order NBC is required to dispose of four of its most powerful stations, and Columbia may be affected in some areas. (3) No "exclusive" contract may be signed; such a contract prevents a station affiliated with one network from carrying programs of other networks. Nearly all present contracts include this prohibition. (4) No station may have "exclusive territorial rights"—that is, no station may prevent another station in the same area from broadcasting a network program which it has rejected. Present practices allow a station both to reject a program and to prevent its broadcast by a competing station. (5) "Optional time" contracts are prohibited. Under these contracts networks may order the cancellation of local programs in certain specified hours to allow the broadcast of a network program instead. (6) Any local station is allowed to reject any program "which the station reasonably believes to be unsatisfactory or unsuitable," or which "in its opinion is contrary to the public interest"; and the local station may reject any network program to substitute "a program of local or national importance." (7) No contract of a network with an affiliated station may run for longer than one year. At present contracts run for five years. (8) Networks are prohibited from influencing the rates charged by local stations. This refers to the practice of NBC and

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CBS—but not Mutual—of preventing the local station, by contract or penalty, from selling time at a rate lower than that charged by the network for that station.

These far-reaching orders were issued by the FCC with a weather eye sharply cocked for possible court battles. Thus every order, except the one referring to outright ownership of stations by networks, is phrased in terms of what the individual station may do. Seven of the eight orders begin, "No license shall be granted to a standard broadcast station having any contract . . . with a network organization which provides," etc. The legal powers of the FCC are defined in terms of individual stations.

The third and cruelest blow to the networks was the defection of one of their number: the Mutual Broadcasting System is taking a stand on current issues diametrically opposed to that of NBC and CBS. The chief reason for this split seems to be that since Mutual is a cooperative network owned and operated by the stations themselves, with pro-rata distribution of profits or assessments for losses, the prohibitions in the FCC orders in the main do not apply to Mutual. Also, Mutual is comparatively small potatoes beside the two other giant network organizations: though about one-fifth of all standard broadcast stations are affiliated with Mutual, their total power is about one-tenth that of NBC and CBS, and the gross intake of Mutual as a network is slightly less than one-tenth the combined intake of the other two.

The first sign of Mutual's defection came early this spring with the news that it was negotiating quietly with ASCAP for the return of ASCAP songs to the air, thus breaking the united network front. The directors of Mutual reached an agreement with ASCAP on May 1, and the contracts were submitted to member and affiliated stations for the required majority approval. Immediately the NAB and some Mutual member stations tried to have action withheld until after the NAB convention. The delay would have placed Mutual in a decidedly disadvantageous position, for if CBS and NBC pushed through the convention a resolution prohibiting separate agreements with ASCAP, Mutual would have to comply or leave the NAB. Representatives of Mutual stations met in St. Louis just before the convention, and after several stormy sessions a majority voted to sign the agreement with ASCAP. Thus any resolution adopted by the NAB convention would be beside the point as far as Mutual was concerned, and the other major networks were placed under strong competitive pressure to return ASCAP music to the air.

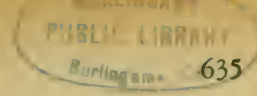
Another hint of Mutual's attitude was seen in its reaction to the FCC orders on chain broadcasting. While spokesmen for NBC, CBS, and the NAB were letting go with both barrels, Mutual's board chairman, Alfred McCosker, wired President Roosevelt that "many of the critics either have not read the report or reflect a vicious

partisan viewpoint." The telegram continued that though Mutual was adversely affected in some respects, it considered the report "highly commendable for its thoroughness, fairness, and long-range enlightened vision." Mutual's position was also indicated when WGN, key Mutual station in Chicago, withdrew from the Newspaper Radio Committee on the ground that the committee was fighting the battles of the major networks instead of concentrating on the newspaper-radio issue.

The Newspaper Radio Committee, representing radio stations owned by newspapers, was expected to answer the threat of the FCC investigation into newspaper-radio tie-ups. At two April meetings in New York the committee organized a steering group of nine and set out to raise a \$200,000 war chest by assessments on stations ranging from \$50 to \$10,000. Mark Ethridge of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* was selected as chairman at the first meeting, but he stepped down when President Roosevelt asked him to do a survey of the entire radio scene. In describing the situation to the committee, Ethridge warned the publisher-broadcasters against using newspaper editorial columns to build up their own radio stations, using the station to promote the interests of the newspaper, and offering newspaper space and radio time at joint rates. (The FCC in its hearings might well inquire why Ethridge found these cautions necessary.)

When the National Association of Broadcasters met on May 12 in St. Louis it had to deal with these combustible matters. The first blaze came when Ethridge resigned from his survey post because of his disapproval of the new FCC regulations for network broadcasting. Next the NAB board of directors disapproved the separate agreement between Mutual and ASCAP and reelected Neville Miller as NAB president. Whereupon some forty Mutual stations, including WOR in New York, WGN in Chicago, and the large Don Lee Network on the Pacific Coast, withdrew from the NAB. But the real convention fireworks came in the form of attacks upon the FCC and interchanges with FCC Chairman James L. Fly. Ethridge charged the commission with "bad temper, impatience, and vindictiveness," and asserted that broadcast licenses were "all too frequently" issued on the basis of "political pull." When Chairman Fly of the FCC was about to reply, the meeting was abruptly adjourned by President Miller. Fly refused to address any later session of the convention and the next day issued a stinging statement charging that the NAB was merely a front for the National and Columbia networks and that the networks planned to use licenses granted by the FCC to fight the new FCC orders.

That NBC and CBS would fight was evident. In anticipation of the new regulations NBC had quietly transferred from the Blue to the Red Network the 50,000-watt stations of KDKA in Pittsburgh, WBZ in Boston, and WBAL in Baltimore. To punish Mutual the NAB



helped form the Mutual Affiliates Association, composed of some forty Mutual affiliates which sided with the NAB, some of which were also connected with NBC or CBS.

Network strategy, however, will chiefly consist of legal action, political pressure, and a large-scale propaganda campaign. The legal action will probably begin in the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals, which has never been too friendly to the FCC. Even if they are defeated in the courts, the networks hope that they can gain time to marshal their enormous strength. Their propaganda resources include not only the two major networks themselves but the newspapers, which are girding for battle with the FCC over the issue of newspaper ownership of broadcasting stations. That they will make an all-out attack upon the FCC, with no holds barred, is indicated by a hastily issued CBS pamphlet which misinterprets both the nature and the significance of the new regulations. NBC will probably shed many public tears over the "unfortunate necessity" of dropping the Town Meeting of the Air, the National Farm and Home Hour, and other public favorites if its Blue Network is dissolved.

But the main weapon will be political pressure—the

CBS pamphlet was addressed in part to "government officials and others who seek a nation-wide radio audience." For years a broad Congressional investigation of radio has been in prospect, and nothing would suit the networks better than to turn such an investigation into an inquisition of the FCC. Senator White of Maine has already offered—and the NAB has promised to support—a Senate resolution calling for an investigation of the new FCC rules and deferment of their application until the inquiry is completed.

So far the White House has been carrying water on both shoulders. Mutual received White House thanks for its "fine telegram" supporting the new FCC regulations, but the next day the NAB was officially informed that this did not mean Presidential indorsement of the regulations, and two days later Presidential Secretary Early, commenting upon Mark Ethridge's attack upon the FCC, remarked that Mr. Ethridge was "a gentleman of great honesty and sincerity of purpose." All this may come under the heading of "smart politics," but without strong official and public support the FCC may be shorn of its powers as far as radio is concerned. If it is, the road back toward government supervision of radio will be long and hard.

Fate or Freedom?

BY AUREL KOLNAI

NAZI world tyranny, the accomplishment of which is in the making and may or may not be stopped, would be a thing of impossibility but for its mental background—the tyranny of fatality inherent in an impersonal process. It threatens to prove actually inevitable because we erroneously assume it to be substantially inevitable. We shall fail to prevent the triumph of Hitler's rule in so far as we submit to the belief that any alternative way out of the present crisis would be but slightly preferable, possibly even somewhat worse, or at any rate essentially equivalent to it. Too many of us indorse the fatal necessity of a "world revolution," a collectivist unification of human society, represented chiefly by the Third Reich's drive for world conquest, and acquiesce in the resigned belief that it would be futile to try to impede this process and perhaps rather harmful than otherwise to interfere with its evolution. Those of us who do not explicitly profess this faith are yet liable to be paralyzed in our actions by a half-unconscious admission of its possible truth. Unless we become fully conscious of the radical fallaciousness of that creed, we shall not be able to muster sufficient spiritual and moral energy to face and to overpower the

enemy; unless we experience and reaffirm the free spirit and will in ourselves we shall have no chance to save the freedom of mankind.

The tremendous efficiency of the enemy's material weapons, his ruthless fanaticism, the cunning strategy applied in the pursuit of his aims may to a certain degree account for his successes. The numbness and supineness of many of his victims, or victims to be, are explicable in part by their sheer terror and the objectively desperate position in which they are placed. Yet the most effective and poisonous of the enemy's devices is something that might well be called sorcery, or at least fascination. Fascination may not mean actual seduction; it is even compatible with a sort of impotent hatred in the victim. Neither, however, is it mere power to frighten or mere bluff. It is the ability to impress on one's adversary the belief that the power which summons him to surrender is an emanation of a "higher" kind of power, above any resistance by the ordinary means of brains and muscles; the expression of a "superior law" beyond the range of human decision and control. This pretense to magic is cloaked by up-to-date intellectual apparel. In an age which prides itself on its rationality but is by no means

immune to many forms of gullibility, which is trained to idolize notions dressed up as "scientific," and whose fad is sociology rather than demonology, the enemy will not indulge in ostensible sorcery; he will claim to incarnate, to borrow a phrase coined by American appeasers, "the wave of the future." By force of the law of nature, it is said, we are drifting into a collectivist order of far-reaching uniformity, ruled by maximum technical efficiency and subject to an omnipotent centralized government. Wisdom obliges us to offer sympathetic collaboration, which may entitle us to a more or less good place in the order to come.

The underlying assumptions, the concrete implications of this abject sophistry are manifold. A mechanical, linear, univocal trend of social evolution is overtly asserted or tacitly assumed. Functional efficiency is credited with an absolute meaning and acknowledged as an unchallengeable value. "Progress," instead of being merely appreciated as a gratifying phenomenon possible in certain historical phases, is worshiped as its own measure and as an automatic guaranty of the good state of man. Cooperation without regard to its content or aims, cooperation in the sense of clogs and wheels fitting well into a machine, is exalted to the rank of an unconditional good; conflict, strife, and dissension are labeled bad and despised as agents of "waste." If the balanced ethics of Christianity, of common sense, and of democracy—the ethics of justice, fairness, charity, liberty, personality, responsibility, mutuality, and truthfulness—are discarded, the narrow superstitions of pacifist ethics are welcomed, and free use is made of the phantoms of a smug pseudo-moral "idealism" or "perfectionism." Peace, no matter what peace, is proclaimed to be absolutely preferable to war, no matter for what ends it may be fought. War, the state of war, is the supreme evil, worse than any evil it is intended to avert, bound to conjure up the very evil it is meant to resist, the breeder of all evils (so they say); war provides no solution, war knows but losers on both sides, war is a mad raving devoid of sense and purpose. In particular, it is maintained that war to resist barbarian conquest cannot but precipitate the spread of barbarism; that war against fascists leads to fascism. If you put up military resistance to a foreign dictator, you will have to create your home dictator. If your home dictator uses his powers in the name of democracy, to save freedom, this will be but lip-service paid to ideals essentially forsaken, a mere difference in tags and labels; if your home dictatorship remains more humane and less total, it will prove inferior in the test of efficiency, and you will be beaten. Therefore do not move a finger against tyranny. If evil must come, let it come without vain efforts to escape it; let it come as smoothly as possible, and at the smallest cost. Since you must adapt yourself to reality, take care to do it on the most advantageous terms.

This is the spirit which kills civilization, the spirit

which—far more than the "law of social evolution" it advertises—insures the advent of the barbarian; the spirit strutting by in a hundred guises, right-wing and left-wing, capitalist and socialist, economic and idealistic, scientific and Christian, cheerful and mournful, patriotic and internationalist, prudish and worldly wise. It is the spirit which is hopeful about evil, suspicious of good; which condones magnanimously the enemy's crimes and inflates the failures of good-will; which trusts our enemies to be at bottom "men like us" but haunts us with the bogey of our becoming savages "like them" if we fight them; which warns us against meddling with power politics but admonishes us to make truce and traffic with power deified; which bemoans past blunders and protests against redeeming them; which slanders good men and finds fault with noble nations but justifies devilry with the artifices of psychology and interprets the march of the Beast in terms of sociology. It is a spirit with many faces and many names—call it optimism or pessimism, doctrinal pacifism or the apotheosis of cowardice, complacent hedonism or fastidious primness—but all its formulas are traceable to one common denominator, a fatalistic view of the destinies of mankind; and all its facets and falsehoods converge in one pivotal point, the basic denial of the free personality of man.

If one pseudo-democratic mouthpiece of Hitler states that the outcome of the present war is a matter of indifference since Britain does not in truth fight for democracy but, like the enemy, for "imperialist" aims, whereas another pundit of the same ilk affirms that Britain is "bound" to lose, standing as it does for senile and decayed values, thwarting the path of a youthful new world, the two arguments are rooted in a common ground of fallacy. It is this—that right is fundamentally alien to might; that there is no point in measuring historical decision by a moral standard.

This line of argument presupposes that morality must be not only distinct but separated from vital interests, and that outside the pale of celestial perfection moral diversities, moral "degrees" or "shades," are irrelevant; whereas the fact is that the self-interest of the British Commonwealth is identical with the interest we have in the survival of democracy, civilization, and decency, and that British victory or defeat will determine the difference of a world—from the moral viewpoint, in particular—for all the human species. The pessimist argument, again, is intended to bamboozle us into a belief which is not true and never will be true, no matter whether the British lose or win the war. Hundreds of times in history an older and therefore seemingly more worn-out system has warded off successfully the onset of a more recent and buoyant force; a civilized society has broken the apparently overwhelming power of the barbarian. If Britain finally loses the war, this will not happen because it has all the time been "fated" to lose it.

Perhaps Britain will lose the war just because the seer who forecasts its defeat has had such great means at his disposal to disseminate the poison of his creed, and has found so many fools to listen to him. Perhaps Britain will lose the war because such people as knew better have been too sluggish in assisting Britain's cause in the spiritual field. Perhaps, again, Britain will not lose the war at all—already it has shown some signs of deplorable senile obstinacy in dealing with the German bombers, though their planes fly with the winds of the future or with Mussolini's inevitably victorious youth—but even in that case it will be false to claim that Britain was all along “bound” to win. Let the enemy rejoice in his “certitude” of victory; we will rather say with the English poet, “But if he fail or if he win, to no good man is told.” Our business is not to scan the entrails of fate, but to fight and to help the fighters, each of us as best he can.

There exists no such thing as a prescribed path of “progress”—or even of “decay”—a rigid fatality of social evolution determined by “conditions.” Certainly conditions and trends exist, and it would be unwise to neglect them. There are limits set to man's freedom to hammer out his destiny; there are topical problems for which a relative solution must be found one way or the other; man must continually renounce certain good things in order to obtain others. Within a given setting of conditions, however, man is free to react differently and to envision different patterns of settlement; he is free to scale his needs from the necessary and urgent to what he may dispense with or postpone as a luxury; what becomes of him and his world depends on his choice and decision. Dialectical forces soaring above human thoughts, emotions, and wills are a piece of irrational mythology. If, for instance, some of the previsions of Marxism have come true, this is due less to the “scientific” exactitude of the Marxian prevision than to the efforts and policies of labor movements imbued with the Marxian vision. Similarly, fascism is not the “logical expression” of the concentration of capital on a large scale, not the “inevitable consequence” of mass unemployment, still less the “necessary outcome” of the Versailles treaty or of the unequal distribution of raw materials, nor again a stage in the impersonal antics of the *Weltgeist*. Allowing for all the complex factors which have made its growth possible, fascism is above all—as Lewis Mumford has simply and correctly put it—“the evil work of evil men.” The thesis that fascism develops automatically, step by step, not in fulfilment of an original conception but out of the requirements of modern warfare and war-time management of modern society, has acquired great popularity because it panders to the passive moods of cowardice, sloth, and selfishness, all too ready to identify the amenities of life with the essentials of liberty, and to confuse

discipline with servitude; because it suits the infantile pride in explaining human creations “satisfactorily,” as it were, by the pressure of materially palpable facts. Yet that thesis is manifestly and startlingly untrue. Fascism did involve conquest and, since the conquest happened to meet at last with opposition, war; but it was by no means born of the necessities of warfare; nor was it sponsored or imposed by men who had at the outset been non-fascists—liberals, conservatives, or any other brand of civilized beings. In no case has fascism displaced democracy as a result of war waged against fascists; on the contrary, the change has been brought about by peaceful surrender to the fascist aggressor or by the military victory of the fascist invader. War certainly breeds fascism if we stop in the middle of it instead of fighting it out, or if we conduct it so badly as to let the fascists win it. In briefer words, war breeds fascism if we omit to wage it.

It seems certain, indeed, that we have entered an era of mass civilization having of necessity many traits which distinguish it strongly from the liberal bourgeois democracy of our fathers' “golden” times. In some ways the “iron” times to come are certain to be less comfortable and delightful; in other ways, again, they are likely to denote a moral progress: to be superior in sincerity, earnestness, social equality, and responsibility. No “fate” wills it that they shall bring in their trail the extinction of human dignity and personality, of justice, fairness, and humility, of cultural heirlooms and creative impulses, of respect for objective truths and values. It is not infallibly true that Nazism owns the future; that communism owns the future; that the world is doomed to be cut up among four or five despotisms, divided by sullen jealousy but confederates in their zeal for iniquity and oppression. By the same token it is not true that democracy must perish. It is true, however, that democracy must either perish or remould itself so as to be able to meet the issue. It must become far more stern and militant, more concentrated and disciplined, more trained and certainly also more ruthless. There is no need meticulously to add that the limit must be drawn carefully lest that increasing ruthlessness should “lead straight to fascism”; for though fascism does imply callous and ferocious ruthlessness, its essence is by no means ruthlessness; and though by carrying ruthlessness very far you may obtain most unpleasant and undesirable results, you will never by that alone approach the fascist type of mind. You may well imprison a million spies and hostile propagandists, or suppress treasonable movements, or bomb a thousand towns in an enemy country, or annex a conquered province, or carry out boldly conscription of labor, or levy huge taxes on capital—without getting any nearer to such a tenet as that Mr. Roosevelt is always right, or that Mr. Churchill is the supreme arbiter of right and wrong, or that a small nation has no right to

existence, or that the strong must devour the weak, or that one race is intrinsically superior to others, or that no spiritual communion is possible between different racial types, or that an American should believe in a God who is the incarnation of the American people's soul, or that truth is a function of the Anglo-Saxon spirit.

Above all, if we want democracy to survive, we must make it more intelligent, more capable of discerning its enemies, more conscious of its own primary and basic meaning, less entangled in the secondary implications of its mode of life, less open to attack with the weapons provided by its own technical apparatus. In several well-meaning treatises on the crisis of democracy, the strange but characteristic theory can be found exposed that the preservation of democracy depends on the maintenance of peace; that it is only in the climate of peace that freedom can thrive. It might as well be said that a man can remain honest only so long as his family provides him with a comfortable income, or that a man cannot preserve his judgment and sagacity unless he is constantly kept out of danger by some benevolent higher power. If the theory were true, democracy would never have existed at all. Moreover, if liberty were a matter of easy-going comfort, a hotbed flower of undisturbed prosperity, it would not deserve to be cherished. Fascism might then even seem superior in so far as at least it trains its thralls to a more serious outlook on life than that of a spoiled child. Yet it is not so. On the contrary, we may well assume that liberty, awakened to full consciousness and having found its way back to its true sources in order to master a new emergency, will have a wider and firmer grasp on reality than tyranny can ever have; that free men can be more terrible enemies than slaves, however drilled and drugged. By rediscovering the truth that liberty is not by rights a "frail" and "fragile" thing but a fruit of indomitable strength of soul, we shall perhaps some day frame a world of liberty not only safer but truer and more genuinely beautiful than was the fool's paradise with which we have often confused democracy.

To conclude, freedom is a hard-earned possession of free men, not a boon granted by happy circumstances to pampered dolls who conceive of themselves as the creatures of circumstances. Fatalist metaphysics are attendant upon, and instrumental in, the depraving of democracies; they have nothing to do with the vital substance of democracy. Nor will freedom perish under a dispensation against which we are powerless. If it ever perishes, it will perish through our own shortsightedness and languid nihilism; because we did not love it adequately; because we shunned effort and honest thought; because we persevered in either denying or embellishing the danger; because we preferred the diabolical power of foreign slave-drivers to the power of freedom-loving leaders of free men—to our own power; in a word, because we preferred slavery to freedom.

Report on Chungking

BY A CHINESE CORRESPONDENT

Kunming, China, May 1

RECENTLY I visited Chungking for the first time in nine months to attend a session of the People's Political Council. The scars of last summer's bombings are still there. Indeed, many streets still resemble the streets of Pompeii, but in general a new if somewhat temporary Chungking has been built on the ruins. Many streets, much widened, are now lined with new shop buildings. They are generally of one story, easy to build, pleasing to the sight, but not expected to withstand any severe shock. Their owners did well enough last winter to risk destruction during the coming summer, when raids will again be in order unless we have a stronger air force by then. More important than the flimsy restoration of Chungking proper is the construction of a truly greater Chungking that will be proof against attack from the air. On a narrow strip of land extending for almost thirty kilometers along the Kialing River, a tributary of the Yangtze, new houses, new factories, new offices, and new bomb shelters have been dug out of the cliff. The enemy may destroy Chungking proper again this summer, but it will never be able to destroy greater Chungking.

In the People's Political Council attention centered on the Communist problem and the economic situation, particularly the shortage of food. For some time the Communist troops, both the Eighth Route Army in the northwest and the new Fourth Army along the lower Yangtze, had been expanding at the cost of the armies having no sympathy with or opposed to their ideas. The High Command tolerated them for a long time, but early this year it felt compelled to take disciplinary measures and ordered the Fourth Army to disband. Its action aroused much indignation among the Chinese Communists and caused a flurry abroad. When the People's Political Council was about to convene, the Communist Party announced that its members would not attend unless its twelve published demands were granted by the government. One of these called for the punishment of the Minister of War who ordered the disbanding of the Fourth Army and of other high-rank commanders who carried out the order. All the demands were so excessive that the government could not consider them. Nevertheless, both the government and the neutral groups in the council were very anxious for the participation of the Communists, and negotiations went on continuously behind the scenes. Marshal Chiang, supported by the neutral groups, promised that the Communists would be allowed to air their grievances in the council and to make any proposal in regard to political matters; he was ada-

mant, however, about maintaining the unity of military command. In the end the Communists refused to attend, and in order to lay the blame on the government, put forth another set of demands no less irksome than the first.

Both in the council and informally Marshal Chiang gave assurances that he would not consider military measures against the Communists. The matter of chief importance to him is the unity of command. Confidentially he even expressed displeasure that the police had lately been repressing certain Communist activities. But he had no intention of lying low if the Communists took the offensive, military or otherwise. My summary of the situation would be that friction will continue, but that neither the government nor the Communists will go so far as to bring on open conflict.

Recently some eighty students of leftist tendencies left our university, but by careful probing we found that the real Communists were still with us. Only the satellites had gone. They left because they were told by the Communists that drastic action by the government was impending. The Communists stayed and are still active, well aware that no persecution is in prospect. The foreign propaganda of the Communists is as clever as their maneuvers in our schools. They have a much better press abroad than the government because they publish their grievances, while Chiang Kai-shek hushes up all reports of dissension for fear the cause of China may be harmed.

The economic problem is in many ways more complicated, more difficult of solution, and more productive of controversy. Southwestern China is self-sufficient in grains only when there is a bumper crop. The insufficiency of cotton and other textiles is obvious. This could, however, be made up if transport facilities were increased or even if better use were made of existing facilities. The easiest way to overcome the shortage of grain in years of subnormal crops would be, I believe, the recapture of the Yangtze port of Ichang. But Ichang cannot be recaptured until we have a larger air force. My own opinion on this question was more or less confirmed by the military information I was able to obtain at Chungking.

The visit of Matsuoka to Europe naturally agitated us not a little. Various speculations are current; many of us being inclined to think that it will be of little consequence. The position of the Konoye Cabinet and especially of Matsuoka had been weak for some time, and Matsuoka's grand tour was designed to steady them. The non-aggression pact with Moscow will affect the United States more than it will us, according to the view of most persons here. It will undoubtedly hasten a war in the Pacific between Japan and the United States, but it may not cause Stalin to cease giving aid and comfort to China.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Salients on the Price Front

IT IS reported that the President will shortly recommend to Congress legislation giving the Administration more effective means of controlling prices than it now possesses. I hope that this report is confirmed, and that Congress will act promptly on the request. For at present Leon Henderson as administrator of the Office of Prices and Civilian Supply (OPACS) has at his command only indirect sanctions, and even the use of these is now being attacked by certain Senators. They have proved sufficient to hold a number of key sectors of the price front, at least for the time being, but against other parts of the line new salients are constantly being pushed out, and these together threaten to exercise a cumulative effect on the cost of living.

In the last few days Mr. Henderson has turned his guns in a new direction by imposing a ceiling on the price of combed cotton yarn—used in large quantities for army clothing. The limit he permits is 40 cents for 30's single-ply yarn with a possible adjustment not exceeding 2 cents to cover recent advances in raw-material costs. Quotations for this grade have been reported as high as 52 cents, although it is said that this is merely a level set by sold-out mills seeking to warn off buyers. The recent effective price has been nearer 47 cents, which itself represents a very considerable premium over what Mr. Henderson considers reasonable.

He is not alone in this opinion. Lew Hahn, general manager of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, commented: "Retailers, like all other business groups, are opposed to governmental price-fixing, but we are obliged to recognize that the cotton-goods industry has had several significant warnings and, so far as results are concerned, seems not to have taken the situation seriously." Mr. Hahn further remarked that buyers of cotton goods had been subjected to heavy pressure by being told that the industry was in a sold-out condition with shortages pending. "We now learn," he went on, "that far from that being the actual situation, the flexibility of cotton-goods production facilities is so great that its full capacity has never before been guessed at."

Cotton manufacturers have frequently protested against steps to raise the price of raw cotton on the ground that the inevitable result must be discouragement of consumption and the stimulation of competing fibers. This is sound economics, but it applies equally to price-boosting of the finished product. Nor can recent advances in yarn and cloth quotations be justified by reference to the current upward movement of raw cotton. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, "cotton costs, though mounting, are not keeping up with cloth price gains. Result: cloth-mill profit margins are expanding. Gross margin on three print cloths last week was 24.65 cents a pound, a week earlier, 23.68—highest since 24.18 recorded in November, 1936."

There are numerous other examples of commodities being pushed up unduly on exaggerated talk of shortages. Take black pepper for example. The outbreak of hostilities in the

Pacific or even a further accentuation of the shipping shortage might cut off or seriously curtail imports of this humble but invaluable condiment. On the basis of this possibility heavy speculation has been going on in pepper, resulting in an advance in price of over 60 per cent since the beginning of the year. Now, following a request by Mr. Henderson to the New York Produce Exchange to raise margin requirements on pepper trading, it has been revealed that there is a two-and-a-half-year pepper supply on hand, most of which is controlled by a speculative pool started some years ago. Publication of this news brought on a wave of selling, and some of the pepper bulls may suffer losses not to be sneezed at.

It must be recognized, however, that speculation is not the only factor pushing up quotations of imported commodities. Shortage of shipping combined with increased demands for cargo space has produced a field day for the shipping companies. It is true that higher wages and insurance rates have raised costs considerably. But freight rates have soared far beyond any rise necessitated by increased costs, especially since under present circumstances ships are most of the time loaded to capacity. The result is profits such as have just been reported by American Export Lines for the first three months of this year, showing a rise of more than 100 per cent over a very profitable first quarter last year. Considering the enormous sums which have been paid out of the Treasury to subsidize American shipping, it is hard to see why steps have not been taken to hold down freight rates during the present emergency period.

Shortage of transport facilities is also being made responsible for recent advances in gasoline and fuel-oil prices. At the request of the government a large number of tankers normally employed in carrying oil from Gulf ports to the East Atlantic coast have been released to assist the British. Consequently it is necessary to turn to the railroads and the pipe lines to carry increased loads. Both these transport methods are more costly than sea hauls, and no doubt some increase in prices is justified. It should be noted, however, that prices started to move up some weeks before the government asked for the tankers. The reason would appear to be a much-improved demand for oil products due to the rise in purchasing power produced by the defense program. It is also worth noting that, despite wage and tax increases and the loss of much foreign business, oil profits are on the upgrade.

The latest upward movement in oil prices is an advance of 9 to 10 cents a barrel on crude in Oklahoma, Kansas, Texas, and a number of other fields. It is reported that this rise has been forced by a growing demand on Midwestern refineries for finished products at a time when production in the Illinois and Michigan fields has gone into a decline. Oklahoma and Kansas are producing at capacity, but output could be expanded in Louisiana, New Mexico, and Texas. In Texas, which is responsible for more than a third of the daily total petroleum production of the country, the rate of output is controlled by the state railroad commission, which is apt to be jealous of any federal interference. It will be seen, therefore, that in attacking the question of oil prices, as he seems about to do, Mr. Henderson is stepping into a delicate and involved situation. He may, however, find a useful weapon in the desire of some of the oil companies to receive federal aid in financing new pipe lines.

In the Wind

GENERAL ALLISON OWEN, a landscape architect known for his work in clearing the "white slums" of New Orleans, speaking at a luncheon there some time ago, advocated all-out aid to Britain. "Perhaps we in New Orleans," he said, "are so busy with our own affairs that we do not have a true estimate of the situation across the Atlantic. After the Carnival season is over, I think we should seriously study the situation."

THE REVEREND EDWARD LODGE CURRAN, Coughlinite leader in Brooklyn, is reported to be trying to oust John T. Flynn from the leadership of the New York chapter of the America First Committee. The case against Flynn is based on his liberalism in domestic affairs and his close association with Norman Thomas.

EX-SENATOR EDWARD R. BURKE of Nebraska is now leading a national anti-strike campaign in cooperation with the Committee for Constitutional Government. The aim is to write into the laws "the right to work" under all circumstances.

ALTHOUGH administration forces in the American Newspaper Guild were defeated in many large cities, administration candidates in New York made a clean sweep in the recent election. The victory was roughly seven to five among the 2,500 who voted. The Committee for Guild Democracy, the opposition bloc, claims that its slate was defeated by 2,000 Guild members who did not vote. Last year the Youngstown anti-totalitarian resolution, which the administration opposed, was carried by two to one in the New York referendum. On that basis the Committee for Guild Democracy figures that most of those who failed to cast ballots are in fact against the present administration.

JOE MCWILLIAMS, speaking at a meeting of his American Destiny Party in Queens on May 14, called President Roosevelt "Frankie, the King of Judea, the half-wit in the White House." He had this to say of Stalin: "I do not ask you to admire the man, but you cannot deny that he puts his country first and has accomplished tremendous things for the Russian people, and no doubt will rid the country of the control of the Jews, who are playing an increasingly less important role in the government. Stalin began with Trotsky, and eventually not a Jew will be left in Russia."

ACCORDING to *Inside Germany Reports*, the most common ailment suffered by members of the Luftwaffe is insanity. Overwork, inadequate training, and equilibrium disturbances send many Germany pilots into insane asylums. A letter from Vienna reports that Austrian homes for the aged and sanatoriums for the mentally ill are being emptied in order to make room for the Nazi airmen.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

The Army Camp Mystery

IT IS about time somebody wrote a mystery story about an army camp, and maybe the strange case of Private Felix Hall, Army Serial Number 14005607, Company E, 24th Infantry, Fort Benning, Georgia, provides the plot. Hall, a Negro volunteer from Montgomery, Alabama, disappeared on February 13, but on May 17 neither the army nor the FBI was ready to say whether he killed himself, was murdered, or was lynched on the military reservation.

On March 28 soldiers of the 20th Engineer Regiment engaged in a field problem came across a decomposed body hanging from a tree. On April 2, according to the American Negro press, the boy's father heard of his son's death through a neighbor's son and went immediately to Fort Benning. There Austin J. Doyle, special agent of the FBI, "showed the father pictures of the body roped and wired hanging from a tree."

On April 18 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charged in letters to President Roosevelt and Secretary of War Stimson that Hall was lynched.

On May 17 Major General Robert C. Richardson, Jr., director of the army's new Bureau of Public Relations, sent me the following official statement: "It has not yet been determined whether this was murder or suicide. This is being investigated by Provost Marshal's Death Board and the FBI. So far as is known, the military police had nothing to do with the cause of this death."

This was my first information that anyone had ever thought that the military police might have had anything to do with the death of this Negro. And the suggestion of that possibility in terms of denial from the army itself seems to me to make some speedy solution of the case more than ever essential. If ever a case did, this murder mystery affects the morale of the American people, whose sons are in similar camps.

In public relations, as General Richardson's letter indicates, the army is making progress in providing news to the press. A dead soldier is no longer regarded as a military secret. The army has now a real news organization staffed by able newspapermen, and men are on duty all the time to answer questions—if they have the answers. When the report of the board of investigation in this case has been approved by the War Department, General Richardson says, there will be no objection to publishing

its findings. But this publicity, after long, secret procedure in the investigation of the case of a man already presumably more than three months dead, is certainly not streamlined publicity about swift military justice.

If this death, which has been called a lynching, had not taken place on the military reservation, and the dead Negro had not been a soldier but merely a Georgian, it is difficult to believe that such deliberation as marks the army's investigation would be accepted with patience or awaited with confidence. Outside army posts no procedure is so much distrusted—and properly distrusted—as delay in the investigation of reported lynchings. There is a theory well understood in courtroom towns that the indignant public will forget almost anything if you give it time.

There is every reason to believe, I think, that the army wants to do a better job in its press relations. General Richardson took his post in an effort to put an end to plain stupidity in dealing with news. He has secured the assistance of experienced newspapermen. But no press section can give out the news until it gets it, and if army procedures of justice are as slow as this case indicates, what the press section will have to give out will not be news but history. Good sense in military press relations depends as much upon the officers who have the news as upon the major general who gives it out.

If there ever was any news which should not be surrounded with military secrecy this is it. Has there been a lynching of a Negro soldier in one of the camps to which thousands of young Americans are being sent? Did anybody ever suspect that the military police did it and then left the body hidden for a month? Why, even considering the condition of the body, does it take the army more than two months to decide what the public would expect a coroner's jury in a civilian case to decide in two days or two weeks?

This may not be a thrilling murder mystery, but it is a disturbing military mystery. What good is a press section which gives out news quickly if the whole system behind it still works in the philosophy of we'll tell 'em when we are ready and not a damn minute sooner? If the civil authorities in a Georgia county acted like that, they would provide argument No. 999 for the federal anti-lynching bill. This dead Negro is argument No. 1 for a belief that adequate army press relations cannot be limited to a press room, even one under the command of a major general full of the best intentions.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

THE ADVERTISEMENTS of Kenneth Roberts's newest best-seller, "Oliver Wiswell," are taking on a political tinge. "Should the American Revolution Be Censored?" runs the provocative headline. And then we are told to read this book for the truth about the Revolution, which most Americans "still do not know." The truth, according to Roberts, is that the patriots of 1776 were low-class rabble or weak-minded innocents misled by such blackguards as Sam Adams, whose only motive in desiring independence was to escape paying the British a fine of \$100,000 for smuggling; and that the War of Independence was won only because General Howe was a philanderer and the King lost interest. It is all revealed in a volume of 863 interminable pages, which the publishers blithely describe as a "literary masterpiece," though the writing, the characterization, and the plot are all made of paper and print. One has the sense throughout of watching a bad movie, except that it is harder on the eyes.

Augustus Loring Richards, in a little pamphlet which has come to my desk, counters the publishers' claim of "truthful revelation" with an accusation of "reckless inaccuracy" on the part of Mr. Roberts. He begins by flaying, with convincing evidence, Roberts's intimation that John Jay would have regarded this book as true history. He cites a minor error in Roberts's reference to Millis, Massachusetts, pointing out that there was no town of that name until 100 years after the Revolution. "Roberts's 'original record' of Wiswell's route was probably a Socony road map."

Or consider this illustration: The passage through "Millis," above mentioned, was in the course of a journey made by Wiswell . . . and Buell from New York to Milton, Massachusetts, in the late summer of 1776. . . . According to the narrative the region they traversed was populated with a living chain of terror-stricken victims of pillage and pitiless persecution.

Now if Mr. Roberts had been interested in rendering a truthful account . . . he could have told a very different story. He could have pictured his Tory heroes as spending a comfortable night in a certain well-known inn near Worcester. The innkeeper was a Tory and . . . he made it a practice to confine his hospitality to Tories. . . .

Mr. Richards gives as his source the published memoirs of the secretary of Baron Steuben, who was warned against this inn when he was traveling from Boston to Valley Forge in January, 1777. Steuben and his party, caught in a snow-storm, were refused accommodations but enforced their rights as travelers. This might have provided Mr. Roberts with another "rebel outrage," but to have introduced the Tory inn into his tale would have conflicted with his determination to present the Revolution from the Tory point of view.

Mr. Richards's main attack is reserved for the Roberts thesis that Tories were a persecuted minority—of wealth and brains and property—and were forced into exile after the Revolution. Revolution and civil war are not pretty. The War of Independence was both a revolution and a civil war; and

there were unquestionably excesses on both sides, but according to Mr. Richards the two camps were about equally divided, and "a very large part of our present population is undoubtedly of Tory descent." Mr. Richards also notes that thousands of Hessian soldiers remained in this country.

One of the most famous and effective of Tory leaders . . . was the Reverend Samuel Seabury. . . . After the war began he was confined for a few weeks in a Connecticut jail. Later he took refuge in New York City and became a chaplain of a Tory regiment. In 1783 he was consecrated in Scotland as Bishop of Connecticut, and in 1785 . . . took up his residence in New Haven as rector of St. James's Church.

Samuel Seabury of New York is his descendant and namesake.

MARGARET MARSHALL

A Voice of France

FRANCE MY COUNTRY, THROUGH THE DISASTER.

By Jacques Maritain. Longmans, Green and Company. \$1.25.

"I BELONG to a people in whom temporal hope is so deep-rooted that it is of their substance." These words, which explain the complex beauty of this little book, are not easy words to understand. Their author is a Christian—one who believes that the essential life of man is of the spirit and transcendental. Their author is also a Frenchman—one, therefore, who will not relinquish hope that his value as an immortal soul is incarnately involved in the living history of France. Because this French Christian is also a poet, indeed primarily a poet, his spiritual vision and his temporal hope are sharply modulated to the experience of his country. This must suffice, in the brief space I dispose of, to suggest the quality of the book. It is an organic record of France in that its shrewd discussion of events and their causes reveals significances vastly beyond them.

To the reader who knows the intricate prosody of Maritain's work, the little volume is a cluster of filaments leading back and forth among his religious and social doctrines. But any careful reader will get a good deal from the eminently sane assembly of notations, even though not one of them alone may strike him as particularly new. The fall of France is analyzed: the political confusion and decadence, the divorce between the people of France and their rulers, the tragic fallacy of the Maginot generals who had prepared for the last war, the insufficiency of industrial production. The psychology of the dazing defeat is explained; and of the people under the Nazi asphyxiation. The mind here at work has quite as much information as the journalists and modish novelists, but moves within dimensions which the shallow gentlemen ignore. M. Maritain traces Machiavellianism to its final flowering in the false religion of political separatism which Liberal, Communist, Socialist, Nazi, and Vichy Catholic all share. He sees in the fall of France the fall of the bourgeois order. But he rejects the primacy of any specific

cause for the disaster; his sense of life is too organic for that. Evil and error, he explains, are always present in any human situation; so that it is as easy as it is false after the fact to moralize a disaster. In the chapter on the French people in defeat his hope is well tempered by the analysis of dangers (we fear them also!) that make his beloved France vulnerable as it has never been in its thousand glorious years. The poet is a realist-psychologist, which explains why his patterns have taken the form of religion.

If the book has a fault, it is perhaps that it is too cursory and allusive in its variety of awarenesses. It assumes in the reader a knowledge both of France and of the author, justifiable in a Frenchman accustomed to a public with a cultural memory—a public, that is, non-existent in the United States. Of course, I cannot here adequately review this book. I content myself with raising a single question. M. Maritain says: "The French people were politically, not morally, demoralized"; they had not lost, he declares, "their natural virtues," and indeed, during the past decade, were enjoying a great intellectual and spiritual rebirth. He is at pains, therefore, to divorce the corruption of all the public leaders and of all the ideologies—Communist, Socialist, liberal-bourgeois, reactionary Catholic—from the health of the folk. If this were the mere emotional expression of a man of France before the agony of his people, one might be respectfully and humbly silent. But Jacques Maritain is too great a soldier of the human spirit to ask for such indulgence. Deep in his insistence on the moral and spiritual health of his Catholic people is the implicit defense of their religion. And deep in this process of separating essence from act, natural and spiritual virtue from immediate history, I feel and fear the presence of a *cultural pattern* which became the disease of France and which M. Maritain shares with his great and greatly beloved nation.

In 1936, when the fascist world revolution got in its stride with the assault on Spain, a Jew, Léon Blum, was Premier of France. M. Blum failed to do his duty, which was to give all-out aid to Spain's republic. He knew what he should do, and why. He flinched because he was afraid, and this also he knew. London's City on the west, Hitler on the east, his own fascist-commanded army and industrials at home, threatened war if he helped Spain's people. "How can a Jew bring war to France?" wailed the Prime Minister on the shoulders of his friends. M. Maritain would certainly agree that if Léon Blum had been a different kind of Jew, a true and serious follower of the Prophets, he would have risked civil war rather than betray justice and mankind. He would have relied on the peoples of France and Britain to sustain him; he would have said to his God and to his nation, "I can do no other." But, of course, had M. Blum been that kind of Jew, he would never have headed the French Socialist Party, he would never have been chosen Premier. In brief, the weakness of this ruler was not unrelated to the spiritual state of his electors. The French are the most intelligent, the most widely cultured people upon earth. They knew that the leaders of their army and navy were black fascists, haters of the republic. They knew, moreover, that a similar set of professional "defenders," having sworn allegiance to Spain's republic, were murdering Spain before their eyes. All these generals and officers were devout Catholics, shared the religion of their peo-

ples. In 1938 I crossed back from Barcelona into France. I arrived at Perpignan on a Sunday noon: the good people of France filled the cafes, fat and merry within the shadow of Spain's death. They knew all about it. "Am I my brother's keeper?" For weeks I had been dreaming of the white bread, the sweet butter, the cool beer, that awaited me in France. I sat among the good fat folk and ordered my dream—and left the cafe with the food untouched. At that moment, in nausea and premonition, I knew that Europe would not profit by Spain's martyrdom, because the people of France were not worthy to be spared.

The general rot within the disaster of France goes deeper than M. Maritain allows. Deeper than the stupidity and venality of politicians was the huge cynicism which already branded Paris in 1935 as a semi-fascist city. Not for *inorganic* reasons did the soldiers and citizens of free and aware France intrust their fatherland's defense to reactionary Catholic generals. Not because of mere confusion did the burghers of Perpignan drink their lush wine within the shadow of Spain's dying. If a folk so clear and strong loses its reason and its hands, is it not for the poet-philosopher to seek the cause of the paralysis *precisely* where M. Maritain declines to find it? In the religion of the people.

Here are questions too deep to be even stated in a brief review—urgent questions for us who lack so many of the virtues, and none of the weaknesses, of France. A token of the significance of M. Maritain's book is that he brings us to these questions, forces us to face them.

WALDO FRANK

Mr. Percy's Culture

LANTERNS ON THE LEVEE. By William Alexander Percy. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

IS IT possible that the South is the nation's economic problem No. 1 because it is first of all the nation's intellectual problem No. 1? Mr. Percy's interesting and provocative autobiography makes clear that it is quite possible. Here is the life story of a man who is not so much a typical Southerner as a superior Southerner. William Alexander Percy can trace his ancestry through some of the finest families of the old mint-julep South. He went to Sewanee and the Harvard Law School. He traveled abroad in the aristocratic tradition of the Grand Tour. Upon visiting Athens he was so eager to see the Acropolis that he rose at six o'clock and rushed out without his breakfast. Moreover, throughout a busy life this man has cultivated the arts of thought and of living. Mr. Percy is aware of at least some of the great social strains that underlie the fabric of Southern life, and he would like to do something about them. From such a man we have every right to expect the best of Southern thought.

So it is all the more astonishing, and all the more disappointing, to discover that the theories and opinions of this fine flower of Southern life are at bottom very similar to those held by the rednecks and the peckerwoods and the vulgarians. Take, for example, Mr. Percy on the Negro question: "I would say to the Negro: before demanding to be a white man socially and politically, learn to be a white man morally and intellectually."

This admonition will be popular in reactionary circles of

the South. It possesses that air of benevolent paternalism so dear to the Southern heart. It does not say, Black Brother, the door is closed forever, there is no hope for you. Rather it says, Struggle on, Black Brother, be obedient, tip your hat to your betters, and in a thousand years or so maybe you will be as good and as smart as I am now, and then possibly you can have the vote and a berth in the Pullman car.

But everyone except the reactionaries will recognize Mr. Percy's paternalistic admonition to be pretty hollow nonsense. It is also dangerous, for it assumes that moral and intellectual development must or can come before social and political development. This assumption, I submit, is contrary to all experience. The Negro, like all other races, will make all four of these developments more or less at the same time. In the days of slavery Mr. Percy would no doubt have insisted that the Negro must attain moral and intellectual parity with the white man before he should have his freedom. But freedom, a political and a social gain, was the key to the whole world, without which there was nothing. Mr. Percy would probably argue that the Negro then lost a part of his freedom because he did not make the moral or intellectual advances necessary to sustain it. But that would be turning history upside down, for the Negro was robbed of his political freedom in large part before he had any chance whatever to show what he could do with it. Nevertheless, something of freedom did remain, and without it the progress since made by the Negro would have been impossible. Surely political freedom must come first of all; for the only way to prove that one deserves freedom is to be free. Just as emancipation was the key in the 1860's, so now it seems clear that wide enfranchisement is the key to further progress. By insisting upon an impossible perfectionism, Mr. Percy would lock the door and withhold the key.

Mr. Percy's position on share-cropping is equally disappointing. He says: "Share-cropping is one of the best systems ever devised to give security and a chance for profit to the simple and unskilled." Then he continues: "It has but one drawback—it must be administered by human beings to whom it offers an *unusual* [my emphasis] opportunity to rob without detection or punishment." Mr. Percy thus condemns the system in his own words, apparently without realizing that he is condemning it. He also seems unaware of this dilemma: if the croppers become skilled and informed they will doubtless overturn the system—and thus do away with the basis of Mr. Percy's culture; while if they remain simple and unskilled, somebody will always be only too happy to cheat them. The main indictment against the share-cropping system, however, is not moral but economic; the system is wasteful of labor, land, capital, and management. It would still be a vicious system, even if all the landlords were as sweet as Pollyanna and as kind-hearted as Santa Claus.

If a man so alert as William Alexander Percy can do no better than this, what are we to expect from the vulgarians? Our Southern reactionaries will be delighted to learn that, aside from a few dislocations which alarm Mr. Percy, so little is really wrong with our social system, and especially to have the assurance from so cultured a gentlemen and in such skilful prose. But the rest of us must say in sorrow, Somehow we must do better than this or we shall surely perish.

CHARLES CURTIS MUNZ

Manual of the War

BATTLE FOR THE WORLD. By Max Werner. Translated by Heinz and Ruth Norden. Modern Age Books. \$3.

THE rise of Hitler made considerations of military strategy an integral part of every man's political reasoning. Every school of political thought evolved its strategic view and attempted to support its often merely wishful "military science" with arguments drawn from technical literature. At the present moment this phenomenon is even more striking. There is, for example, the honorable version of the strict isolationist view that provided the United States does not aid Britain all will be well. A book and an early article of Hanson Baldwin's are often doubtfully drawn on in its support. Then there is the half-isolationist school which contends that if this country aids Britain with one hand, good will result, but if two hands are used, the United States will be destroyed. The technical literature of this school appears to be confined to the releases of the Gallup poll. The right-wing interventionists have their justification in classical theories of naval power. The left-wing supporters of Britain have hitherto not been well served by military scholars. It is good, therefore, that Mr. Werner has written this excellent book, which might be described as a *Nation* reader's manual of the war.

Mr. Werner is clear and unequivocal. He has always been an anti-fascist opponent of appeasement. His earlier book was a carefully documented plea for collective security. "Battle for the World" sustains the same line of argument, in the form that it logically takes at this stage of the crisis. He is a supporter of aid to Britain, because "a British defeat . . . makes possible and even probable a war against America by four continents under the leadership of the fascist-imperialist triangle." He approves of Administration policies but would have them clarified and strengthened, with the object of defeating the Axis.

It was recently suggested to me, during the course of a conversation in which I was commending the book, that Mr. Werner is "pro-Soviet." What I note, however, is merely that he does not permit his expressed dislike of Stalin to falsify his military reasoning. He asserts, and supports his case with numerous citations from leading non-Soviet authorities, that the Soviet army is an extremely powerful one, and a well-trained one, informed with wholly modern theories of war. When he reviews the consequences of the Soviet-German pact he points out the striking paradox that the very fulfilment of the pact tends to annul it. He provides an illuminating discussion of the maneuvering of the two principal Continental powers in their efforts to outflank each other in the Scandinavian North and the Near East. Apropos of the Soviets, only one glaring omission strikes the reviewer. In his otherwise excellent analysis of the Finnish war Mr. Werner fails to mention the enormous importance to their offensive of the Soviets' total mastery of the air. Nor does he ask what would have been the result had the Finnish army had the mobile artillery and reserves which would have been at the service of a German front of comparable extension. The Mannerheim Line was destroyed by heavy and competently directed artillery fire. But had a first-class air force been active, and had great masses of mobile artillery, plus mechanical equipment, been engaged, the Soviet artillery would

have found the duel less a matter of target practice than the low Soviet casualty list indicated that it was. Since the only point of discussing Soviet military strength is to compare it with the German forces, the omission is serious. Nevertheless, I believe that Mr. Werner's contention that the Red Army is as powerful as the German—at least for a war of no great duration—is sound.

The author possesses and expounds a global view of the war that includes an estimate of the political forces at work in the world identical with that expressed by the reviewer in *The Nation*. The last chapter of the book is entitled *The Decision Facing America*. It is so good that I wish he had doubled or trebled its length. I wish, too, that he had been more explicit concerning British and American relations with the Soviets. But, again, the omission does not seriously flaw ■ thoroughly creditable and useful piece of work.

RALPH BATES

In Solitary

SATAN'S SERGEANTS. By Josephine Herbst. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

ALTHOUGH the heroes and heroines of modern American novels are almost inevitably infected with loneliness and frustration, the minor characters are usually endowed by their creators with sufficient freedom to find some small measure of content and to form ■ salutary number of satisfactory human relationships. In Miss Herbst's novel all the characters lead thwarted, solitary, and unfulfilled lives. Two leading-strings determine their behavior: the separateness of human beings—"No wonder men accepted war that brought them together if only for disaster"—and the struggle to overcome and outwit the feeling of death. There is also a certain amount of nostalgia for the days when "those religionists" had "something inside of them, hard and good, and believing in man himself." The characters are natives of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, or rich newcomers from the city. They are

homeless, feverishly alone, and, I suppose it follows, unhappily married. Their minds creep away from their own capsize lives to the island of their defeated past, where they worry and feed. Two of them try to write.

The whole book is conditioned by this view of life, from which both its virtues and its deficiencies derive. It is of course not a question of the validity of the author's particular exegesis, but of what it does to the book. The people are real; the perceptions are acute; the observation, the moods, are excellent. These qualities, however, are necessarily blighted and stultified by the passive feelings imputed to the characters, feelings which are presented neither profoundly nor passionately enough to become active. The characters are continually remembering or being reminded of their pre-history, and we learn all the facts about them by means of numerous flashbacks and chapter sketches. The ever-churning thoughts and reflections are strangely alike, all at the same far remove, dioramic. And the planned climax, the calculated hypodermic—the big fire which is to consume the burden of wasted expenditure and reanimate the death-ridden lives—does not burn brightly enough. "We are all guilty," says Mrs. Williard; that's all.

For the truth it has, the sympathy, the deep feeling, for the daily pendulum of American family life, the book is good; but its goodness as a novel is only as latent and unrealized as the goodness of its characters. We do have Will Armstrong. Will lives a foundering life, a stranger to his wife and son as they are to him, and the realization of his strangeness finally kills him. Will is magnificent. In his relationship with his son Johnny and his wife, Belle, the power of his own helplessness generates the best writing of the book. Then the book stirs with a little of that free energy a novel must have.

H. P. LAZARUS

Novelists Between Wars

AMERICAN FICTION: 1920-1940. By Joseph Warren Beach. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

IN THIS study Joseph Warren Beach, who has written extensively on the problems and tendencies of modern fiction, examines eight American novelists of the inter-bellum period: Dos Passos, Hemingway, Faulkner, Wolfe, Caldwell, Farrell, Marquand, and Steinbeck. With the exception of Marquand, whom a sturdier sense of critical justice might have excluded in favor of a more expressive literary type, such as F. Scott Fitzgerald or Glenway Wescott, the novelists he considers are fully representative of the evolution of our narrative prose in the past twenty years. They certainly provide us with no end of examples both of a positive and negative nature. Mr. Beach, however, has chosen to inform his appraisals almost entirely with a laudatory content.

Although here and there, as in the case of Faulkner's style, he is not averse to noticing faults and sticking by what he has noticed, on the whole he manages to minimize or explain away altogether whatever weaknesses come to his attention. Thus he argues that the lack of form in Thomas Wolfe is more apparent than real, that actually his novels are ordered according to a symphonic pattern which makes them structurally comparable to the work of Proust. Moreover, the book

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is sustained throughout by a peculiar tone of buoyancy and elation that one has learned to suspect because it is of the kind that reflects more credit on a person's qualities as a reader—and these qualities are patience, loving-kindness, and gratitude for entertainment received—than on his values as a critic. It is plain that Mr. Beach takes most of the novelists he discusses on their own terms; he is concerned, as he admits when speaking of Caldwell, in putting them "in the best possible light with the intelligent reading public." Hence it is without surprise that we come upon the pretty tall claim advanced in his concluding chapter that "the social seriousness of American fiction today . . . is everywhere supported, in our most powerful writers, by an artistic seriousness and maturity such as we have never known before."

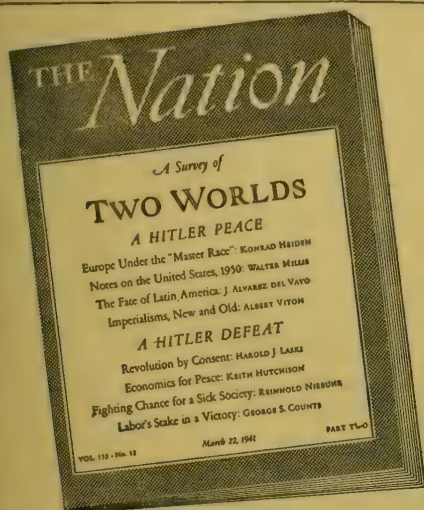
Consider to what lengths Mr. Beach has to go in order to maintain his claim. Having committed himself to the opinion that Steinbeck is a genius who typifies the "ripening of American literary culture," he must needs make out that each of Steinbeck's novels is an important work of art. Even "Tortilla Flat," that inconsequential romance of goody-goody vagabonds, he describes as "colored with the delicious humor of Don Quixote" and as possessing the "tender pathos of distance that attaches to St. Francis and Robin Hood and Shakespeare's Forest of Arden." And it is not Steinbeck alone who touches off a rhapsodic strain in this critic. Caldwell, too, he hails as a master who has his affinities with "Chaucer and Dickens, Balzac and Gorki." What can one say in face of such honorific statements? Obviously Mr. Beach,

who once wrote an excellent book on Henry James, has lost the capacity to draw essential distinctions.

And the point is not that Mr. Beach approaches writing in a naive manner, or that he lacks the equipment to place the art object within the right perspective. The essays in this volume on Faulkner and Farrell, in which he does not follow the beaten track of current popular opinion, show him in a different light. The trouble is, rather, that all too often he fails to make any real use of the considerable equipment he has at his disposal. After all, it takes only a modicum of literary sensitiveness to realize that Steinbeck is at present the most overrated novelist in America, and that Caldwell, despite his great gifts as a story-teller and as a symbolist of rural abandon, is fatally limited to plowing up over and over again the same small patch of ground. Nor does Thomas Wolfe, who is so wholly symptomatic of the traditional dilemma of the American artist, present any inexplicable critical problems.

In view of all this, perhaps Mr. Beach's leaps into super-erogation might be explained by the fact that, like so many people today, he has been moved by the compulsion to inflate everything American. Now that European culture has proved itself so brittle, many are trying to ward off the disaster that threatens us too by insisting on the uniform perfection of our native products. There is no salvation, however, in talismanic thinking. In the end it cannot but lead to the further enfeeblement of the organism whose defense has become so urgent.

PHILIP RAHV



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IN BRIEF

WHISTLE STOP. By Maritta M. Wolff. Random House. \$2.50.

A sturdy, extremely capable first novel about a sprawling, ill-assorted family in a little Midwestern town, their lives a tangle of jealousies, squabbles, repressions, and, strangely enough, hair-trigger adventure.

HALF THAT GLORY. By Stanley Gray. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

A colorful costume-piece depicting the part of the American Revolution that was fought behind the scenes in Europe, with Franklin and Beaumarchais spinning threads in a web of international intrigue—all this and a love story, too.

CAPTAIN PAUL. By Commander Edward Ellsberg. Dodd, Mead and Company. \$2.75.

A rousing, if somewhat over long, celebration of the exploits and character of our first great sea captain, John Paul Jones, as mirrored in the eyes of a close friend and officer who sailed with him on the Bonhomme Richard.

PORTULACA. By Bernice Kelly Harris. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

Because her portrait of Southern small-town life is so uncompromisingly honest, it is hard to see why Mrs. Harris lets her heroine compromise at the end of this novel. For a brief moment Nancy escapes from the deadening middle-class atmosphere that surrounds her husband, his family, and their uninspiring neighbors. But the next moment she goes back to them, and the explanation that the author invents for her action is not altogether satisfactory. Mrs. Harris writes with a sprightly pen. Her publishers say that her book is "unstained"

by bitterness. A dash more of bitterness might have improved it.

THE OTHER WORLDS. Edited, with an Introduction, by Phil Stong. Wilfred Funk. \$2.50.

If you like to proceed from impossible premises to impossible conclusions by perfectly logical steps, this anthology is for you. That is not said by way of derogation. It is a perfectly legitimate literary game and has excellent classical antecedents. Excessively serious, sober, and sensible people are warned to stay away, but for those who enjoy Lewis Carroll at his most nonsensical and Poe at his most horrible, Mr. Stong has spread a delectable feast. His taste in the field of fantasy is unfailingly good. This book has some virtues rare among anthologies: namely, well-worn items are rejected because they are too well known and authors are judged by their merit rather than by their reputations.

LOVE AND DEATH. By Llewellyn Powys. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

This novel, written as "an imaginary autobiography," is a sort of "Death and Transfiguration" in which the narrator, dying of consumption, recalls the idyllic love affair of his youth and distils from his memories a rapture that annihilates the agony of oncoming death. Written actually during the last few years of Mr. Powys's life, it is a modern "Daphnis and Chloe," an erotic rhapsody written in exquisite prose, an aging man's lyric hymn to the poetry of earth that is never dead.

THE DEEP. By Kaj Klitgaard. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.75.

A novel about a Danish lad with a restless, impishly inquiring mind who grows up at sea during the years before the first World War, building a philosophy out of the ocean's many moods to fit the men whom he learns to know on

full-rigged sailing vessels, tramp freighters, and trim vessels of the W. I. S. A. Line. It is a leisurely, sometimes rambling, but always mature and sensitive story that should charm many readers with its humane tolerance and its all-permeating savor of salt, rum, and pitch.

CALL THE NEW WORLD. By John Jennings. The Macmillan Company. \$2.75.

Through ten years—and 450 pages—of love and adventure likable Peter Brooke battles in the armies of the New World, taking part in the defense of Washington against the British in the War of 1812, campaigning up and down South America with Bolívar, always fighting against the forces of European oppression. One suspects that the story, while lively enough in its own right, was intended mainly to furnish a romantic background for the scene in which President Monroe issues his well-known doctrine in a message to the Congress.

DRAMA

EVERYBODY concerned with "The Happy Days" (Henry Miller's Theater) seems to have done his best. That goes for Miss Zoë Akins, who adapted it from the French of Claude-André Puget, and also for a very pleasant company of juveniles, including Diana Barrymore, Joan Tetzl, and Peter Scott. It goes also for Raymond Sovey, who has designed an unusually substantial and unusually inviting set to represent the country-house living-room where the action takes place. But the best and most conscientious workmen need something to work with, and the play is one of the most insubstantial of the many insubstantial bubbles which recent French playwrights have devoted themselves to blowing.

It is about—in so far as it is about anything—a group of adolescents respectably discovering life and love during the three days when they are left alone on an island while their parents are away at the funeral of a relative. Except for a few unnecessary lush passages, it is written with a certain delicacy, and there are a few farcical moments that are genuinely funny; but there is far too much marking of time, and it hardly seems an evening's worth. If intended for a psychological study, it ought to say more; if it is not supposed to be more than an entertaining comedy, it ought to be funnier.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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ART

Wrong for Latin America

THAT "carefully selected collection" of three hundred-odd American oils and water colors lately on brief view at the Metropolitan Museum and "intended to familiarize our southern neighbors with present trends in American painting" unhappily has got under way. Three exhibitions have been carved from it. Of these, one is headed for Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, and possibly Sao Paolo; another for Mexico City, Santiago de Chile, Lima, and Quito; the third for Bogotá, Caracas, and Havana. We say "unhappily" for the following reason: assembled under the auspices of the Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics and doubtless designed as a means of prompting the educated in the southern countries imaginatively to connect themselves with us, the collection and its offspring, unless the heavens prove clement, are likely to render our art and culture the laughing-stock of capitals such as Rio, Buenos Aires, and Mexico City.

The paintings do not form one of the brilliant, splashy shows that captivate the crowd. Neither do they constitute a demonstration of unusual abilities and aspiration, sincerity, imagination of the kind that wins the sensitive and intelligent to sympathy. Alleged to be a representation of the work of "some of our most gifted painters," the ensemble while it hung on the Metropolitan's walls reminded us of nothing quite so much as of the perennial jury-free shows of the Society of Independent Artists. What faced us, for all the famous names in the catalogue, was an indiscriminate heap, a scattering of wheat amid a mass of pictorial tares—which gave the impression that the level of achievement in contemporary American painting is unimportant, vulgar, dull. Works of art to be sure were not wholly wanting. There was a superb quartet of Marin washes. There were "Seated Nude" by Karfiol, one of the gentle lyrist's jewel-like canvases, Max Weber's warm "Music," Dickinson's soundly calculated "Industry," characteristically aggressive Hartleys, and good Demuths, Burchfields, McFees. However, the quality of the mass of the exhibits submerged these and other instances of the art of painting.

The biggest and thus most conspicuous canvas in the collection is the de-

testable "Draped Figure" by John Carroll. Designed in the manner of El Greco seen through Sargent, it is hopelessly cheap in spirit; evidently painted in cold cream and soot; giving the effect of the flesh of an overripe banana. Almost as conspicuous by reason of their number are the six oils and water colors by Reginald Marsh: they are most inferior examples of draftsmanship and color. Their lines, for example, possess no genuine vitality. What expresses itself through them is not the quality or inwardness of things but mere caricatures of essences. Conspicuous largely by reason of their squalid subject matter, the Marsh sextet, in fact, are illustrations. The assemblage, again, sports three sizable John Steuart Currys which vie with one another for the crown of red onions reserved for the perfectly commonplace. And the quantities of veneered academicisms masquerading as modernities!

Even some of the collection's examples of the painters who deserved a place in it are inferior. The silvery O'Keeffe, for instance, is one of this excellent artist's few pieces with a papery feel. The water-color section certainly would not have been crippled by the exclusion of Walkowitz's leaden pair of "Isadora Duncans," any more than the oil section would have suffered by the inclusion of a couple of his lovelier landscapes with figures. One of Demuth's rather static canvases might advantageously have been eliminated in favor of a representative group of this exquisite's lustrous washes. As for a Marin oil, there is no sign of one, nor an inch of anything by those distinguished creative painters Dove, Stella, Koppman, Bluemner, Varian, Friedman.

But it would be folly to expatiate on the character of the show. The pity is, the actual America possesses painters who if expertly presented might easily fascinate the sensitive and intelligent in Latin America: painters of extraordinary gifts, endeavor, vision, whose work not only has aimed at heights but has attained them. We still are a great nation; rich not only in promise but in performance, in social and intellectual elevation. And just as it is not the common but the highest level of their achievement which ultimately represents nations at the judgment bar of humanity, so it is this high level which continually represents them at that of intelligent and sensitive people. The advantage flowing from the achievement of interesting this stratum of persons is due of course to the circumstance that

what prevails in the long run is their opinion. Meanwhile, Latin America has not yet made up its mind regarding the value of the American contribution to culture and potential creativity in the aesthetic realms; and, as I have remarked, it would seem that a miracle might be necessary to prevent the show now en route from costing us some of the recognition we badly require.

It is unfortunate, too, that while the disserviceable collection was on the Metropolitan's walls the critics of the great New York dailies not only did not utter a word of protest against its quality but never even sought seriously to appraise it, thus depriving our "southern neighbors" of a means of judging of its representativeness. In Mexico they possess brilliant indigenous art, and in the east-coast capitals of the southern continent the educated public is familiar with modern French art and, incidentally, possesses imitators and illustrators who will see through the tricks of their northern confrères. And, informed by the organizing committee that the bulk of the collection represents the work of "some of our most gifted painters" and the "present trends in American painting," they will judge us by these "fruits."

PAUL ROSENFELD

RECORDS

THE characteristically mingled wit and stabbing poignancy and sheer loveliness of Mozart's String Quartet K. 458 ("Hunt") are marvelously realized, in Victor's new set (763, \$3.50), in the sound of the work created by the Budapest Quartet—a four-stranded texture that is as unique an achievement of as unique a combination of musical feeling and taste and technical virtuosity in this province as a Toscanini performance is in the other. With this set, made here a year ago, I played the Victor set of Beethoven's Quartet Op. 74 ("Harp") which the Budapest group made in England, and the set of Beethoven's Op. 18 No. 1 which it made here recently for Columbia—this for a comparison of recording jobs. The English recording—which reproduces the four strands with flawless beauty of sound throughout their range, with spaciousness and balance, with cleanness and roundness of definition—is the best; the American Victor offers the spaciousness, balance, and definition, the beauty of sound in the lower range, but a metallic sharpness in the higher range of the violins; the Columbia hasn't the

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The power and grandeur that have caused Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5 to acquire the name "Emperor" are in the music when Schnabel plays it with power and grandeur in the old Victor set, and are not there when Moiseivitch plays it with sentimentality and mincing daintiness in the new Victor set that he made with the London Philharmonic under Szell (Set 761, \$5.50). Piano and orchestra are recorded with more richness and voluminousness in the new version; but the recording of the old performance is still acceptable in fidelity, clarity, and balance, and I hope that Victor will retain it in the catalogue. If it doesn't, the fine Columbia set made by Gieseking and Bruno Walter will be the one to acquire of this work. (Schnabel is now here—and here to stay. It seems likely under the circumstances that if it wants to Victor can secure H.M.V.'s permission to make recordings of his performances—of the Schubert sonatas that he is going to play for the New Friends of Music next season; of the last Beethoven sonatas that are no longer obtainable even in H.M.V.'s limited edition subscription sets; of some of the concertos he will play with orchestras next year. And meanwhile Victor might issue the Schnabel recording of Schubert's great B flat Sonata that has already appeared in England.)

The volume Italian Songs of the 17th and 18th Centuries (Set 766, \$3.50) offers in most instances pieces that are lovely and charming, and that are superbly sung by Pinza. On the other hand the Russian Liturgical Music recorded by the General Platoff Don Cossack Chorus (Set 768, \$3.50) I find wearisome—though possibly what wearies me is the music as sung in what seems to be the Cossack chorus style of constant oscillation between *ffff* and *pppp*. On his record (15601, \$1) of "Dalla sua pace" and "Il mio tesoro" from Mozart's "Don Giovanni" Gigli's voice sounds more agreeable than it has sounded on other recent records, but his phrasing is not in better musical taste.

The pieces in the volume Piano Music by American Composers (Set 764, \$4.50), well recorded by Jeanne Behrend, are things one might be interested in hearing once; but I doubt that this hearing would leave one with a desire to hear them many more times or even—in some instances—a second time. And my hearing of the works of Villa-Lobos in the Festival of Brazilian Music (Set 773, \$5.50) has left me with an unwillingness ever to hear another work by this composer even once. The per-

formances by Elsie Houston, the Brazilian Festival Orchestra and Quartet, and the Schola Cantorum, all under the direction of Burle Marx, seem good and are well recorded. As for Sibelius's "Malinconia," well done by Louis Jensen, 'cellist, and Galina Werschenskaya, pianist (17920, \$1), it is something only a Sibelius fanatic will want.

Though he had only musicians of limited capacities at his disposal—the Columbia University and Barnard College Glee Clubs and the Columbia University Orchestra—Mr. John Giddings, with unusual enterprise and courage, put on a performance of Berlioz's Requiem which could not give the work all the effect it would have had from a first-rate professional performance, but which gave me at least an idea of this effect that I probably never would have if I waited for one of our choral or orchestral conductors to give it to me. In much of the work I found the language strange and the thought not easily assimilated; but two sections were immediately accessible and impressive—the intense and intricate Lacrymosa and the radiant Sanctus (in the Sanctus it was painful to hear what the tenor soloist, William Hess, had been taught to do with a fine voice).

And excellent taste in the selection and arrangement of material made the program of Spanish music and dancing at the third of the Museum of Modern Art's Coffee Concerts a model of its kind. The dancing of the extraordinary Juan Martinez and his wife Antonita, of Ana Maria, of the youngsters of the Gaiteros de Galicia, the singing of Sophia Novoa and La Gitanilla, the florid singing of the guitarist Jeronimo Villarino—all these were delightful.

B. H. HAGGIN

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

MEN OF WEALTH. By John T. Flynn. Simon and Schuster. \$3.75.

THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY. By E. D. Kennedy. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.50.

THE LONG WEEK END. By Robert Graves and Alan Hodge. Macmillan. \$3.

MISSION TO THE NORTH. By Florence Jaffray Harriman (Mrs. J. Borden Harriman). Lippincott. \$3.50.

REASON AND REVOLUTION: HEGEL AND THE RISE OF SOCIAL THEORY. By Herbert Marcuse. Oxford. \$3.75.

THE FORGOTTEN VILLAGE. By John Steinbeck. Viking. \$2.50.

ANOTHER PART OF THE FOREST. By G. B. Stern. Macmillan. \$3.

Letters to the Editors

Appeasement in Palestine

Dear Sirs: Recent reports of events in Iraq have again called attention to the notorious Haj Amin el Husseini, former Mufti of Jerusalem, now playing the Axis game in Bagdad. If he is today second only in influence in the Arab world to Ibn Saud, the British deserve credit for having deliberately built up his reputation and his trouble-making capacity. They appointed him Mufti in 1921, overriding the negative vote of the Moslem notables charged by law with making the selection. As head of the Palestine Moslem Supreme Council he was on the British pay roll; as sole administrator of the Waqf, a religious and charitable foundation, he was responsible for the distribution of large sums for which an accounting was never required of him. He was formally charged with instigating rioting against Jews and British in Palestine by several investigating commissions. In the disturbances that began in 1936 he was known to be receiving financial aid from Axis sources, and to be outfitting his terrorist gangs with Axis arms and paying them off with Axis money.

Yet the British made no move to halt his activities until 1937; even then they generously permitted him to "escape" from Jerusalem to Syria, where their French allies as generously permitted him to continue his Axis-financed leadership of the Palestine rioters and his pro-Axis, anti-British propaganda. With the outbreak of the war he removed to Bagdad, where he played no small part in fomenting the anti-British sentiment that eventuated in Rashid Ali's coup. And now he is calling for a holy war to raise up the new Aryan Allah, with Haj Amin as his prophet.

The name of Fauzi Kawakji has also cropped up in the news again as a leader of the Iraqi revolt. He was the self-styled "general" of the Palestinian rioters, whom the British studiously refrained from putting out of commission.

Haj Amin could have been deflated and rendered impotent at any moment of his British-made career. But the British were so intent on appeasing the Arabs that they deliberately catered to his personal ambitions, camouflaged as Arab "nationalism." The concessions they made in pursuance of this policy, such as whittling down the internationally

guaranteed rights of the Jewish settlers until they virtually disappeared, only aroused contempt for Britain among the Arabs.

It may be noted, too, that the British have not yet learned from this experience. Palestine is in critical danger of an attack which will expose the eastern flank of the Suez and deliver it into Axis hands. Palestine is more difficult to defend, especially with Syria virtually open to Axis forces and Iraq in a state of disaffection, than is North Africa. Yet British appeasement of the Arabs has gone to the length of refusing to mobilize some 50,000 trained and eager Jews in Palestine—and at least another 50,000 elsewhere anxious to serve in Palestine—for fear of arousing Arab displeasure. Britain declines to place under arms more Jews than Arabs; and so the enrolment of Jews must wait upon the pleasure of the Arabs, who have shown themselves reluctant to serve, in some part, no doubt, as a result of Haj Amin's effective propaganda. This at a time when the empire approaches a major crisis, and every soldier counts. For the same reason Britain has deliberately refrained from developing Palestine's efficient industry, largely Jewish, to a point where it can supply the Near East armies with important war materials.

And so the Suez may be lost, the empire cut in two—but, praise Allah, the Arabs will have been appeased.

JOSHUA TRACHTENBERG
Easton, Pa., May 23

The New Master Class

Dear Sirs: In his review of James Burnham's "The Managerial Revolution" in *The Nation* of April 26, Lewis Corey mentions me as one of those who "helped to shape the theory" of the new social order discussed by Mr. Burnham. Corey says that I "formulated it in a general way" and "called the new rulers 'intellectuals.'" That word actually does occur rather frequently in my writings. I used it, however, in the "specifically economic sense of a stratum deriving its livelihood from mental occupations" (Foreword to my "Rebels and Renegades," 1932). Moreover, in my subsequent writings I spoke of "the rule of a new master class, the office-holders and technicians" (*Scribner's*, March, 1933)

and, again, of capitalism having "produced its own successor in the form of a new social stratum of managers, organizers, technicians, and other educated employees" (*Scribner's*, June, 1934). Mr. Corey is therefore not quite exact when he says that the later writers dealing with this subject "made it more specific" by speaking of "technical and managerial middle classes" or of "technical, administrative, managerial groups." Furthermore, I wish to point out that the theory in question, at least in its basic outline, is much older than the writings Mr. Corey referred to. Credit for it belongs to the Polish-Russian revolutionary thinker Wacław Machajski, whose writings, in Russian, appeared about forty years ago.

New York, May 9 MAX NOMAD

A Cable to Léon Blum

Dear Sirs: A cable sent to Léon Blum on April 9 read as follows:

The following group of Americans—educators, clergymen, writers, journalists, artists, all those with faith in democracy—take the occasion of your birthday to express to you their sympathetic greetings, and to express as well the hope that you may soon be justly freed of all charges. We wish to express our confidence in your personal integrity and your devotion to the best interests of France and her people.

HARRY ELMER BARNES, LOUIS BROMFIELD, KYLE CRICHTON, HELEN GRACE CARLISLE, EDNA FERBER, CHRISTOPHER MORLEY, HUDSON STRODE, FRED UTEY, CARL SANDBURG, LEONARD D. ABBOTT, BRUCE BLIVEN, CLIFTON FADIMAN, LEWIS GANNETT, QUINCY HOWE, FRED KIRCHWEY, DOROTHY THOMPSON, CLARENCE STREIT, RAYMOND GRAM SWING, OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, PEGGY BACON, BOARDMAN ROBINSON, DONALD RICHBERG, GEORGE GORDON BATTLE, STRINGFELLOW BARR, CHARLES A. BEARD, JOHN DEWEY, MARY E. WOOLLEY, PAUL ENGLE, ALVIN JOHNSON, JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, ROGER BALDWIN, JEAN HERSHOLT, PAUL MUNI, (AMONG MANY OTHERS)

Several weeks ago we received this reply:

This testimonial, bearing such names, fills me with pride, confidence, and gratitude. I thank everyone, with profound emotion.

LÉON BLUM

HELEN GRACE CARLISLE
North Stamford, Conn., May 20

Polish Anti-Semitism

Dear Sirs: Permit me to make a few remarks concerning the article Anti-Semitism in Exile by William Zukerman, in *The Nation* of May 17. There is no doubt that anti-Semitic tendencies exist among some of the Polish exiles, but the views of these reactionary groups should not be confused with Polish public opinion. Poland passed the high tide of anti-Semitism at least a year before the outbreak of the war, and reactionary influences had begun to decrease in strength despite the efforts of the regime. And even during the preceding period of rising anti-Semitism there was a strong mass movement in Poland definitely opposing it—namely, the labor movement. Moreover, other sectors of Polish public opinion—not only in the Peasant Party—agreed with labor on this question. Many prominent scholars and intellectuals publicly proclaimed their indignation at the official support given to anti-Semitism.

Most of the eminent Polish democrats and labor leaders remained in Poland and are still fighting for freedom and democracy. Some of them, however, are now in Great Britain, where they consider it their supreme duty to stand up for the same ideals. Jan Stanczyk, leader of the Polish Socialist Party and Minister of Labor and Public Welfare, has made many statements to that effect. The same may be said of the *Polish Worker*, a Socialist paper published in London, and of the New York weekly of the same name.

In Poland itself, in spite of the terrible conditions and the indescribable persecutions of the Polish people, the democratic underground movement still carries on. Scores of illegal papers are being published. This movement is fighting anti-Semitism, considering it an instrument of Hitler's domination, and has issued a special manifesto against the institution of the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw. In spite of the German determination to separate the Poles from the Jews completely, the two groups are co-operating. It should be noted that the defeat of the Polish people has stimulated their feeling for democracy.

Pétain and Darlan are not the French people, Franco and Suñer are not the Spanish people, and Juzviak and his friends are not the Polish people. Mr. Zukerman's article gives only a part of the truth, and was therefore unfair to the Polish nation.

WLADYSŁAW MALINOWSKI
New York, May 24

"One Grand Republick" of Europe

Dear Sirs: That the nations of Europe could be drawn into closer relations, and that the experience of the United States might serve as a precedent for such an interesting event, was foreseen, and the process indicated, by Benjamin Franklin in a letter which he wrote to a correspondent in Europe under date of October 22, 1787:

I send you enclos'd the propos'd new Federal Constitution for these States. I was engag'd 4 Months of the last Summer in the Convention that form'd it. It is now sent by Congress to the several States for their Confirmation. If it succeeds, I do not see why you might not in Europe carry the project of good Henry the 4th into Execution, by forming a Federal Union and One Grand Republick of all its different States & Kingdoms; by means of a like Convention; for we had many interests to reconcile."

W. H. TAYLOR
Uniontown, Ala., May 26

Youth Defends Democracy

Dear Sirs: Last January a group of students from ten colleges met in New York City to talk over ways and means of building democracy in America and saving it in Europe and the Far East. Out of these discussions grew the Student Defenders of Democracy, with headquarters at 8 West Fortieth Street, New York. The organization now has members on some 150 campuses and active chapters on about 30. At the rate of present additions, it will probably have between 3,000 and 5,000 dues-paying members next fall. This would make the S. D. D. the largest political student group in the country.

It publishes a student newspaper, *SOS*; it is engaged in a drive to win one million signatures to a petition favoring convoys; it has launched a drive among students in favor of labor rights and against the Vinson bill; it is campaigning in behalf of the "Student Bill of Rights" drawn up by the Academic Freedom Committee of the A. C. L. U.; and it is publishing a series of folders on current topics known as the "Freedom First" series.

Probably the S. D. D. received widest recognition when some fifteen of its high-school members braved a hostile pro-Nazi crowd at a New York meeting of the America First Committee. Their signs were torn, their literature was taken away, and many were beaten. These students were orderly, but they

did not run away, and they did not consider it "beneath their dignity" to picket.

Because the S. D. D. believes in democracy and does not coerce those of its members who do not always agree with the majority, it has a real chance of becoming a lasting force in American student life. But it is necessary for it to raise a budget of \$15,000 a year.

ROBERT G. SPIVACK
New York, May 15

CONTRIBUTORS

W. E. LUCAS lived in India from 1922 to 1936 and was acquainted with the Indian leaders, including Gandhi and Nehru. During that period he contributed special articles to the *London Times* and other publications.

D. A. SAUNDERS has done considerable research, writing, and lecturing in the field of public opinion, propaganda, and channels of communication.

AUREL KOLNAI is the author of "The War Against the West," a brilliant evaluation of National Socialism and its international consequences.

OUR CHINESE CORRESPONDENT is a distinguished Chinese scholar who, for obvious reasons, must remain anonymous.

WALDO FRANK is the author of "A Chart for Rough Water." An earlier book, "America Hispana," has recently been brought out in a new, inexpensive edition under the title of "South of Us."

CHARLES CURTIS MUNZ, author of "Land Without Moses," has long been a close student of the racial and economic problems of the South.

RALPH BATES, noted English novelist, is the author of "The Olive Field," "The Fields of Paradise," and many other books.

PHILIP RAHV is one of the editors of the *Partisan Review*, a radical literary journal.

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The Shape of Things

THE LOSS OF CRETE IS A BITTER BLOW FOR the British. In contrast to the setbacks in Yugoslavia and Greece, the defeat is particularly hard to swallow because it was unnecessary. The British were outguessed and outmaneuvered, but not outfought. First-hand observers make it clear that the parachute troops were by no means responsible for the victory. Practically all the early parachutists were killed, and the latecomers would have met the same fate if the Nazis had not gained complete mastery of the air. It is evident that the British were not ready for an assault of such magnitude. The defending force of 30,000 would perhaps have been large enough if it had been adequately equipped with anti-aircraft guns and tanks and supported by planes. The excuse that Crete did not have sufficient landing facilities for aerial defense seems hardly convincing, especially in view of the fact that the Germans used fields which the British had described a few weeks earlier as inadequate. The loss of the island is not so serious in itself; what is serious is the indication that the British can still be caught unprepared.

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THE BRITISH TRIUMPH IN IRAQ DOES MUCH to outweigh the setback in Crete. For Iraq not only has strategic significance as the farthest outpost of Nazi influence but is of great economic value because of its oil fields. Iraq may also become symbolic as the first major Nazi miscalculation. There seems hardly any doubt that Germany could have gained control of this rich prize if it had thrown the same energies into the preparation that went into the attack on Crete. But for once its aid was too little and too late. The Germans who were sent into Iraq may still be in a position to make trouble for the British, but they have clearly failed in their major purpose. The famed Nazi propaganda service seems to have fallen down even more completely than the General Staff. Although discontent with British rule is undoubtedly widespread in the Arab world, the much-advertised Arab revolt proved to be still-born. Despite Nazi propaganda, the British had no difficulty in stirring up substantial Iraqi opposition to the defeated Premier, Rashid Ali al-

Gailani. Ironically enough, the British made effective use of Nazi tactics in their drive on Bagdad. The R. A. F. quickly took advantage of British aerial supremacy to bomb and destroy Iraqi airports and then turned their full power against the Iraqi troops. The British also made expert use of their mechanized forces to outmaneuver the natives and achieved their goal with surprisingly few losses. The victory should release a substantial number of well-equipped, expert desert fighters for the defense of the Suez Canal; it may prove to be a turning-point in the Nazi Middle Eastern campaign.

★

THE DIVISION IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT which has prevented the development of an effective Far Eastern policy was never more in evidence than last week. After the President's address, which avoided mentioning Japan directly, the appeasers immediately began to circulate reports to the effect that a change in Japanese policy might be expected soon, provided we did not antagonize the responsible civilian elements which were gradually gaining the upper hand over the militarists. In the past such a plea has usually been timed to coincide with some conciliatory statement from Tokyo. But on this occasion the Japanese themselves were the first to repudiate it. Foreign Minister Matsuoka hastened to reaffirm the Tripartite Pact and to declare that the time may soon arrive when Japan will be forced to end its "peaceful policy" in the South Pacific. A few hours later the Japanese government delivered a "final note" to the government of the Netherland Indies demanding widespread economic concessions. This was accompanied by a resumption of anti-British and anti-American attacks in the Japanese press. Meanwhile, Chungking announced receipt of an additional \$100,000,000 in supplies under the Lend-Lease Act, and Secretary Hull, speaking for the anti-appeasement wing of the State Department, formally assured Quo Tai-chi, the Chinese Foreign Minister, that the United States was prepared to relinquish its last remaining rights under the unequal treaties, including extra-territoriality, after the restoration of peace. Secretary Hull's statement was of historic importance, not only as an indication of a new basis of relationship between the United States and China, but as a setback to Japan, which has been claiming unilateral repudiation of extra-territoriality in the name of its puppet governments in Central China and Manchuria.

★

IT NOW APPEARS THAT THE JAPANESE HAVE met with disastrous defeats in each of the recent spring offensives against the Chinese. The most important of these drives was that launched against Shansi Province, stronghold of the Eighth Route Army. As in many previous offensives in this region, the Japanese at first gained steadily, threatening to cross the Yellow River and occupy

the important city of Sian. But the most recent reports tell of successful Chinese counter-attacks and an outflanking movement from the Chungtiao Mountains, which are still in the hands of the defenders. The Japanese are reported to have lost 40,000 men in the drive. In Central China, south of Shanghai, a Japanese offensive into Chekiang appears to have collapsed completely, with the Chinese regaining the railroad towns of Chuchi and Lintuchen. A Japanese advance northward from Canton appears to have been similarly checked. The Chinese have reoccupied Waichow, a strategic city on the East River, and the walled city of Poklow in southeastern Kwantung. North of Hankow the Chinese have captured Hwan-tanchen, which served as the base for a secondary Japanese drive in the Tahung Mountain section of Hupeh Province. Reports from Chungking indicate that despite recent heavy Japanese bombing attacks, the Chinese air force, strengthened by newly arrived British and American planes, may soon take the offensive against the Japanese. There is a possibility that newly trained Chinese aviators may be aided by American volunteers.

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GAHO DUNN, WHO WAS ENGAGED BY OPM with the full approval of the steel industry as a practical engineer capable of gauging accurately the demand for steel during the defense period, has had to admit that the "theoretical" economists, whose estimates he was brought in to refute, were right after all. On March 1 Mr. Dunn reported that the existing expansion plans of the industry would enable it to satisfy all defense, export, and civilian needs this year and next. In 1942, he declared, there would be a "reliable capacity" of 91,100,000 tons to meet a total demand of 89,000,000. It now appears that this estimate did not allow for the passing of the Lease-Lend Act, for further expansion of the defense program, or, to a sufficient extent, for greater civilian consumption induced by growth of national income. So we have a new estimate of 97,000,000 tons, and since it is unlikely that the industry will expand sufficiently to achieve such an output, civilian consumption will have to be rationed. This will necessitate cutting production and employment in a number of civilian industries, which will in turn tend to reduce national income and hence the ability of consumers to buy steel. Thus Mr. Dunn and his supporters may eventually be able to claim a kind of Procrustean success in meeting the problem. It ought not to be forgotten, however, that six months ago the National Resources Planning Board advised a very large expansion in steel-making facilities in order to meet probable requirements for 1942. If a really imaginative construction program had been put in hand at that time we should by now be making some progress toward providing for next year's additional load. But with the industry working at around 100 per cent of capacity the

June 7, 1941

question raised by Mr. Dunn of how to furnish steel for new furnaces, rolling mills, and so on does indeed present a grave problem.

★

AN ALARMING SHORTAGE OF ELECTRIC power to supply defense industries is revealed by an announcement from Chairman Leland Olds of the Federal Power Commission, who has arranged to meet with officials of both public and privately owned utilities at six regional conferences in various sections of the country to discuss the problem. The same announcement indicates the extent to which the shortage may be alleviated by coordinated planning and pooling of power facilities in various regions. By bringing eighteen private and public power systems in the Southeastern states into one great pool and allocating power out of that pool, half of the shortage in the area has already been met. The Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas are all represented in the pool. These states are the scene of vast expansion in defense industries using electric power to make aluminum, ferro-alloys, steel, and basic chemicals. "With rainfall in the area at only 50 per cent of normal," Chairman Olds announced, "the flow of the rivers to date is less than any year of record. Without the extraordinary steps now under way, the deficiency of electricity to carry essential loads threatened to reach a total of one billion kilowatt hours before the end of the year." Planned pooling is making it possible to treat the public and private utilities of this entire region as one great unit, thus obtaining maximum utilization of generating and transmitting facilities. Power is not the only industry in which planning can provide a considerable increase in productivity.

★

THE DEMAND FOR A SHAKE-UP IN DEFENSE is growing, and since the publication of I. F. Stone's three articles on the need to get rid of "Knudsenism" the cry has been taken up in many other quarters, some of them conservative. Alsop and Kintner, Ernest K. Lindley, and Raymond Clapper have all touched upon the phony character of the "sacrifice" involved in the 20 per cent cut announced by the automobile industry and analyzed by Mr. Stone. The New York *Herald Tribune* of last Saturday declared editorially that the cut is inadequate and merely reduces production from present boom levels to those of last year. Knudsen is much less the sacred cow than he has been. "One disturbing thing at OPM," Raymond Clapper wrote recently, "is the complacent state of mind at the top. I don't like to throw brickbats, especially at such a grand old man as William S. Knudsen. Yet he and other top OPM executives laughed off reports from Federal Reserve Board economists some months ago saying that we would need a 20 per cent increase in steel capacity over the 80,000,000-ton capacity then estimated."

Even General Johnson wrote the other day, "Mr. Knudsen is a production man. He should never have been pushed into any other job." We do not doubt Mr. Knudsen's outstanding ability as a production man. Our objection to him is based on his inability to make the decisions needed to speed defense and to force his old associates in the automotive industry to subordinate their business interests to the country's needs.

★

WE HAVE A HIGH REGARD FOR SOLICITOR General Francis Biddle, but we think he spoke with less than full consideration in his speech before the National Conference of Social Work in Atlantic City. Mr. Biddle is disturbed by liberal and labor opposition to the Hobbs "concentration-camp" bill and the Model State Anti-Sabotage bill. It makes him "wonder whether many liberals . . . are more concerned over minor curtailments of private liberties than over defeating fascism." The prime movers of these bills hardly seem concerned with "defeating fascism." We think the government justified in taking stern measures against sabotage and enemy aliens, but the Solicitor General made two admissions which do not help his argument. Of the Hobbs bill he says it is "in a sense revolutionary, because it permits detention without trial by jury." To permit detention without trial by jury is not "defeating fascism" but inviting it. The three branches of the labor movement are agreed that the Model Anti-Sabotage bill is so broadly worded as to permit it to be used as state anti-syndicalism laws have been used. "That the statute is too broad in that respect," Mr. Biddle says, "is certainly arguable." He then proceeds to beg the question by declaring that he cannot "conceive that any American would argue that sabotage should not be punished." Neither can we. But we want to be sure that it is sabotage which will be punished, not something else.

★

THE HAIR-LINE DISTINCTION DIVIDING THE majority of the Supreme Court from the minority of Justices Douglas, Black, and Murphy in the Louisiana Primary case is one of the finest—and most obscure—we have encountered. But it is at least clear that all seven members of the court participating in this decision agree that Congress has ample power under the Constitution to protect the right to vote in primaries as well as in general elections. This reverses the decision in the Newberry case, which held that primaries were under state jurisdiction only. The assertion of a Congressional right to regulate primaries picking candidates for federal offices has obvious implications for the one-party states of the South and might prove important in the future if Huey Longs should appear elsewhere than in Louisiana. The difference between the court's majority and minority is really a difference in relative weight given conflicting rights. The majority chooses to give full weight to statutory provi-

sions protecting "any right or privilege" secured by the Constitution, and among these rights it includes that of voting in primary as well as general elections. The minority is disturbed because Louisiana election officials will be punished for an offense not explicitly spelled out in the criminal code, that is, the false counting and certification of ballots in a primary. Douglas and his colleagues of the minority feel that to create a crime by inference is a danger to civil liberties. We decline to grant certiorari; before this subtle quarrel editorial omniscience quails.

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JAN VALTIN SEEMS TO BE HOIST WITH HIS own melodrama. His statement that "it is impossible for anyone to be released from a Nazi concentration camp unless he signs a pledge to serve the Gestapo," with its implication that political refugees are willing or unwilling agents of the Nazis is both reckless and ridiculous. And it comes with bad grace and worse judgment from a man who is himself a political refugee. As Dr. Frank Kingdon pointed out, the record of every refugee seeking admission to this country is sifted and resifted, and the integrity of every applicant must be vouched for by unimpeachable witnesses. The final decision rests with the State Department, and as Dr. Kingdon says, anyone who knows the "meticulousness of its inquiries in this field will know how unlikely it is that any type of fifth columnist could filter through." Considering the "meticulousness" with which the department has obstructed the admission of known anti-fascists, Dr. Kingdon's statement shows remarkable restraint. More than one informed witness of the French débâcle has demonstrated that political refugees, subjected as they are to constant scrutiny, are not much use to Hitler—quite aside from the fact that they are anti-fascists to begin with. Valtin has denied any intention of slandering political refugees, but unfortunately his denial will carry less weight with the professional refugee baiters than his original statement. Meanwhile the case of Dr. Kurt Rieth suggests that it would make more sense if we denied admission to any German who had *not* been in a concentration camp.

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READING ABOUT THE UBIQUITOUS ACTIVITY of the FBI we are moved to pray that the sagacity of its direction may be equal to its undoubted energy. We cannot help feeling a little disturbed, as well as very much amused, when we learn from the *Washington News* that agents assigned to the investigation of government personnel regard a subscription to *The Nation* as suggestive of "un-Americanism." If J. Edgar Hoover is going to point the finger of suspicion at all *Nation* readers in Washington he will have to send his sleuths right into the inner government circles. He might start, in fact, by dogging the steps of his boss—Attorney General Robert Jackson.

Vichy Versus France

THE British government has evidently come to the conclusion that nothing further is to be gained by attempting to appease Vichy. All hopes that Marshal Pétain would prove willing and able to resist Nazi pressure have vanished, and the implications of the bet which he and his henchmen have placed on Nazi victory have at last been boldly faced. In Syria the air bases used by the Germans have been constantly attacked and Vichy's protests ignored. Italian ships have been chased into the Tunisian harbor of Sfax and there bombed in spite of claims that this is a violation of French neutrality. French ships are being picked up in the Atlantic and taken to British ports, and all navicerts for cargoes to French ports have been suspended.

Admiral Darlan, who no longer attempts to hide his inheritance of Laval's policies with Laval's office, has replied by uttering threats against Britain which will no doubt be translated into overt acts as soon as the moment seems propitious to him, or rather to his Nazi masters. But certain obstacles remain to be overcome. For one thing, Hitler appears to have promised Vichy that he will leave French colonial possessions intact, and this pledge unfortunately conflicts with prior undertakings to Italy, still intent on securing Tunisia as part of its war loot. In the long run this point is of small importance, for if Germany wins the war, Tunisia, whatever flag it is nominally under, will in effect be at Hitler's disposal. But any attempt now to satisfy Italian ambitions in this direction would involve a risk of independent action by Weygand's army and would also make nonsense of the Vichy propaganda that the only threat to the French Empire comes from Britain. As we write, Hitler and Mussolini are meeting at the Brenner, and no doubt this little difficulty will be smoothed out by giving Italy compensation elsewhere.

A much more serious obstacle to total collaboration between Germany and France is the attitude of the French people. In spite of months of strenuous propaganda in both occupied and unoccupied France, the mass of the population is far more anti-Nazi and pro-British than it was a year ago. Every kind of pressure has been placed on the French public in the hope of forcing it to acquiesce in, if not welcome, the policy of accepting a niche in the "New Order." But neither hunger nor the peculiarly cruel form of blackmail which employs the two million French prisoners in Germany as hostages has moved French opinion to abandon hope of a final democratic victory. And while that situation holds, Vichy will probably hesitate to proclaim open adherence to the Axis and open warfare against Britain. Darlan's present tactics, therefore, may well be to goad Britain into attacking one or more French colonies in the hope that he may then be able to swing public sentiment against British

"imperialism." His latest statement repeated all the favorite themes of the Wilhelmstrasse. It was British aggression that brought on the war and the British desire to ruin Europe that prolonged the conflict. Britain had always deserted and cheated its allies, and the best hope of France was a speedy defeat of the perfidious island. But most Frenchmen have politically trained ears able to distinguish original music from a phonograph record, and this *Ersatz* appeal to patriotic passion is likely to meet a negligible response.

Britain should call Vichy's bluff and march into Syria before the Nazis establish themselves there in any strength. It is highly probable that the occupation would prove a bloodless operation, for there are many signs that the French army in Syria, if not completely disaffected, has little stomach for a fight against a former ally. We do not believe that many Frenchmen would resent such a movement. On the contrary, they would regard it as a sensible step toward thwarting Hitler and therefore entirely in the interests of the true France.

The Coming Labor Crisis

FOR the moment we are enjoying a brief respite from labor strife. With the settling of the coal strike, the averting of a strike in General Motors, and the C. I. O. victories in the Ford and Bethlehem elections, the country is left without any major labor dispute in the defense industries. The West Coast shipyard strike is the only disturbance worthy of note. The situation has reached a point where the radio commentators, who bear a large responsibility for the hysteria over the supposed labor crisis, are finding it difficult to play up their daily list of strikes. It would be a mistake, however, to regard this lull as an indication that trouble is past. The truth is that the real labor crisis has not yet developed. What we have had so far has been largely a fabricated crisis. Powerful interests have sought, for reasons best known to themselves, to give the impression that the defense program was being seriously retarded by strikes and labor disputes. Actually, as the President and several members of the Administration have pointed out, the strikes never got to the point where they seriously held up defense production. That they did not is due in large part to the remarkable success of the National Defense Mediation Board.

The primary reason for fearing that the coming months will see an aggravation of labor trouble is to be found in the rising cost of living. For the first year and a half of the European war living costs remained fairly stationary. But recent weeks have brought the beginning of what appears to be a definite inflationary upturn. Food prices increased 4.5 per cent in April. There is every evidence that this upward trend continued through May, and now that the President has signed the Fulmer

bill a much more drastic increase—estimated at between 10 and 20 per cent—may be expected in the next few months. Despite the efforts of Price Coordinator Henderson, other prices are also on the way up. The cost of clothing has been rising steadily since early in 1941. Gasoline and fuel-oil prices have risen substantially. Rents have got out of hand in many defense centers, and are rising throughout the country. The pinch resulting from the increased cost of living has scarcely been felt so far, except in a few cities. But we may be sure that it will become much more painful during the summer and fall months.

This means that the gains which labor has won in a few key industries, at great sacrifice, during the last few months stand in grave danger of being wiped out by the increased cost of living. The situation is even more critical, of course, for those workers, constituting a vast majority, who have not received wage increases. Many of these workers will have no recourse except to strike or threaten to strike.

Even this might not be so serious if we had some assurance that unions and management would be allowed a free hand to work out agreements through normal collective-bargaining and mediation channels. But with a new wave of disputes there is almost certain to arise new demands that the government clamp down on labor. The public's ignorance on labor issues was never more convincingly demonstrated than in the recent *Fortune* poll. This poll showed that two persons out of three believed that the government should forbid strikes in defense industries over such matters as wages, hours, and union recognition. Reflecting the manufactured hysteria of the public on the question of defense strikes, the anti-labor bloc in the House is reported to be pressing for a vote on the Vinson compulsory-labor-mediation bill, which carries provisions for a "cooling-off" period before a strike can be called. Even worse proposals are before Congress and might be rushed through if the strike situation became more serious.

It is obvious that neither the general public nor the Congressmen who are confirmed in their opposition to labor are familiar with the history of attempts to apply compulsion to labor disputes in democratic countries. The record shows that such legislation either accentuates labor strife or is ignored as unenforceable. It is not an accident that the only countries that have succeeded in outlawing strikes and strait-jacketing labor are the totalitarian countries. For the right to strike and bargain collectively is the cornerstone of the democratic process as it affects most men's livelihood. Destroy this, even as an emergency measure, and democracy loses much of its reality in present-day life. The facts on which this statement is based must be made available to Congress and the anti-labor section of the general public. The time is short, but the job must be done if we are to avoid catastrophe.

Before the Battle

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

THE tumult and the shouting dies, and out of it emerges the clear meaning of the President's speech. Through days of confused interpretations it lay there, implicit rather than obvious, waiting to be accepted. Everybody understands it now.

The speech means that the President has assumed direct executive control of the nation's defense. He will do what he considers necessary to prevent an Axis attack on this hemisphere. He will act directly and to the full extent of his emergency powers without recourse to legislation except where Congressional action is plainly called for. He will not declare war; but he will use our navy to insure the delivery of war supplies to England and Great Britain's other fronts, and he will apply force if necessary to prevent the Axis from seizing control of ports or territories which could be used as bases of attack against the Western world. And these acts may precipitate the country into war at any time. Whether they will or not depends upon Hitler rather than the President. If Hitler decides that the Axis needs the Cape Verde Islands enough to fight the United States for them, or that the American patrol is actually protecting shipments to Britain, then the President's announced purposes will lead to war. I believe they will lead to war, little as Hiler wants to fight the United States, because under the emergency powers assumed by the President, things are going to happen in this country that will present formidable obstacles to Hitler's essential plans. Hitler and Mussolini discussed those obstacles at the Brenner Pass this week; they will not be taken lightly at either end of the Axis.

If any doubt remains about the President's intentions, it arises from his remark last Wednesday that he saw no need of repealing the Neutrality Law. How he plans to reassert the "ancient freedom of the seas" against the blockade of that law is hard to imagine. And it is equally hard to believe that he will use his emergency powers to crash through the obvious intent of the law, although this is what many critics believe he did when he opened the Red Sea to American shipping. Perhaps he looks toward some limited legislation, amending the law at specific points rather than abolishing it. This remains to be discovered in the weeks to come. The President has many excellent reasons for avoiding an unnecessary showdown with Congress—time is perhaps the chief of them—but the Neutrality Law is at this moment a meaningless ghost, and it will rise to haunt him in the months to come if it is not exorcised. I think this is one Congressional battle the President should not dodge.

The problem of Congress is not any easy one at best. No one who believes in swift action and, if necessary, in secret action can seriously oppose the President's as-

sumption of emergency powers. And, indeed, no one has done so except a handful of isolationists and pacifists who profess to disbelieve in the menace of Hitler's crusade. But to ignore Congress as completely as Mr. Roosevelt ignored it in his speech is not good tactics either. A close relationship between the Congressional committees and the President, full consultation with leaders of both parties in both houses, and a request for legislative action on major policies are important not only to keep democratic procedures from growing rusty but to preserve unity where it is most essential in a democracy—between the Executive and the people's elected representatives. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that the President's great address was directed to an audience of Latin American diplomats rather than to the Congress of the United States.

Meanwhile the first effects of his new powers are beginning to be felt. The appointment of Secretary Ickes as oil coordinator is a welcome symptom. Mr. Ickes is a fighter, not an appeaser. He will work for a vigorous defense at all costs, including costs to the oil producers, if necessary. He may cut off the gasoline supplies of week-ending Easterners, but not, I am sure, without also cutting off the oil supplies of the creators of East Asia's co-prosperity sphere.

Another emergency move was the request of the War Department that Congress pass a bill authorizing the President to requisition any sort of property when he deems it necessary for national defense. I thought he already possessed this authority under the terms of the Conscription Act, but if any loophole in the law exists, it is well that it be plugged immediately.

A third emergency measure, equally important though enacted long before an unlimited emergency was declared, was the mandatory-priorities bill signed by the President last Monday. Under the new law, industry must produce first those things the government tells it to, completely subordinating civilian needs when this appears necessary. What this may mean in changing the tempo and direction of American industry is suggested in statements by Stacy May of the Office of Production Management, and Leland Olds of the Federal Power Commission. Both men pointed to the alarming unreadiness of utilities and manufacturing plants to meet the demands of a defense program geared to the speed and efficiency of the Nazi war machine.

Small indications, all of these. But they show clearly the direction of the wind and suggest its strength. The President is not going to supply an exegesis with his statements on public affairs. It is not his way; and if it were he would be forced by the cruel logic of Axis warfare to leave out the interpretations and specifications. His job is to announce national policy. Events, carefully examined, will in due course provide the necessary explanations.

A Tale of Two Oceans

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 1

OF THE many currents in the wake of the President's speech, the most important leads to action within the near future in the Atlantic and to a deal with Japan in the Pacific as the counterpart of such action. This combination of policies may be inconsistent—a Munich in the Pacific while we set out to undo the disastrous consequences of past Munichs in Europe—but it faithfully reflects the stupendous military event of our time. The Germans were but recently encircled in the heart of Europe; now by a bold series of military victories and political maneuvers they encircle us. The shores that face us across both the Atlantic and the Pacific are in hostile hands; and we are unprepared to fight a war on two fronts. The conclusion to which many of the leading figures in the Administration seem to have come is that, in a pinch, we had best let the Japanese move south into the East Indies and concentrate on protecting ourselves in the Atlantic. That spells greater naval intervention to prevent the defeat of the British and the occupation of Dakar and the Cape Verde Islands. We cannot protect these outposts in the North and South Atlantic and fight a full-sized war with Japan at the same time.

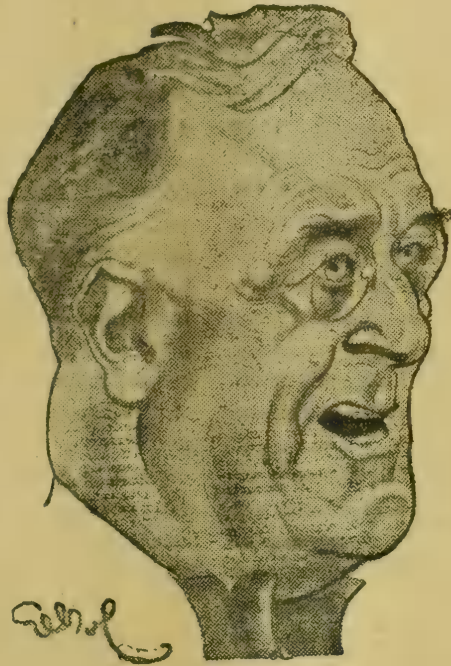
I have yet to encounter anyone in the Administration who thinks it possible to concentrate on the Pacific and let the British hold the Atlantic for us. The British have shown themselves as brave as their leadership has been blundering, but it is doubtful whether even people as stout-hearted as they are would be able to hold out if the hope of American aid in greater quantity and more active form were taken from them. I don't pretend to know why Winant has returned from Britain, but the indications are that a major diplomatic offensive is now being carried out by the Nazis in London and in Moscow. Their freedom from the ideological preconceptions that their own propaganda fosters in other people has left the Nazis in an amazingly good bargaining position. Some of the shrewdest observers here think Berlin is telling Moscow that Hess wasn't as crazy as was pretended, that

he bore a peace offer which represented more than his own private delusion, that unless Stalin permits Nazi technicians to organize and manage Russian industry and transport, there will be a deal with England and the Germans will move east. These same observers think the reverse tactic is being used in London.

Hess may well be telling the British that the Nazis must obtain either the Empire or Ukrainian wheat and industry. If the British will make peace, the Nazis will take what they need in the Ukraine, and London will become a junior partner in Nazi world domination. If the British refuse, though their strength dwindles day by day, then the Nazis will have no recourse but to invade England, an attempt which might not succeed but would certainly cause a lot of damage. A peace with the British would fit Nazi plans beautifully, for the method has been to take over going concerns wherever possible. If the Nazis hold all they have gained, they will need many junior partners to help administer the New Order. They would like to use the British as overseers for the empire, and it would be worth many con-

cessions to effect this, for with the British navy to aid him Hitler would at last be within shooting distance of world dominion. Now I can conceive of only one thing which would make any such agreement politically possible in Britain, and that would be the feeling that we were letting them down. Winant will take more than rhetoric back to Britain with him. In some well-informed quarters here it is believed that transports are in readiness, and that we are preparing to send not only naval units but troops, should they be necessary to help the British fight off an invasion.

The big split in Administration circles is over what to do about the Japanese when the shooting begins in the Atlantic. Most people seem agreed (1) that it would suit Hitler's purposes to tie us up in a Pacific war while he tries to invade England, and (2) that the danger we face in the Pacific is not an attack from Japan but Japan's conquest of the Indies. This would be serious from the standpoint of our ability to obtain certain basic war mate-



rials but not so serious as a British defeat. The Pacific is roughly four times as wide as the Atlantic. The 1600-mile space between the bulge of West Africa and the bulge of Brazil is much too narrow for comfort. One Administration group thinks we ought to try to make a deal with the Japanese; the other thinks it would be better to fight a kind of rearguard action by giving what aid we can to China and shutting off all raw materials to Japan. The State Department crowd, which has always tended to favor appeasement of Japan, is already feeding out the old poppycock to its favorite journalistic mouthpieces on how the business men are about to make a comeback in Japan, lay a restraining hand on the army, and so forth and so forth.

In other quarters it is argued that the Japanese have never been impressed by weakness, that they will try to take the Dutch East Indies as soon as we are sufficiently involved in the Atlantic, that any agreement will become worthless when that point is reached, and that to continue to supply them with raw materials until that time is idiotic and suicidal. For it must be understood that we cannot make an agreement with Japan and at the same time impose embargoes on exports to it and continue to help the Chinese. An agreement would mean a repetition in the Pacific of all the errors our State Department has made in the Atlantic—the scrap iron sent Mussolini up to his very entrance into the war, the triangular Argentine loan by which we fed Franco while his Falange spread Hitler poison against us in Latin America, our long wooing of Pétain, and the possibility that now we may send food to French North Africa. All the basic war materials of which we are now short have been going in huge quantities from this country to Japan during the past two years, and some of them are still being exported to it. It is one thing to abandon the Dutch East Indies. It is another to abandon good sense, and there are indications that Mr. Roosevelt is not yet ready to play pat-a-cake with the Mikado. One of them is the deliberate "leak" of news that the United States army is permitting combat fliers and mechanics to resign for volunteer service with the Chinese. Aid to China is now in the hands of those administering the Lend-Lease Act rather than in the hands of the State Department, and appeasement of Japan is far from being the accepted policy. But I think one can safely expect that the Administration will not let the country be drawn into war in the Pacific.

There was some disappointment here, which I shared, in the President's speech. Those of us who have decided the issue of war or peace in our own minds and moved on to the question of adequate preparedness for a struggle we believe unavoidable felt that Mr. Roosevelt passed over the most important battle—the battle of production. In this the real problem is taking an economy geared to monopoly and relative scarcity and gearing it

to maximum production for defense. It is clear by now that this cannot be done so long as the defense program is in the hands of men whose training, habits, and interests have conditioned them to keeping the supply of goods comfortably and profitably behind the need for them. But rereading the speech today and going over the press comment, I am no longer so sure of my own reactions to it. The task of leadership in a democracy is to find the common denominator, especially in so grave a decision as that of war. Mr. Roosevelt's address did clarify the issue and make clear our intention to prevent the Nazis from gaining a foothold at either the North or the South Atlantic entrance to the New World. His press conference the next day, with its curious disavowal of convoys and denial of any intent to ask repeal of the Neutrality Act, exasperated a lot of us. But this is the way in which Franklin D. Roosevelt is accustomed to move, two steps forward, one backward, taking leadership here, avoiding a frontal attack there.

On the home front Mr. Roosevelt makes progress in the same crablike fashion. The declaration of an unlimited emergency does not of itself set in motion the emergency methods required to end the lag in defense production. The first two executive orders in sight are not promising. The chief effect of making Ickes "czar" of the oil industry is to save the major oil companies from pending action against them under the Sherman Act and the Elkins Act. The ballyhoo about oil shortages due to lack of tanker facilities must be liberally discounted as an excuse for price rises. A shortage of tankers does not explain the rise on the Pacific Coast, which refines its own crude, or in the Middle West, which is amply supplied by pipe line. I have a high regard for Secretary Ickes, and it may be that the oil companies, suspiciously undisturbed by this new move, will get more than they bargained for, but my fingers are crossed. The other executive order will establish a Transportation Division of the OPM, and apparently this will be headed by Ralph Budd. Budd showed as much lack of foresight regarding a railroad-car shortage as Stettinius did in respect of steel and aluminum. His prospective appointment and the fact that the President is still relying on Gano Dunn for steel estimates do not make it appear that our defense machinery is being operated on the basis of an unlimited emergency.

The whole picture, however, is not so dark as it might be. There is a growing awareness of the dangers of business as usual. One of its reflections is the effort of the big-business crowd around Knudsen, Stettinius, and Biggers to place blame on the army and navy. Both branches of the service have their quota of brass hats and stuffed shirts, but neither has been quite as shortsighted as the dollar-a-year men. The latter scraped bottom in the interview given by Biggers, who is director of the production division, to the *New York Times* last week. The one sug-

gestion Biggers advances to force subcontracting is to make the backlogs of the big companies heavier, in the hope that if they are made heavy enough the companies will not object to sharing the orders with smaller manufacturers. One of our biggest shipbuilding companies is booked five years ahead. One of our bomber-manufactur-

ing companies has a backlog of \$205,000,000, compared with output for the first third of 1941 of \$9,000,000.

These backlogs are not unusual. To pile more orders on them might lead the big companies to share with the small from sheer surfeit. But I distrust wishful thinking in the field of hog psychology.

Are Empires All Alike?

BY LEWIS COREY

THE cry will not down that Nazi Germany, in its plans for a "New Order" in Europe and the world, is simply doing what the British did years ago—forging an imperialism of its own. That is another of the misunderstandings which, from the beginning, have given strength to fascism. New forces that alter the shape of things make the imperialist comparison altogether misleading. For the war is not shaped by capitalist imperialism. It is shaped by forces of economic, political, and moral change that go beyond capitalism and imperialism to a changed world. While the old capitalist imperialism is disintegrating, fascism is reintegrating imperialism on a new basis that gives it fresh strength and scope.

The old imperialism, though in opposition to democracy, operated within the democratic relations of capitalism; it could never wholly escape those relations to become an absolute tyranny. Imperialism used the state to further its aims, but the state was responsive to democratic pressures. Denunciation of imperialist abuses was allowed; changes and reforms were made, if slowly. Democratic rights exist in the British Empire, the dominions are self-governing, Ireland finally got its independence, the freedom of India grows despite Tory repression. Democratic forces among subject peoples obtained the support of democratic forces in the imperialist nations, and they carried on a joint struggle against imperialism. Democratic progress was limited, but it was not strangled.

The old imperialism, moreover, operated within the economic relations of capitalism, out of which it grew. Capitalism encouraged an economic freedom that imperialism could not altogether crush. Some measure of free enterprise and competition persisted in the world market, if only because of rivalries among imperialist nations and disagreements within cartels. This competitive imperialism prepared its own disintegration by bringing substantial industrial progress to the lands under its control. Dominated by the idea that capital should be exported anywhere and for any purpose if it would bring high profits, the old imperialism helped to build up

local manufacturing enterprises in those very countries which according to imperialist theory were to produce foodstuffs and raw materials for export and to import manufactured goods. If the profits were great enough foreign capital was even invested in local manufactures which were in competition with the mother country's exports. As industry grew in the subject nations, local capital accumulated and was also invested in new manufacturing plants. This development is illustrated by the textile industry of India, which drove out of its markets—with the aid of imports from Japan—the British textiles that had formerly had a virtual monopoly. The same thing happened, to a greater or less extent, in all economically backward countries dominated by capitalist imperialism, whether they were colonial or independent. Latin America has been a playground of all the imperialisms, but it has moved, especially in the past ten years, through greater industrialization, to economic independence and the breaking of imperialist controls.

Fascism implements a new imperialism that would impose unlimited totalitarian tyranny upon the lands that are slowly breaking imperialist controls. Fascist imperialism—including Japanese imperialism, which is totalitarian if not altogether fascist—revives the bloody colonialism of an earlier capitalism—a colonialism that the Nazis clamp down on non-German Europe too. It destroys that increasing social morality which, limited as its application may be, is still part of the capitalist contribution to progress.

Britain's "balance of power" policy, however bad in other respects, allowed national independence and democracy to grow in Europe. Britain has neither the industrial and military resources nor the will to enslave Europe as the Nazis propose to enslave it, by destroying its industry and getting a monopoly of industrial power. The old-style imperialism of Britain lacks the means at fascism's disposal—the disregard of profits in favor of bureaucratic-military power, the corporate state that breaks down national capitalist barriers, the totalitarian ideology that recruits allies in the nations that must be dominated, the will to destroy all democracy and free-

dom. Nor would the democratic and labor forces in Britain permit their government to enslave Europe. Even if Britain went fascist, it would still lack the industrial and military resources for the job, and, in addition, it would no longer get support from the dominions and the United States.

The Nazis stay in a conquered country to uproot its industrial power and its democracy, labor unionism, and social progress. They stay to make the country a colonial vassal of Germany. The Nazis have allies within the nations they dominate—native fascists—who were not available to the old imperialists. In 1914-18 no elements in Britain, France, or the United States wanted Germany to win because they liked its imperialism; today there are elements that want a German victory in order to strengthen reaction and fascism at home. Where the old imperialist interests clashed, the new fascist interests coincide. A fascist peace will not be the old imperialist peace to promote the profits and power of monopoly capitalism. It will be a peace to promote the totalitarian power of a corporate state that transforms the old capitalism and imperialism to serve a new, more terrible system of privilege and exploitation.

The old imperialism disintegrates not only because it is caught within a progressive democracy but also because it cannot solve its economic problems. Those problems became acute in the crisis of the 1920's and 1930's, when lower profits, greater taxation, and more state controls over economic activity clipped the power of the finance capital that dominated the old imperialism. Imperialism cannot block the drive of colonial peoples toward economic balance and independence; it could do so only by using an overwhelming violence that democratic nations will not permit. The restrictive economic practices of imperialism meet progressive opposition in the mother country as well as in the colonies, and arouse action toward a consumption economy of abundance. Imperialism, finally, like the capitalism out of which it grows, is unable to make enough profits in a world where profits move downward as potential economic abundance moves upward. And since capitalist imperialism is primarily the pursuit of greater profits, the inability to make profits on the old scale is a serious disintegrating force. It leads to a breakdown of imperialism through which democracy may surge to power.

The problems of the old imperialism do not exist for the new imperialism of fascism. Not the competitive export of capital for financial profits, which promotes a measure of independent industrial power among subject peoples, but bureaucratic-military direction and controls shape the new imperialism. No competitive economic elements, no free capitalist enterprise, no democratic forces can be active under fascism. Allowed no manufactures of their own, colonial peoples can make no drive toward eco-

nomic and political independence. Progressive forces that want to move from imperialist scarcity to an economy of abundance are strangled, and the productive resources of subject peoples are ruthlessly limited. The downward movement of profits creates no problem, since fascist imperialism is not interested in the profits of a defunct finance capitalism but in the privileges and power of the masters of a totalitarian state. Nor can cyclical crises arise to disintegrate the new imperialism, for in a fascist economy administrative controls suspend the business cycle. Fascism "solves" all problems by the use of inescapable force. If let alone to disintegrate, the old capitalist imperialism must give way to greater democracy and freedom and to economic plenty. If a fascist imperialism is substituted for it, subjection and scarcity will engulf the world.

The new imperialism is final proof that there are no constructive elements in fascism. It is madness to accept the easy-going idea that fascists are "bad boys who will grow up and settle down," for being "bad boys" is their natural condition and ideal. If the Nazis wanted to use, or could use, their transformation of capitalism and their economic controls for prosperity and welfare, they would not throw Europe into a war that consumes its wealth. They would not plan a "New Europe" in which non-German peoples are to be deprived of industrial power and forced to become colonial producers of foodstuffs and raw materials for a master Germany that has the monopoly of industrial power. That plan deliberately limits Europe's capacity to produce and consume, while prosperity and welfare call for the fullest development of the productive forces in all countries. Fascism is a throwback to Caesarian domination and plunder. Fascism is destructive, not constructive; its bureaucratic-military organization, economic controls, and ideals are all identified with a war economy.

Not only is fascism unable to solve economic problems in a rational, enlightened manner; it came to power by mobilizing reactionary forces that do not want such a solution. Fascism transforms the progressive struggle for social betterment within nations into a struggle of "poor" nations against "rich" nations. The people are made to believe that their welfare depends upon aggression, that it can come only from the spoils of the new imperialism. They could not be driven to war if their welfare were promoted by internal progressive action. So the Nazis exterminate "inferior" races and give their farms to "master" German peasants and promise the workers that they will become a "master proletariat" prospering on the slave labor of the workers in conquered countries.

The cry of "poor nation" used by Nazi Germany is a fraud. An American appeaser-for-profit has said that "Germany is fighting to keep from being starved to death." Yet every nation that the Nazis have conquered,

including France, was poorer than Germany. If Germans were starving in 1930-32, before Hitler came to power, so were people in other countries and for the same reason—capitalist inability to solve the economic crisis. Germany had the most magnificent industrial plant in the world after the United States. It is richer in natural resources than any other European nation except Russia, and it was overcoming deficiencies through the production of synthetics. For seven years Hitler got all the raw materials he needed to produce armaments. The materials and production might have been used to produce goods for human welfare—to make Germany the envy of the world instead of its nightmare. If Germany had to pay high prices for imported raw materials, so did other nations; prices were rigged by international cartels with which Germany itself was identified. Germany still levies tribute upon American industry, upon American defense, by means of patent rights and agreements with American monopoly corporations to divide markets and raise prices. All nations had to struggle for foreign markets when the economic crisis limited consumer purchasing power. To prevent the exploitation that comes from inequality in natural resources and productive capacity, monopoly

imperialist controls must be replaced by economic co-operation, but the Nazis propose to make the inequality and exploitation worse in their "New Europe" by giving Germany a monopoly of raw materials and industrial production of which the old imperialism never dreamed.

Italy can make a much better case than Germany for the claim that it is a poor nation. But Mussolini wastes his people's meager substance with wars for African colonies that cannot overcome Italy's deficiencies. That can be accomplished only by scientific agriculture, the production of synthetic materials, and the cooperation of other nations. The fascists drive the country into a blind alley, for Italy has neither the industrial nor the military power to carry on the new imperialism; its economic inferiority will become permanent as it sinks to the status of a vassal nation in the Nazis' New Europe.

Some complacent people, not all of them Communists, say: Hitler is doing a needed job of wrecking the old capitalist order in Europe; this will clear the way for progress as Napoleon's wrecking of the feudal order cleared it. The historical analogy is a false one. Napoleon was, by and large, the carrier of liberating democratic ideas; the impulse behind the wars he waged was the



CIEL! CAN'T YOU SEE BY THE FLAG WE'RE FRENCH?

answer of revolutionary democratic France to the reactionary monarchical challenge. Hitler is the carrier of an enslaving totalitarianism, and his wars are a challenge to democracy. Napoleon wrecked feudal power and dynastic privileges and set in motion the forces of national democratic progress; Hitler wrecks free institutions and sets in motion forces that kill progress through an all-inclusive

economic, political, and moral despotism. As the Nazis wreck the old order they build the totalitarian new order in which democracy and freedom become a memory that the masters despise and the people no longer understand. The war's destruction of capitalism will make for progress only if a decisive defeat of fascism gives democracy the chance for progressive reconstruction.

Convoy Out of London

BY M. B.

I JOINED my ship, a freighter of 7,000 tons, in London, ten months ago. To me the war had meant a stream of haggard men filtering through the harbor gates at Dover, my father, with his hoarse, tired voice, discussing Colonel Ruthenburg's plan to raise a Jewish army, and the ever-present threat of invasion. This was just another trip, though when I went on board I was pleased with the accommodations, two in a cabin, liked the crowd and the crabbed old bo'sun, and felt some excitement at the prospect of a first visit to New York. Ashore we had commented on the casual civilian life in the East End—not a uniform to be seen, as though there wasn't a war on. I did not think it would be nine weeks before we saw New York.

We sailed with forty ships from Southend on July 2, 1940, threading our way in single file through the graveyard of mined and stranded hulks in the Thames Estuary. Then we were in the Straits of Dover. I was working on the boat deck with Joe, my roommate. Joe was eighteen. On his arm was tattooed a blue lyre, and above it was "Mother" in fiery red with a blue border. Once an angry Irish boy had bashed Joe to unconsciousness for fifteen days with the metal tip of a cricket stump. This left him slow of speech, lethargic, and defiant. He had walked from Newcastle to London rather than sail on a ship that was full of bald-headed old "twats." That was Joe.

We saw three black specks outlined against a cloud over the French coast, but we were busy. Then there were loud, reverberating explosions far ahead of us. We jumped. They were the first bombs we had ever heard. Then a plane swooped down astern of us and dropped a couple on either side of a tanker, sending up great jets of water. We roared with laughter, thinking of the fellows being jolted. Then the shore batteries opened up. Well, most people know what that's like. One plane hurtled into the inner harbor. We cheered a lot at that. We laughed a lot then, but not the next day.

On Wednesday, near the Channel Islands, seven German dive-bombers came over and sank two of our ships. Two hours later they started to come again out of a black

cloud. I was on the poop standing by the gun. They were Stukas. First three planes came out of that cloud, then four, then five, then seven. After that I stopped counting, because the sky was black with them. The official estimate was that fifty bombers attacked the convoy that day. Since our ship possessed no machine-gun, we had to fire our four-inch anti-submarine gun, perhaps the most ponderous weapon yet aimed at a plane.

We had had only one gun drill. I was loader. We got it loaded bloody quick, by intuition or something, pulling out pins and caps, and ramming the charge home. We blazed away at a formation of four planes. Seven times in all we let them have it. I was nearly blown off my feet by the noise, particularly when I drifted a yard behind the breach, which recoiled fourteen inches.

Four German aviators, attracted or insulted by our unwieldy attempts at retaliation, hovered over us. As our gun couldn't elevate more than 45 degrees, we were helpless. Our gunner, who seemed disgustingly in his element, shouted to us to take cover. We jammed in the scuttle down the booby hatch to our quarters, but managed to slither down to what scant security that offered us. With a terrific roar the Stukas dived and sprinkled twenty "eggs" around the ship in clusters of five. I felt as if I were inside a volcano that was erupting. Most of the movable things in the ship were tossed about and broken. The monkey island, the concrete slab on top of the bridge, was tilted by the explosion. However, our gunnery had done its work, the squadron had been split up, and the bombs fell wide.

Four more planes poised over us and hurtled down. I was lying in one of the cabins. My lungs were bursting with the impotence of my despair. I turned my head and saw a hand white and soft as a baby's (Joe always wore gloves when he was working). It was clutching the foot of a bench. There was the blue lyre, and "Mother" in fiery red. I turned and looked at Joe's face, dead white and agonized with fear of dying. Then we were smothered by two great roars that seemed to be inside us as well as outside. It seemed as if I was lifted in the air and

fluttered about like an autumn leaf. Five bombs had fallen about fifteen feet outside the cabin.

We rushed outside. The bridge on the boat deck must surely have been hit. I thought of young Bruce at the wheel, ruddy-cheeked and kittenish, and Jack Gray, quiet and mellow, his brother a vicar. Somebody shouted, "It's O.K., take cover." Back again, as two planes dived to machine-gun us, thinking we were sinking. As a matter of fact we were, but didn't know it.

When the planes dived to bomb us, they started at about 2,000 feet. At from 200 to 300 miles an hour they roared down at us, and somehow pulled out of their dive a few feet above the funnel, to glide over us and drop their bombs. When they machine-gunned us, one plane dived level with the lifeboats and riddled them; while the other dived still lower and sprinkled the alley way. The gunner was standing on the steps in the scuttle looking out on the poop. As the plane dived past him, he looked full at the pilot and ducked. The bullet practically parted his hair. It pierced the steel plate of the booby-hatch, four-fifths of an inch thick, and imbedded itself in the plate on the other side, meanwhile retaining its point—so much for *Ersatz* bullets. The dungarees of Edgar, a Latvian who was sailing on British ships for adventure, were shot through the legs. He was delighted, for they were hanging on the line; they will be a splendid souvenir.

Then our fighters arrived and eleven Jerries were shot down. This we felt was some consolation for the ships we could see sinking or in flames. We lost no planes that day.

We emerged from the ordeal to find our engines broken down. We were drifting in the Channel. A bomb from the second load had struck the tilted monkey island on the bridge, glanced off, and exploded over the side by the galley, straining the plates apart. The water was seeping in. The bridge had nearly been brought down by the explosion. The foundations were smashed. The navigation compass had jumped out of the gimbal and been smashed on the monkey island. The dynamos had failed. The galley was a shambles. But no one was hurt.

Meanwhile the water was seeping in through the plates. The carpenter reported two feet six inches in No. 3 hold. The chief engineer had all hands racing down through the engine room with buckets of cement. Wading in oil and water, they managed to stuff the hole with the cement. It hardened. The ship was saved and so were we. The chief was decorated, and months later his wife and kids came to live with him on the ship in port.

This is anticipating, for we were still wallowing motionless in a swell. But soon the resourceful engineers patched up the engines, and we limped into Portland Harbor. But there was no lull to recuperate in. Twenty-three times in ten days gross intruders raided our haven. First they came in trickles, one, two, or three planes drop-

ping their bombs before the sirens sounded. Later they came in waves. When they came in huge numbers, the sirens sounded in good time, and it was better.

It heartened us that our fighter planes, fewer in number, were flown by pilots whose skill and daring were more thrilling than anything we had ever seen. In superior planes, they out-maneuvered and out-flew three times as many of the enemy, so that the Germans seemed the helpless victims of a skill and courage they could not match. Twenty German planes I counted crashing to only one of ours, and that brought down by the fire of one of our own ships.

On board, the strain was beginning to tell. William-son, with his long, melancholy, penitentiary face, cracked grim jokes from Job and lamented with Solomon, gems of literature gleaned from long spells of enforced confinement. Then there was Paddy, excitable and irrepressible, yelling, "Whisht, whisht, here they come, be Jasus," and pointing at two seagulls skimming away in the middle distance. Jesters demonstrating their brazen nerves were discouraged as intolerable. Paddy was hotly attacked for mocking at Joe, who clutched him during a raid, calling out, "Mother, mother." After one heavy raid a stocky, carrotty, subnormal fireman staggered from the engine-room to the deck. His shaking hands failed to put the match to his cigarette. He walked round and round the deck muttering. His eyes were pleading for just one night ashore. The old cook was found huddled in a recess in the alley way four hours after an all-clear. Those two left the ship. Joe stayed and got better.

After four days the shore gang patched us up sufficiently to make the trip to Southampton. On a quiet moonlit night, with the Channel swarming with E-boats (German motor torpedo boats), we made a dash for the port. All night we stood tense and alert at action stations. The turn of the propellor sounded like the distant hum of a motor boat. We were off the Needles at crack of dawn and then compelled to wait for two hours, a lone target, until the port was open.

Southampton was a lull. We danced and skated. The bo'sun was rude to Joe, who took the next train home and hasn't been heard from since.

One gusty night, to our great surprise, we emerged from the Channel. We picked up a convoy at a Welsh port, where we saw a great blaze started by incendiaries in an oil reservoir. The Atlantic was tame after that. But the Manhattan sky line looked good to us.

On the next trip out, we really thought we were in for it. We were commodore ship of the convoy, replete with archaic admiral and naval staff. Off the coast of Ireland a long-distance bomber dropped a few duds on a Danish freighter in our convoy. And the pilot radioed our position to every U-boat in the North Atlantic. The old admiral barked a few orders, signal flags were hoisted,

and abruptly the convoy dispersed. Our ship held its course. However, we doubled our speed. The U-boats converged. We were ahead of them, but they sank six ships in our tracks.

Now I am out in the Atlantic in another ship. We are clear of the worst and pushing on south. Mostly one's shipmates are important, because one lives with them

through all this sort of thing, and doesn't forget. For seven months I was on the other ship, and I often think of my shipmates and wonder how they are. May Bruce find sanctuary in the arms of the girl who was like Hedy Lamarr; may Vic marry the Bishop's daughter, and may he find the canary-colored waistcoat I left in Brooklyn, which he coveted.

Of Coca, Cola, and the Courts

BY JEROME H. SPINGARN

FOR every man, woman, and child in the entire world three drinks of Coca-Cola are produced each year. Like "Gone with the Wind," it has spread from Atlanta to every corner of the world. Indeed, in the sacred gardens of the Taj Mahal the startled eye of the tourist is struck by the familiar red Coca-Cola sign-board nailed across an incongruous little refreshment stand; and no banner is more universally displayed in Latin America than that bearing the device *Delicioso y Refrescante*. From such outposts of empire, as well as from domestic markets, the Coca-Cola Company derives a gross revenue of \$87,000,000 a year, of which \$26,550,016 represents net profit.

It is hard to guess what the far-flung millions of Coca-Cola drinkers seek at their fountains each day—Nepenthe, stimulation, conviviality, the taste of sweet, of bitter, the tinkle of ice, or change of a dollar? Coca-Cola has been a patent medicine at least as long as it has been a soft drink. It was concocted by Dr. Pemberton, an Atlanta druggist, and its first label read: "Intellectual beverage and temperance drink, contains the valuable tonic and nerve-stimulant properties of the coca plant and cola (or Kola) nuts and makes not only a delicious, exhilarating, refreshing, and invigorating beverage (dispensed from the soda-water fountains or in other carbonated beverages) but a valuable brain tonic and a cure for all nervous affections—sick headache, neuralgia, hysteria, melancholy, etc." Since the passage of the Food and Drug Act the cocaine has been squeezed out of the coca leaves before use, and the most active drug in the beverage is now caffeine, which is present in about the same strength as in a cup of coffee. Indeed, more people will object to the high sugar content in cola drinks—about four level teaspoons to the glass in Coca-Cola, four and one-half in Royal Crown Cola, and five in Pepsi-Cola—than to any drug.

The nebulous chemical lore which surrounds it gives "coke" one of its chief attractions. High-school students are particularly fond of it because it is their first adult dissipation. In many parts of the country it is their uni-

versal "date" drink, partly because it is considered good form for a girl to order the cheapest item on the menu. They mix it with bizarre ingredients to give it taste or "potency"—milk, lemonade, vanilla, aspirin, ice cream, or spirits of ammonia—and call their concoctions by strange and wonderful names.

Covetous eyes have been turned toward Coca-Cola for decades, and lately strong competition has begun to challenge its supremacy. Strangely enough, the market is not the chief arena of this conflict; a far more dramatic battleground has been found in the law courts. One hundred and forty-three beverages registered in the United States Patent Office use "cola" as a suffix. There are, for example, Sola-Cola, Takeola, My Cola, Chero-Cola, Celery Cola, Herbs Cola, Nervicola, Mitch-Cola, Malticola, Star Cola, K-O Nut Cola, Lime Cola, Red Rock Cola, Macy's Kola, and Yukon Kola. There are also a few cola beverages which refrain from using a variation on that name, like Dr. Pepper's and Spur.

For almost thirty years the Coca-Cola Company has filed a lawsuit a week to protect its trademark, nickname, and color against infringement. Most of these have been against small, tea-kettle producers who, influenced by conscience or by financial inability to carry on expensive litigation, have either signed consent decrees or allowed the case to go by default. As a result the Coca-Cola Company can point to an imposing array of decisions upholding its exclusive rights against unfair competition. The most impressive one is the decision of the late Justice Holmes in *Coca-Cola Company v. Koke Company*, which held that the name Koke was an infringement of Coca-Cola's nickname and described the plaintiff's beverage as "a single thing coming from a single source and well known to the community." The Coca-Cola people had that decision, together with 700 pages of other decisions and injunctions against competitors, bound into a forbidding buckram lawbook and distributed widely among lawyers and law libraries, *in terrorem*.

But the old fear seems to be ebbing. Nehi, Inc., of Columbus, Georgia, is one of Coca-Cola's bolder com-

petitors. The predecessor of this company did well with Chero-Cola for about twenty years, until 1921, when the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia denied registration to its mark because Coca-Cola claimed that it would cause confusion. ("Ordinarily," said the court, "the prospective purchaser does not carry more than a faint impression of the mark he is looking for. If the article offered to him bears a mark having any resemblance to the one he is thinking of, he is likely to accept it.") Instead of making slight revisions in their trademark and again attempting registration, the manufacturers entered into a contract with Coca-Cola by which they agreed to drop Chero-Cola entirely. They then began to make fruit flavors and Nehi, a cola. But about seven years ago they threw caution to the winds and added Royal Crown Cola to their line. A trial has just been held in Wilmington, Delaware, to determine whether this use of the word "cola" is a breach of contract and a trademark infringement.

The growth of Pepsi-Cola is a story of swashbuckling adventure in high finance and Delaware Chancery. Charles G. Guth, president of Loft, Inc., a New York chain of candy stores, decided that his fountains ought to get a jobber's discount, which Coca-Cola refused. So through a dummy Mr. Guth bought the forty-year-old name and formula of Pepsi-Cola for \$12,000 at a bankruptcy sale. Mr. Ritchie, a Loft chemist, changed the formula slightly to make it bear a "competitive resemblance" to Coca-Cola, and thereafter patrons who ordered Coca-Cola or "coke" at Loft's were informed: "We do not sell Coca-Cola, sir. We sell Pepsi-Cola." Or at least they should have been so informed—the Coca-Cola Company claimed that the substitutions were being made without notice and brought suit. Loft filed countersuits alleging interference and libel.

All this was merely a prologue to livelier battles to follow. In 1935 Guth pulled out of Loft's after losing a battle for proxies, and took his beverage with him. His action did not seem quite cricket to Loft's. They felt that the drink really belonged to them, and they brought suit, charging that Guth, in acquiring Pepsi-Cola and building it up, was acting for the Loft organization and using its personnel, mechanical facilities, funds, and prestige. This lawsuit dragged on until April, 1939, when the Delaware Supreme Court affirmed a Chancery decree awarding to Loft approximately 91 per cent of the outstanding stock of the Pepsi-Cola Company. As a result, Loft stock jumped from 4 to 17. The irrepressible Guth is now promoting "Guth Cola."

Now opulent, Pepsi has begun to take the offensive in the battle of the colas. It has fought and overcome opposition to registration of its trademark in Canada and other British possessions. In Queens County, New York, it has filed a suit against the Coca-Cola Company to restrain it from further litigation, charging that the

defendant is attempting to exhaust the resources of competitors by "nuisance" lawsuits and has built up a monopoly by litigation. Coca-Cola has interposed a general denial and charged a deliberate and fraudulent attempt to appropriate its good-will, with imitation of its trademark and script lettering, and efforts to induce dealers to market Pepsi-Cola "as and for Coca-Cola."

More important than the issues of fraudulent substitution and dishonest business practices, however, is the question whether competing manufacturers may indicate that their formula and flavor are substantially similar to Coca-Cola's by imitating its color and calling their beverage a "cola." To that question Coca-Cola answers a firm "no." Cola, it contends, has no meaning in the beverage field except as part of its registered trademark. It is a purely arbitrary or fanciful designation of a drink. It is descriptive only of a nut which was unknown to the general public at the time the mark was adopted and which forms a very minor, unimportant constituent of the drink. The competitors rejoin: Regardless of what cola meant fifty years ago, to the American public it now applies not only to a nut but also to the characteristic flavor of a drink. You cannot, they say, preempt an English word which describes a whole class of drinks. Coca-Cola could reply: If it carries that meaning, and we deny that it does, it is only because of our efforts and because it is part of our trademark.

The issue is thus clearly drawn, and until a court of ultimate authority passes on the question, the manufacturers of "cola" beverages will always wonder whether they are going to be haled before a court some day and ordered to desist from further use of the word and to account for the profits they have gained as a result of their infringement. That fearsome possibility seems more and more remote, however, as a result of two recent court decisions, one handed down by the Canadian Supreme Court and one by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, in *Dixi-Cola v. Coca-Cola*. Both courts declared the word cola to be a generic and descriptive term which, as part of the common tongue, was open to anyone who wished to use it as part of a trademark to indicate a type of beverage.

The conduct of the Dixi-Cola case was an indication of the aggressiveness of the new, well-financed competition Coca-Cola is encountering. Coca-Cola first sued some small syrup boilers, charging fraud and deceit "in that defendants sold their syrup with the understanding that the drink made therefrom should be sold as and for Coca-Cola." It was a typical weekly lawsuit, but the lower court, in granting an injunction against these particular practices, also enjoined the defendants—Dixi-Cola, Marbert Cola, Apola Cola, and Lola Cola—from using the word "cola" as part of their trademarks. This decree, the first of this type in recent years, had obvious implications for other manufacturers. At once the giants

—Pepsi-Cola, Life Savers, which is being sued by Coca-Cola because of its new cola-flavor candy, and Royal Crown—sprang into brotherly action. They asked leave to appear at the argument of the appeal as "friends of the court" and argued not only that the word "cola" was free for all comers but also that the registration of Coca-Cola was invalid. By this clever strategy they selected a battlefield where they themselves were not in danger. The court enjoined the practice of deceiving soda-fountain patrons by secret substitution. But it stated most emphatically that today the phrase "cola drink" indicated to the general public "beverages which in taste and appearance resemble Coca-Cola" rather than Coca-Cola alone.

The fact that general use of the word is now allowed does not, of course, mean that names may bear a confusing resemblance to established marks. The court ruled that the process by which cola became a generic name for a class of beverages "was hastened by the fact that the combination of extract of coca leaf and cola nut employed by Pemberton was new and gave to the product a new and distinctive flavor for which there was no other name than that employed." The decision quoted a very interesting rule from the "Restatement of the Law of Torts":

When one has a monopoly of the original distribution of a specific article over a period of time, and especially if the descriptive name for the article is one difficult to pronounce or remember, there is a likelihood that the designation which he adopts as his trademark for the article will be incorporated into the language as the usual generic designation for an article of that type. When that happens, the designation becomes merely descriptive of the goods and no longer identifies a particular brand or performs any of the functions of a trademark or trade name. Moreover, the designation must then be used by others if there is to be any effective competition in the sale of the goods.

Through the operation of this rule the Coca-Cola Company lost rights only to a part of its name. The Dupont Company lost all of the word "cellophane," the Bayer Company all of "aspirin," and the National Biscuit Company all of "Shredded Wheat," for the use of which it had just paid a large sum of money. Harsh as this principle may appear to those who invent and popularize new products, it seems essential both to the enrichment and development of the language and to the maintenance of free competition. In the case of the colas, the consumer will benefit by having a choice among several competing brands varying slightly in flavor, and by a competition which is forcing some bottlers to give twice as many ounces for a nickel and to reduce prices slightly by selling six bottles for a quarter.

Coca-Cola likes to consider itself a sort of Cadillac of soft drinks, and its advertising, disdaining price competition, suggests luxurious swank and gracious hospitality.

It now offers for a nickel, not only six ounces of carbonated beverage, but a vicarious participation in the life of a smarter set who serve their coke, like their champagne, in silver buckets. With sales higher than ever, it is thus adjusting itself to a new phase in its long and successful history. The celebrated "pause," it may be confidently expected, will continue for many years to refresh millions, particularly lawyers.

Poison in the Air

BY PHILIP G. BRADY

ONLY unfavorable weather conditions, fear of reprisal, and possibly other strategic reasons have thus far delayed the use of poison gas in the present total war. Now with clearer skies and calmer air, and with an invasion attempt likely, the most reassuring sensation an embattled civilian can feel is the weight of his gas mask on his shoulder or hip. The defensive civilian population will bear the brunt of the suffering when the first sharp warning rings out, "Adjust your masks! It's a gas attack."

In anticipation of this, the besieged millions in Great Britain have been painstakingly instructed for the last year and a half in the necessity and use of gas masks. They have been impressed with the importance of always keeping within easy reach the mask with which each has been provided. Recently they were requested to test the effectiveness of their masks by putting them on, placing a sheet of paper over the mouthpiece, and inhaling. If the mask is effective, the act of inhaling should be enough to hold the paper in position. Defective masks are replaced by air-raid wardens for about 60 cents. Children who have outgrown their masks are supplied with new ones free.

The defenders of Britain are supremely confident that they are prepared to cope with every conceivable form of chemical warfare that may be used against them. During the last war more than 9,000 poisonous vapors were examined for possible use in gas attacks. Rarity, expense, volatility, and other objections cut down the number considered of practical use to about twenty-eight. Of these, only lewisite had not been known previously. Since that time much research and experimentation have been done by chemical-warfare divisions in every country. New discoveries, if there have been any, have not been made known to the public, for they come under the heading of military information. Civilian chemists believe that variations of known gases are more likely to be used than anything entirely new.

The most feared of the known gases is mustard gas, which was a favorite during the last war. It smells strongly of garlic. The oily, brownish liquid from which

it is derived attacks the eyes and seeps into body tissues to cause severe burns. The vapor has a similar but less severe effect. Known as the maid of all work because it accomplishes so much, mustard gas can lie about for a long time without losing its potency. Even in a high temperature it can persist for several days, while in cold weather it can conceal itself for weeks in the tar of roadways, in brickwork, in clothing, and then spring to life when the temperature rises. The liquid gives off dangerous vapor as long as it lasts.

Lewisite, named after the American chemist W. Lee Lewis, is a colorless gas formed by a reaction of acetylene with arsenic trichloride. It smells of geraniums but is capable of raising extremely painful blisters wherever it comes in contact with flesh. Phosgene, which attacks the lungs and respiratory passages, is marked by the odor of musty hay. It received a thorough trial during the World War and is rated high among gas weapons. Prussic acid is not highly regarded. France used 4,000 tons of this volatile gas in the last war but was unable to harm a field mouse. In addition to the deadly gases, "irritant" gases, more annoying than they are fatal, might be used to undermine civilian morale. They include tear gases, adamsite, which causes violent sneezing, and smoke bombs.

Ranking next to chemical masks as a defense against poison gas is the weather. For unless climatic conditions are exactly right, gas attacks lose their sting. Heavy rain washes gas completely away, breaking up and destroying even mustard gas. A gentle wind of five miles an hour is enough to render a phosgene attack ineffective in ten minutes. Hot air speeds up the dispersal of gases, and makes the danger period, except for mustard gas, very brief. Clouds and the lack of wind act like a blanket. At night, when surface air collects and drains into little valleys, gas is stored in these pockets and remains a source of danger.

Poison gas can be let loose in two ways—by bombing and spraying. The first is safer for the attackers but less accurate. An area about 150 yards square could probably be covered with a blanket of gas 15 feet high by a 250-pound bomb. Spraying is most effective when done from an altitude of less than 200 feet. At this height, however, the spraying planes are easy targets for anti-aircraft batteries. If they keep at a greater height, the mist from the liquid gas has no serious effect.

In addition to their gas masks, civilians have been advised to wear, whenever possible, oilskins, rubber boots, and air-tight gloves. First-aid treatment for gas burns has been given wide publicity. A daily ritual in the life of every civilian is the gas-mask drill, in which he holds his breath, opens his gas-mask carrier, and attempts to don the mask before taking another breath. Practice in this simple operation begets confidence for facing the severe test of courage a gas attack would bring.

In the Wind

A PROVINCIAL Argentine newspaper, *La Democracia*, recently received a letter from the Nazi Transocean News Agency which ran in part as follows: "We have been surprised to notice in your paper a marked anti-German tendency contrary to the ideological interests of this agency. We wish to remind you that although the monthly payments for our services are in arrears we have continued to provide you with our service without mentioning unpaid accounts, as we are aware of the financial situation of the country's press at the present time. . . . But for obvious reasons we will be forced to take firm measures in defense of our interests. If your paper . . . maintains its anti-German tendency we will suspend service immediately."

REVOLUTION: From a London dispatch to the *New York Times*: "It is quite common now to see Englishmen speaking to each other in public although they have never been formally introduced."

TEN YOUNG NEGROES were barred from the celebration of I Am an American Day in Chicago for carrying picket signs advocating employment of Negroes in defense industries. The ten were told by the police that the subject was not only "controversial" but that "the American Legion would object to it."

IN HIS LAST international broadcast Winston Churchill finished his address by reading the two final stanzas of Arthur Hugh Clough's "Say Not the Struggle Nought Availeth." The verse before the two he read is also appropriate:

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers
And, but for you, possess the field.

HAVING HEARD that their city may be blacked out in the event of air raids, citizens of Kingston, Jamaica, have shown concern over the possibility that the fireflies which infest the city may betray it to enemy raiders. A recent letter to a Kingston newspaper suggests that a campaign to exterminate fireflies get under way immediately.

IN AN ARTICLE called Can Spanish Teachers Teach Students How to Think? in the educational journal *Hispania*, E. Herman Hespelt of New York University wrote "I am aware, as we all must be, that the time may be near at hand when our country will not want to make its young citizens thinkers, but to make them soldiers. War requires action and emotion, not reflection and judgment. It is the antithesis of the fulfilment of the individual; it is submergence and annihilation. In times of war our young people must not be taught how to think; they must be taught *what* to think. They must not challenge; they must acquiesce."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Drought, Defense, and Alcoa

BY THE time this is printed the rain may have come pattering on the dry brown watersheds of Southern rivers. It may have poured in gully washers across the red earth to fill up the lakes along the Tennessee River, to pour over the dams in now dusty Georgia and in Alabama, where the long drought has been keeping down the size of the potatoes and the onions and making silty the waters that hold the catfish. But when this was written, for the sake of power and especially power for aluminum, Southerners in a South already burning hot in May were being asked by the power companies to give up air conditioning in movie houses, baseball games at night when it is cool enough to enjoy them, and every other lavish use of electric power.

As far as I know, it was the first public sacrifice of major proportions asked for defense. It was a limited blackout, not for practice against the possibility of future bombing planes but for a present and essential purpose. Across the whole Southeast citizens were asked to sweat in darkness for the national security. And nobody complained about it. The country had to have aluminum even if dearly beloved "white ways" in little towns and big ones were turned off. But it ought to go into the record that the power shortage was not due merely to drought but also to the Aluminum Company of America, which everybody agreed had to have the power. The Aluminum Company had stubbornly declined to provide power for itself if, in providing it, it had to conform to the requirements of the Federal Power Act, which puts limitations upon the long-term unearned increment in the value of power projects using the nation's power resources.

As recently as the March just behind us, when people by and large and corporation officials also were aware of the increasing demands for aluminum, the Aluminum Company's subsidiary, the Nantahala Power and Light Company, undertook to withdraw from its declaration of intention to build the Fontana dam on the Little Tennessee River rather than build it under federal license requirements. That was after the corporation itself had spoken of the dam as essential to meet the urgent defense requirements. The Federal Power Commission refused to let it withdraw its application, but that refusal did not force the beginning of the project.

Of course, if it had been begun, it would not have

been ready to help meet the conditions caused by the lack of rain in recent months. But the Aluminum Company did the same thing in 1937, when another of its subsidiaries, the Carolina Aluminum Company, for similar reasons abandoned its project at Tuckertown on the Yadkin River near its properties in central North Carolina. That project might be producing power now. Therefore at least a part of the power shortage which threatens aluminum production in the dry heat of early summer was created by the action of the Aluminum Company itself in what the Power Commission called its "complete unwillingness to accept provisions of federal law." But its deliberate failure to provide its power does not mean that the Aluminum Company is not going to get the power it needs. Plans have already been completed to create a power pool in the South which will assure the Aluminum Company of all the power it requires by a process which in effect provides for a rationing of everybody else.

There was no apparent disposition among power users in the Southeast to resist the request that "as a patriotic duty" they use as little power as possible. The city of Atlanta turned out its brightest street lights. Advertising signs became dark. Merchants turned out the lights in their show windows. If necessary, I think, people would be ready to forgo ice cubes, which have a very pleasant use in the late afternoons and the long outdoor evenings of the South. Indeed, I think they would go back to candles and spring water if necessary for national defense and with no more than good-natured grumbling. But it is not very pleasant in the dark to contemplate the fact that the sacrifice is not made to serve Uncle Sam alone but to help Uncle Sam save the Aluminum Company from the effects of its own declaration—before defense and in the midst of it—that it would produce no more power if, in producing it, it had to abide by federal law.

That the company must be given the power is not subject to much argument at a time when there is no argument at all about the necessity for aluminum. But even in national defense it is not the duty of the sacrificing citizen in the comparative darkness to make a part of his patriotism the faith that this drought falls on the just and the unjust alike. It doesn't. God alone may make the rain, but the Aluminum Company of America extended the dangers of drought to a danger to defense. It will take a lot of rain to wash away that fact.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE CLASSICS FIGHT BACK IN FRANCE

BY BERTHOLD C. FRIEDL and IRVIN EHRENPREIS

LATEST reports from occupied France indicate that the harsh Nazi censorship is provoking significant—though not overt—responses. Expressed as a return to the classics in general and to Montaigne in particular, these reactions have a meaning which can be appreciated only if we realize what the relationship between reading and censorship in France was before the occupation.

Indirect opposition to official suppression of important news has been reflected in reading habits since the very beginning of the war. A best-seller under the Daladier regime was "*La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu*" ("The Trojan War Will Not Take Place"), the theme of which is that, despite the overwhelming propaganda of the war-mongers and the withholding of essential facts from the people, a war—merely on account of "Helen's beautiful eyes"—is surely impossible. For the French the irony of the fact that the Trojan War had been neither prevented by popular disapproval nor caused by a woman's beauty was hardly humorous. And the grotesqueness of the situation was only enhanced by the selection of the author of the book, Jean Giraudoux, as Commissioner for Information—or, in effect, chief of war-time censorship. When the Parisian satirical weekly, *Le Canard Enchaîné*, found inordinately large areas of its pages whitened by the local censor, therefore, it was not without some bitterness, as well as audacity, that the editors planted in the midst of one of the blank spaces a mocking quotation from "*La Guerre de Troie*."

But within the year French censorship was replaced by Nazi. Everything from "Mein Kampf" to "Jean Christophe" was outlawed; textbooks and fairy tales were included in the ruthless suppression of all literature not conducive to the achievement of Hitler's aims; leading scholars, working on such seditious material as the novels of Gustave Flaubert, were imprisoned; and the official literary scene in France was metamorphosed into wretched announcements of the kind of trivial lending-library novels which unlucky Professor Cestre had to report on for the *New York Times Book Review*.

And what is the best-seller today? Montaigne's "Essays" (1588)! To interpret this situation, it is necessary to understand what the classics, in less extraordinary times, have meant to the French reading public and what Montaigne offers that is of peculiar significance to France today.

The traditional French love for the classics has more often shown itself in respectful admiration than in enthusiastic daily reading. Indeed, there were often rather critical reactions to the required texts on the part of the *lycée* (college) and university students. Little enthusiasm used to meet the state theater's sixty sessions devoted to the presentation of Molière's comedy "The Learned Ladies" in the schools of Paris and the Seine district. The receipts from these performances, put on with excellent equipment, seldom covered the costs; even though the company was subsidized, the theaters were usually half empty; the press was deprecatory; and young people were more ready to mock than to admire. The *sauce de restaurant* (cafeteria ketchup—insipid because always the same) quality of the shows did little to attract audiences for even the most respected classical tragedies.

On the other hand, just before the collapse of France *Art et Action*, a Parisian dramatic workshop, was producing the same essays of Montaigne which have become so popular since the Germans assumed power, and it had no trouble in gaining for them a genuinely interested audience—by invitation only. By presenting the essays in dramatic form the producers found it possible to state ideas which would have been suppressed in other guise and at the same time to lend them an immediacy of effect which they lack in print. Comments on resistance to invasion, for example, seem uncannily appropriate to the conditions of Europe today:

The most usual way to appease those minds we have offended (when revenge lies in their hands and we stand at their mercy) is by submission to move them to commiseration and pity. Nevertheless, courage, constancy, and resolution—means altogether opposite—have sometimes wrought the same effect. Edward, the Black Prince of Wales . . . could by no means be appeased . . . until . . . as in triumphant manner passing through their city, he perceived three French gentlemen, who alone, with an incredible and undaunted boldness, gainstood the enraged violence and made head against the fury of his victorious army. . . .

Nor is this example merely a lucky coincidence, for Montaigne—himself partly of Jewish descent—also saw France dominated by a vicious foreign autocrat, torn by religious pogroms, and divided against itself by selfish political dissension.

At the same time, he found the learned professions dominated by a dependence upon authority which emphasized the unquestioned acceptance of unsupported opinion; his essays were intended to fight this willingness to be indoctrinated and to stimulate critical thinking on the part of their readers. His success is demonstrated by the popularity of the essays in this time of crisis. Now as never before we must fight those who "profess to deceive and beguile, not our eyes, but our judgment; and to bastardize and corrupt the essence of things" (Of the Vanity of Words). For whether it be Catherine de' Medici or Adolf Hitler, St. Bartholomew's Day or November, 1939, France or America, we must fight not only the men but the ideas behind them, not only the soldiers but the doctrines which give them their driving force.

To interpret this return to the classics, then, as nothing more than the inevitable result of having little of current interest to read is completely false. It is rather the resistance of the democratic forces of France to the Goebbels propaganda machine. It is both a warning to the fascists and a signal to the democracies that literate Frenchmen are beginning to fight back surreptitiously, by using their classics as a weapon against enemy indoctrination.

Caviar for the People

*AMERICAN RENAISSANCE, ART AND EXPRESSION
IN THE AGE OF EMERSON AND WHITMAN.*

By F. O. Matthiessen. Oxford University Press. \$5.

A CLOSELY reasoned, closely printed volume of nearly 700 pages cannot be adequately discussed in as many words. It is possible here merely to touch upon some of Mr. Matthiessen's main themes, and to note the importance of his subject and the scrupulousness of his treatment.

The period which saw the publication of six such remarkable books as Emerson's "Representative Men," Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter" and "The House of Seven Gables," Melville's "Moby Dick" and "Pierre," Thoreau's "Walden," and Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" were not, literally, a renaissance; but because these writers themselves felt it to be one, Mr. Matthiessen has chosen to describe it thus. His purpose was to evaluate the fusion of form and content in their work. His method entailed the close scrutiny of what each of five major American writers believed concerning the function and nature of his art, and the extent to which his performance exemplified that belief. Their books are studied here in detail, not merely as the precipitate of the interaction between each author's intentions and talents, but also in relation to one another, and with a concern for their bearing upon the development of our literature. Finally, Mr. Matthiessen has sought to determine to what extent the works considered fulfil "the enduring requirements of great art," and so has occupied himself with the several writers' views of nature and society, of good and evil, and the effect of their convictions upon their style.

He has quite properly illustrated his exposition with copious quotations from the authors concerned, from their "ancestors," and from their literary descendants. The only relevant quotations that I miss are Pater's praise of the gem-like flame and Frost's query: "How can we write/The Russian novel in America,/As long as life goes so unutterably?" Indeed, the best writing in the book, as its author would be the first to acknowledge, is not his own: it is that of the greatest masters of prose in England and America and of one of our chief poets.

Recognizing that Emerson, Thoreau, Melville, Hawthorne, and Whitman were all devoted to the democratic ideal, Mr. Matthiessen brings his book to a close with a discussion of the various ways in which they responded to what he calls "the myth of the common man." It is noteworthy that his preface concludes with a quotation from Louis Sullivan to the effect that the true scholar's works must prove "that he is a citizen, not a lackey, a true exponent of democracy. . . . In a democracy there can be but one fundamental test of citizenship, namely: Are you using such gifts as you possess for or against the people?" Mr. Matthiessen holds these standards to be the logical outgrowth of those set forth by Emerson in *The American Scholar*, and declares his own volume to have value only in so far as it answers the same demands. Undoubtedly he desires to use his immense erudition and fine analytical powers for the people. He shares the view of the writers he treats that literature should be functional and social, in the fullest sense of these words. But he has so many points to make, and he makes them with such a tantalized awareness of their multifarious implications and complications, that his learned and subtle volume is caviar to the general. It addresses itself to the cultivated intelligence, but will prove of interest primarily to the literary critic, and is a veritable seed bin for future Ph.D. theses. Unfortunately, the vitality of the authors discussed has not communicated itself to their patient student, and Mr. Matthiessen's detailed scrutiny of the many problems presented has somewhat obscured the main structure of his work.

His judgments on the five writers considered are, with one possible exception, remarkably just. He is inclined to overestimate Hawthorne, whom he regards as an ancestor of Eliot, perhaps because this novelist entertained "a religious conception of man's nature," and makes a virtue of his very limitations. At the outset Mr. Matthiessen rightly applies to Emerson "his own words about Goethe: he was the cow from which the rest drew their milk." He shows Thoreau to have diverged from his master chiefly because of a greater capacity for sensuous experience, and notes the healthy effect of this on his style. Similarly, he observes how Whitman's awareness of the power of sex helped him to speak a more natural language than his mentor. He sees Hawthorne and Melville possessed by a vision of evil which permitted them a sense of tragedy foreign to the bland old transcendentalist, and makes a nice distinction between Hawthorne's allegories and Melville's symbols. Throughout he offers a fruitful discussion of the development of that organic style which Emerson desired, and touches repeatedly upon the nature of tragedy, which, unlike his best pupils, Emerson did not plumb. One may differ with the author on various points, and regret that he leads one along so many crowded bypaths that it is hard

to see the wood for the trees. But chiefly one remains grateful to him for having elucidated with such discriminating scholarship the enduring values which make these writings live.

BABETTE DEUTSCH

England at War

- THE LONG WEEK END.* By Robert Graves and Alan Hodge. The Macmillan Company. \$3.
- LONDON FRONT.* By F. Tennyson Jesse and H. M. Harwood. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.
- LETTERS FROM JIM.* Edited by Cecil Roberts. The Macmillan Company. \$1.75.
- COUNTRY NOTES IN WARTIME.* By V. Sackville-West. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.
- MANSION HOUSE OF LIBERTY.* By Phyllis Bottome. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.50.
- WOMEN OF BRITAIN.* Introduction by Jan Struther. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.50.
- THIS IS LONDON.* By Edward R. Murrow. Simon and Schuster. \$2.
- THEIR FINEST HOUR.* Edited by Allan A. Michie and Walter Graebner. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.50.
- WINGS OF VICTORY.* By Ivor Halstead. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$2.50.
- FIRST BLOOD FOR THE R. A. F.* By Charles Gardner. David McKay Company. \$2.50.
- THE NINE DAYS' WONDER.* By John Masefield. The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.
- THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN.* The Official British Air Ministry Record. Garden City Publishing Company. 25 cents.
- MY FIRST WAR.* By Captain Sir Basil Bartlett. The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

ONE is tempted to say that the best thing about "The Long Week End" is its title. A social history of Great Britain during the unhappy-go-lucky period of 1918-39 is an urgent necessity just now. However, few politically minded people will be satisfied with this behaviorist effort in mass observation, which, indeed, makes no serious pretense of analyzing social movements. What one is given is an amusing account of matters of public gossip, of the attitude of the press, and of the furors of the intellectual tea parties. The woman question, sex, screen, and stage, pacifism, nudism, and hiking—the last three nicely conjoined in one chapter—and so forth, are only occasionally ballasted by common-sense political observations. In the chapter *Revolution Averted, 1919, and Revolution Again Averted, 1926*, the authors touch lightly upon profounder realities. They have no prejudices, except in favor of being bright, and they write well and wittily. To one who saw England from another vantage point "The Long Week End" is a libretto for an opera bouffe to be performed on the side of a volcano in eruption.

And yet the book has its value. It reminds one that the mass of people are not so political as the columns of intelligent magazines appear to suggest. The superficial attitude of Britain during appeasement is adequately described. It serves to warn one that public support of that policy was based upon

an unanalytical longing for peace, not at any price, but on extended credit. Again, the Britain that now fights a just war is in some part the Britain described in this book. That should warn all liberals that the war cannot be expected to have *automatic* consequences for social good in Britain.

To a great extent ideas of social progress are entertained and developed in war-time Britain outside the old political parties of the right and left. The orthodox ideas of conservatism, liberalism, socialism, communism, and the like are manifesting little power to shape men's minds. So much is suggested by the stream of books pouring out of Britain. In this country the war is very often viewed through purely ideological spectacles. That is, perhaps, easier at a distance, just as European revolutions are easy of contrivance in New York. Few of the books that have come my way show signs of serious political thought. The British war effort is most often regarded as an effort in survival. One might take "London Front" as an example. To be charitable to its authors, they are decent inconsequential folk who might well figure in "The Long Week End." F. Tennyson Jesse, a successful minor novelist of some distinction, and her dramatist husband write letters to prominent theatrical or literary persons, such as Alexander Woollcott. These letters, with replies, make up the book. The writers view the war simply as a struggle for liberty, the old sort of liberty. After the war everyone will be kinder, and doubtless some measure of the Labor Party's program will be put into effect. The authors' passion is directed against the external enemy alone. Against the interior one, viewed chiefly as indifference, they manifest, in the fine saying of Marx, melancholy indignation. One is distrustful of a "liberal" who can say, as Mr. Harwood does, that if one could press a button and annihilate that "cancer in the world" the German people, one would do it.

"Letters from Jim" is also non-political. The author, a protegee of Cecil Roberts, according to the publisher's statement is a "typical" English youth. His letters are naive yet rather self-conscious descriptions of action in France and encounters with people in England after the great disaster of midsummer, 1940. Apparently the war has no meaning for Jim. It is merely something to be fought cleanly and bravely. He seems not to have heard of fascism; at least there is no trace of political thought within the book's covers.

"Country Notes in Wartime" ought not to be included in this omnibus review. Its author, I know, does possess political ideas. They are deliberately omitted in this collection of finely wrought essays. Somehow this little volume awakened more nostalgia for England, and more admiration, than any of the others. That power it owes to its real beauty of style.

In "Mansion House of Liberty" one touches a more substantial conception of England. Phyllis Bottome was a conservative anti-Nazi long before the outbreak of war. Her vivid, popularly written account of London life beneath the Luftwaffe is the product of a vigorous mind and an informed social conscience. None the less, there is little hint here that people are much occupied with concrete thought about social problems. Courage, cheerfulness, and social morale are her matters. Jan Struther, also, is a genuine anti-fascist, and the letters she has collected in "Women of Britain" have been written by people of more than average intelligence. They are good letters and give a better picture of English war-

time mentality than any others yet published. The Soldier's Wife, for instance, writes that the "Russian pact news today made me feel faint when I read it." Yet she sensibly rallies and decides that fighting a war is better than living like the German people.

The journalists have also been busy with the "social" scene. Sound reporting fills "This Is London," by the chief of the CBS foreign news staff. Among the books on the war as fighting, no other can touch the superb journalism of "Their Finest Hour." It is lean, muscular stuff, swift and thrilling and wholly objective, written by *Life's* correspondents. One notes again the entire absence of even a trace of political attitude in the soldiers whose experiences are described. And one is not looking for theoretical descriptions, but for even the smallest indication of political attitude. The level of journalism reached in this last book is nowhere achieved by "Wings of Victory" or "First Blood for the R. A. F.," both of which are badly written impressions of air warfare. They do not excite, and that is a serious fault in war books that do not seek to explain. What one does see is that the R. A. F. is composed of magnificently brave men who are fighting in a simple spirit of patriotism. The evacuation from Dunkirk receives a vigorous and thrilling description in "The Nine Days' Wonder." If we accept it as faithful, it is valuable for its illumination of British morale. A semi-technical and extremely interesting account of the August-October air warfare is contained in the penultimate book on my list. It is, perhaps, the only one among the shooting-war books that *Nation* readers would do well to read. The most

interesting element of Captain Bartlett's book I found to be the perhaps unintended confirmation of radical criticism of France; for the rest it is a shrewdly observant, dry-humored account of war experiences, of no great moment for *Nation* readers.

RALPH BATES

Words and Music

THE RECORD BOOK. By David Hall. Smith and Durrell. \$3.50.

OF ALL the guides to recorded music for the layman's use this is surely the most ambitious. The author not only gives a very full list of works in every department of the musical repertoire, with comparisons of the various available performances of each, but he undertakes to give, in a running commentary, an account of the development of music, of the styles of individual composers, and of the methods and difficulties of the several sorts of recordings.

But no one can reasonably expect all this information in one book; so that Mr. Hall's work is not to be judged by its fulness, even though the index that displays it is its most impressive and useful feature. There are still more valuable things than scope, particularly in works that profess to initiate a public of laymen to one of the arts, and it is in these preferable qualities that Mr. Hall, who cannot achieve an impossible exhaustiveness, fails to achieve even a moderate measure of success. I have in mind lucidity, oneness of critical tone, and the power of mediation between ignorance and the beginnings of true knowledge. I have no doubt that many people will find his book easy to read and rich in plausible remarks about music and musicians; others will take pleasure in seeing their prejudices confirmed by an expert; but I believe, nevertheless, that apart from the routine data about late and early records the book will enlighten very few.

The first obstacle is the vocabulary, which does not sufficiently seek its own level. Unprepared readers, for instance, in trying to pick up some notions of musical history from the author's proffered fragments, will understand well enough that Haydn and others "got the new trend off to a strong start," but they will stumble on a phrase like "recasting . . . the homophonic style of the Italian school into the molds of sonata, rondo, and song forms." Seventy-five pages farther they will find a none-too-helpful footnote on the meaning of homophonic, but it will be a trifle late. More knowing readers will be bothered in other ways—by the ambiguous use of "dynamic" or the contradictory meanings of "romantic." In one place "dynamic" seems to stand for vigorous: "Toscanini is superbly dynamic here"—referring to his actually disappointing recording of Beethoven's Seventh; elsewhere, it conveys the technical meaning common in music. As for romantic, it is used to describe both the reason why Bach's music has endured and—on the previous page—the reason why Rachmaninoff disregards the markings in the score of Chopin's B-flat minor Sonata. Throughout, inaccurate or chaotic performance is romantic ("incorrigibly") and the essence of musical feeling from Bach to Brahms is also romantic ("profoundly").

Nor is the confusion limited to words. In so far as Mr. Hall has a philosophy of musical history, it is the usual

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evolutionary scheme by which forms and composers grow out of one another like Russian dolls. This leads him to slight certain figures, like Gluck, or to force others, like Ravel, into derivative positions. At the same time, he has a high regard for something he calls perfection, or the perfect synthesis of subject and form, which is one of the two reasons he alleges for Beethoven's preeminence—as if every successful piece of music were not perfect in the same way, whether written by Beethoven or by John Philip Sousa. Yet by a turn that we come to expect from our author, he can also use "perfection"—as in speaking of Mendelssohn's chamber works—to imply his mild disdain of merely correct workmanship.

Throughout, the text is written like a blurb and the clichés of which it is composed ("succeeded amazingly well in piano works," "emotional hysterics," "Gallic reserve," "cerebral stuff," "a lovely songful work") makes it simply a pretentious amplification of the factual "Encyclopedia of Recorded Music" which many of us possess. Unfortunately, the pretense is not bad enough to be harmless, and when Mr. Hall hazards original subdivisions of musical periods such as "unpolitical Romanticism," including Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Brahms, in order to contrast it with the "nationalistic and revolutionary" romanticism of Weber, Berlioz, Liszt, and Wagner, he is plausible enough to be misleading. In the same strain, he repeats the familiar cant about Berlioz, though without the usual animus; he supplies imaginary programs for pieces that have none; he ascribes the lack of success of certain operas to poor librettos, which is a convenient superstition; he insists on ranking musicians as the greatest this or that; he finds national traits wherever he can; and he utilizes existing popular preferences to insinuate the merits of old, new, or American music, "selling" us, for example, the St. Matthew Passion with the guaranty that it is "as dramatically effective as anything Wagner ever wrote."

This last bit of reverse English would be enough to prove that Wagner was always a lucky man, though I do not mean to suggest that Mr. Hall is a Wagnerite. His personal preferences are clear but not obtrusive. And no critic registers an oath in heaven that he will approve the same things as his fellows. But for this liberty he must pay. The price is that he shall never speak except in his own proper person. He must not, as Mr. Hall has tried to do, talk up good music by talking down to his readers and occasionally relapsing upward into the jargon of the schools. Writing about records seems to be a great temptation to this sort of sinfulness, for records are far from representing the whole of the musical repertoire and hence limit a man's choice artificially, not to say commercially; and records are also supposed to be a department of public education. Both features encourage canting, though Mr. Bernard Haggin has shown that this encouragement can be resisted by a critic who has a clear head, words to express himself, and his eye on the object rather than on his audience.

JACQUES BARZUN

In an Early Issue of The Nation

Thomas Mann's "The Transposed Heads"

REVIEWED BY MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

WHY ANOTHER WORLD WAR? HOW WE MISSED COLLECTIVE SECURITY. By George Gilbert Armstrong. Macmillan. \$2.75.

ESTONIA. By J. Hampden Jackson. Macmillan. \$2.25.

THE TRANSPOSED HEADS. By Thomas Mann. Knopf. \$2.

DEMOCRACY IN THE MIDDLE WEST, 1840-1940. By Jeannette P. Nichols and J. G. Randall. Appleton-Century. \$1.25.

THE CHILD SPEAKS: THE PREVENTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. By Justice Jacob Panken. Holt. \$2.50.

THE BRONTES' WEB OF CHILDHOOD. By Fannie Elizabeth Ratchford. Columbia University Press. \$3.50.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. Edited by Robert E. Riegel. Appleton-Century. Two Volumes. \$6.50.

COLOMBIA: GATEWAY TO SOUTH AMERICA. By Kathleen Romoli. Doubleday, Doran. \$3.50.

TODAY'S REFUGEES, TOMORROW'S CITIZENS: A STORY OF AMERICANIZATION. By Gerhart Saenger. Harper. \$3.

GENERALS AND GENERALSHIP. By General Sir Archibald Wavell. Macmillan. 50 cents.

BRITAIN AT WAR. Edited by Monroe Wheeler. The Museum of Modern Art. \$1.25.

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IN BRIEF

HOLY SUBURB. By Elizabeth Atkins. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$2.50.

Miss Atkins's novel explores, with both amusement and sympathy, an authentic and little-exploited phase of American life—the small Middle Western denominational college, with all its prudishness, provincialism, and secret hankering for the more worldly ways of the big state university. Miss Atkins, who now teaches at the University of Minnesota, once lived in a suburb of Lincoln, Nebraska, where there was a newly founded Methodist college, and she probably draws liberally on her own recollections for the outlines and details of the Epworth College of her book.

SOME MEMORIES OF W. B. YEATS.

By John Masefield. Macmillan. \$1.25. The poet laureate of England remembering W. B. Yeats sounds impressive. But the conjunction of the two names is the only reason we can surmise for publishing this little book of thirty-four pages. Masefield's anecdotes of Yeats are skimpy and unrevealing. The poems he consecrates to the death of the great Irishman—who himself sang so magnificently the death of heroes—are a stodgy imitation of Yeats's artful and impassioned rhetoric.

FILMS

Extras Again

Hollywood, May 29

A RECENT article published in this column entitled Screen Actors: Class B has evoked an irate and lengthy protest from William S. Holman, the producers' representative on the Standing Committee of the Motion Picture Producers and Screen Actors' Guild. Mr. Holman's letter is some four pages long, and space does not permit it to be printed in its entirety, but a few excerpts will give an adequate impression of its contents and allow a reply.

After a somewhat lofty opening Mr. Holman says, "On the whole his factual account of the situation of the extra player is facilely presented, although it bristles with minor inaccuracies. His conclusions, however, are simply inane. Just what does Mr. Bower mean when he says that in order to make the extras' lives tolerable there will have to be drastic revisions in the methods of hiring and classification?" This unwittingly cryptic remark refers to negotia-

tions now under way to simplify classifications, improve hiring conditions, and increase wages, with the eventual end in view of creating a substantial body of extras earning a living wage.

Mr. Holman cites several minor inaccuracies in my article: "Anyone who hopes to obtain work as an extra at any one of the studios . . . must be registered at Central Casting." There are in fact one or two minor agencies for extra work in existence, and extras also obtain work occasionally through direct studio booking, but for any extra who hopes to work at all regularly registration at Central Casting is a virtual imperative, and I imagine that 100 per cent of the extras are registered at Central Casting, a privilege which costs nothing. He also cites my statement that the Screen Actors' Guild raised the minimum daily wage for extras from \$3.50 to \$5.50. Though the increase in extras' wages was coincidental with the activities of the Guild, it can, I suppose, be interpreted as benevolence on the part of the studios, but if that is what Mr. Holman means, his accusation should be not inaccuracy but a difference of opinion.

After another page the letter continues, "I have now finally arrived at the comment of Mr. Bower to which I take particular exception." Then he quotes from the article: "That this is a miserable form of making a living can be very easily seen. The Guild has already accomplished much for the extras. . . . but there still remains a great deal to be done." And he replies: "Just what is it that remains to be done? In view of the statistics cited by Mr. Bower in the body of his article the answer seems obvious, and yet Mr. Bower ignores the answer completely, and his comments carry the strong implication that what is required to remedy the extras' plight is *further exactions from the employing studios on the part of the Guild*" (my italics). Just what further exactions does Mr. Holman mean, since he does not credit the Guild with the extras' wage increase?

Mr. Holman's "obvious answer"—which actually was not within the scope of the article—is based, he writes, on the First Recommendations of the Standing Committee delegated jointly by the Guild and the producers to make a survey of the problem of the extra player. He quotes from the First Recommendations:

As we have indicated, our investigation has disclosed that the industry does not offer sufficient extra work to provide for all aspirants the possibility of a living wage.

We believe that the number will have to be made sufficiently small so that most of them can make a better than substantial living out of their employment.

No wage scale, however extravagant, is in itself adequate to support any person. An annual income is the only test of whether one is making a living.

Our investigation gives abundant evidence that the economic condition of most of the extras is entirely unsatisfactory.

Mr. Holman's letter than continues: "This report, based on an exhaustive survey of conditions in the industry, shows conclusively that the only possible approach to a solution of the problem of the extra player lies in a sharp curtailment in the number of workers permitted to share in the annual expenditures of the industry for this type of work. Both the Guild and the producers have accepted and indorsed this solution, and negotiations are now in progress between them which confidently are expected to result in the initiation of practical steps to accomplish this end in the very near future."

Now Mr. Holman calls this reduction in the number of extras both a solution and an approach to a solution in the same paragraph; which does he mean? The operative quotation from the report seems to be the one that states: "An annual income is the only test of whether one is making a living." A sharp curtailment in the number of extra workers would not guarantee a livable income for the rest unless the cut were so drastic as to be absolutely impracticable. At the moment steps are being taken to bar casual extras, that is, to eliminate extras who for reasons other than ill health or accident have worked less than ten days during the past year. This will account for some 2,000 extras, leaving some 5,000 to share in an annual income which last year totaled \$2,259,766, about \$500 apiece. Under present conditions the industry could provide a livable income for only about 1,500 extras at the most optimistic estimate, and to reduce the number of extras to this level could not possibly suit anyone, least of all the producers. It is impossible to resist the temptation of asking Mr. Holman why, if the answer to the extra problem is so obvious and so simple, some \$80,000 has been spent by the Standing Committee in investigating the "problem of the extra player."

THE RELUCTANT DRAGON

Walt Disney's plans to entertain the press with a conducted tour of the studio, a preview of his new picture

"The Reluctant Dragon," and cocktails were rudely interrupted, along with the general work of the studio, by a walkout on the part of the Screen Cartoonists' Guild. A threatened strike at the Schlesinger studio was averted when Leon Schlesinger decided to sign the Guild agreement. This Disney refuses to do, and he wishes to hold an election at the studio between the Guild and the recently created American Society of Screen Cartoonists, which the Guild declares is just the company-sponsored Federation of Cartoonists remade. There is so far no indication of an agreement, and the studio and the local theaters showing Disney products are surrounded by pickets carrying such signs as "Snow White and Seven Hundred Dwarfs," "One Genius—Twelve Hundred Guinea Pigs."

RECENT FILMS

Way back in 1923 Rudolph Valentino seared the screens of the nation with his passionate interpretation of the *torero* in "Blood and Sand"; now we have Tyrone Power, slightly trammelled by the Hays office but heavily aided by the most striking technicolor, playing the same role to some effect. The plot is both familiar and dull and serves only to provide material for a spectacle which is at times breath-taking; some of the color effects are a little too exuberant, but the bull-ring sequences are really exciting and beautiful. The most surprising feature of the picture is that while most of the players speak in measured and stylized tones meant to indicate that they are foreigners, Mr. Power, whose make-up is more Spanish than any Spaniard ever thought of being, talks tough enough to qualify for a gangster role.

A rather doleful piece entitled "Shining Victory" tells of life among the doctors in a Scottish mental home. Quite a lot of familiar characters are collected in the home—the frustrated spinster, the earnest young lady doctor, the wise and aging practitioner from whom words of wisdom simply gush, and the hero doctor, apparently rather crusty but in reality as soft as a marshmallow. A. J. Cronin was responsible for the story.

Miss Neagle's consistent reappearances in screen musical comedies is one of the mysteries of the movie world—"Irene," "No, No, Nannette," and now "Sunny." Miss Neagle, a most talented actress, dispenses the same air of dignity in her musical-comedy roles as in her portrayals of such characters as Queen Victoria, with far less happy results.

ANTHONY BOWER

RECORDS

TO LAST month's superb set of the Prelude and Finale of "Tristan und Isolde" played by the Berlin Philharmonic under Furtwängler Victor now adds an equally fine one of the Prelude and Good Friday music of "Parsifal" played by the same orchestra and conductor (Set 514, \$3.50). It has been interesting to observe in these performances an emotional and stylistic continence and a related sense for continuity of structural outline that are not revealed in Furtwängler's performances of symphonic music. Not only interesting but a pleasure; for they are completely satisfying performances of these works—the first we have had on recent records as alternatives to what Stokowski has recorded.

Another fine set (772, \$6.50) offers a large part of the music which Frederick Austin arranged for the 1920 London production of Gay's "Beggar's Opera" at the Lyric Theater, Hammer-smith, using the music which Pepusch put together for the original work out of the popular tunes of the time. They are delightful, and are well sung by Audrey Mildmay of the Glyndebourne Company, Michael Redgrave of "The Lady Vanishes," and a number of others with chorus and small orchestra under Michael Mudie. A serious fault is that most of the words can't be understood; and Victor does not supply a printed text.

My disappointment after hearing the duets and arias from "The Marriage of Figaro" and "Don Giovanni" recorded by Rethberg and Pinza (Set 783, \$3) is as great as my anticipation before I heard them. Rethberg, who used to delight one's ear with the exquisite sounds that she produced without effort, now seems to have difficulties with production that cause her upper range to be clouded by a strong tremolo, sometimes to sound acidulous, and sometimes to be off pitch; and the first two faults are evident on these records. Pinza, on the other hand, offends with the style of his singing, making his points with exaggerated nuances and contrasts of color. Nor is there the light-footed grace and sparkle that there might be in the orchestral accompaniments. And on a high-fidelity machine the recorded sound has a coarseness and harshness that can be eliminated by reducing the fidelity, and that is not heard on a small machine of limited frequency-range.

Though the so-called Trio Sonatas of

Bach were written for the two-keyboard cembalo with pedals, Harvey Grace argues that they should be played on the organ. He points out that they were written as exercises in organ technique, and that the instrument they were written for was the practice-instrument which every student of the organ had in his home; further that the writing includes sustained notes which require the sustained tone of the organ, and that the three-voiced polyphony is most effectively projected with the varied colors of the organ. Although, therefore, the polyphony is spaced out in the two-piano arrangements of Nos. 4 and 5 recorded by Vronsky and Babin (Set 778, \$3.50), and although in this way it is clearly defined much of the time, there are occasions when the voices are not distinguishable for lack of the organ's differentiating colors. For the rest the performances are polished and spirited; as for the music, No. 4 is engaging, and No. 5 has a fine opening movement followed by movements which I find uninteresting.

Suk's early Serenade for string orchestra, beautifully played by the Czech Philharmonic under Talich (Set 779, \$4.50), is facile, melodious writing without much point. The music from Gluck's "Don Juan," well recorded by the Victor Chamber Orchestra (13648, \$1), is moderately enjoyable (the part concerned with Don Juan being dragged down to Hell sounds like a passage in "Orfeo"); Hadyn's Overture in D and Mozart's Marches K 335 and 408, well played by the Société des Concerts Orchestra under Fendler (4549, \$.75), are inconsequential. Mendelssohn's Piano Concerto in G minor is not a work that I care much about even when it is well played; much of the time it suffers from steel-fingered playing by Sanroma and the brassy accompaniment of the Boston "Pops" Orchestra under Fiedler (Set 780, \$3.50). Nor can I hear any reason for investing in Hanson's Suite from his opera "Merry Mount," well recorded by the Eastman-Rochester Symphony under the composer's direction (Set 781, \$2.50); Piston's "Carnival Song," recorded by the Harvard Glee Club with a brass ensemble of the Boston Symphony and organ, under the direction of G. Wallace Woodworth (18013, \$1); and Kleinsinger's "I Hear America Sing," to words of Walt Whitman, recorded by John Charles Thomas, the I. L. G. W. U. Chorus, and the Victor Symphony, under Nat Shilkret (Set 777, \$2.50).

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

For Action Not Debate

Dear Sirs: In the last analysis, we who are asking people to defeat Hitler are asking them to defend the status quo. Some maintain that this is asking too much, since the status quo has so many defects; I say that there is no time to cure the defects prior to effective national action.

I say further that the foreign policy of the United States must be the guide and not the result of public opinion. The Administration owes it to the people to use its total might to defeat the enemies of the national state. We are going to debate ourselves to death. I suggest an immediate national "debating holiday" similar to the banking holiday, followed by striking and unrestricted action to insure the defeat of Italy and Germany and Japan.

T. A. TENOR

Beaver Falls, Pa., May 27

Our New National Gallery

Dear Sirs: I cannot imagine a more wrong-headed and wrong-hearted criticism than that of Mr. Lazare on the National Gallery in your issue of May 17. I fully agree with Mr. Lazare's strictures on the badly outdated, over-pretentious, and over-costly building. Where I emphatically disagree with him is on his criticism of this brand-new gallery as if it had been running for many years with abundant funds which it had misspent; he took the tone that one might reasonably assume toward the National Gallery in London or the Kaiserfriedrichmuseum.

Our National Gallery begins with the gift of two private collections, that of the late Secretary Mellon and that of Samuel E. Kress. The pictures were obtained with the money of these generous donors, buying, with on the whole excellent advice, what they liked themselves under the limitations of the art market of the past quarter-century. Considering these facts, the initial richness of the National Gallery is extraordinary. We are asked to minimize the magnanimity of these public-spirited citizens because neither commanded, say, the experience of a Dr. Bode or the volcanic energy of a Lord Duveen.

Naturally there are omissions. If they are really troubling Mr. Lazare too

deeply, let him undertake a possibly unique adventure in historical research and compare the first catalogue of the National Gallery in London with that of our bantling National Gallery. The comparison should relieve his gloom. As to these desiderata, the accession of the Widener collection will fill many of them nicely, while the normal activities of a competent professional staff commanding a great income will in no very distant future go far to balance the collections.

Mr. Lazare virtually reprehends the donors for failing to buy an Orcagna or a Piero della Francesca. Does he think Pieros and Orcagnas are in stock at the great picture dealers? If he will locate a good picture by either master I am confident that the National Gallery or Mr. Kress will buy it promptly.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

Washington Crossing, Pa., May 26

Dear Sirs: Mr. Mather has evidently misconstrued my opinions on the subject of the National Gallery, and I am grateful to him for the opportunity to make them more explicit. I cannot, in the first place, regard as satisfactory any museum or private collection of the proportions of the National Gallery which excludes all aspects of contemporary art; second, this omission is all the more conspicuous in the present instance since the collection is, to an appreciable extent, made up of anonymous journeymen, pupils, and imitators whose chief iconographic significance is their own contemporaneity with the Renaissance; third, the comparative youth or age of the museum is of no relevance in this connection since its by-laws render the permanent acquisition of contemporary art virtually impossible.

Mr. Mather's suggestion that the museum's donors lacked the guidance and "volcanic energy" of experts seems to me a little far-fetched. The sources of many of the transactions may be traced through the catalogue (it has, in fact, been a matter of common knowledge in the art world how much intrigue, string-pulling, and personal profit entered into these various guidances). No, I do not know offhand where an Orcagna or a Piero della Francesca is to be picked up—nor did I mean to suggest that paintings by masters are shopped for like tea-cozies. But I do know that Mr. Kress

footed extensive restorations in the cities of Cortona, Spoleto, Mantua, and Ravenna and enjoyed, in return, a considerable freedom of choice in Italy. I think, too, that the Hermitage in Russia, which sold Mr. Mellon a number of his treasures, might have been tapped more resourcefully.

CHRISTOPHER LAZARE

New York, May 28

Blitz on Glass and Plaster

[The following letter was received recently by one of the editors of The Nation.]

Dear —: All day long yesterday and now again today there has been a continuous sound of shoveling glass in the street—the result of Wednesday night's raid. We live in a short street of rather large, strongly built brick houses, with a hospital opposite. The raid started early, which usually means that it is going to be a bad one. And it was! We moved out of a living-room with a large window on the garden to the top of the stairs, which had two inside walls. We stayed there until an old colonel who has the ground-floor flat invited us to come in and have some whiskey. It is pleasanter to be with people on such occasions, so we went in, and while he was becoming eloquent on taking bombs lightly, the whole of a big bow window seemed to lift up and bring with it a Niagara of broken glass. I suppose the thick black-out curtains must have stayed the passage of the glass, for only one woman got her head cut and that not badly. We all made for the door in case the house should follow the glass, for it was rocking gently. When it stopped, we went to size up the damage. Most of the other windows, with their frames, were blown in. The blast shattered two doors leading into two passages and then shattered two inside doors in its path. The sitting-room where we had been was in chaos—all the plaster on the floor, furniture blown hither and thither; I suppose we should have been blown, too, if we had stayed there. We could use only torches, for the black-out curtains had come down and anything was a target.

We then went to see what had happened to another house in the same street where my sisters lived. One had been sitting in front of the fire when

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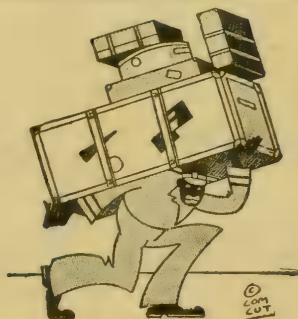
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the door immediately behind her was blown in, but she wasn't touched. All the curtain rods were twisted into serpents, and there was a sea of glass. The odd thing was that it was the inside and not the outside of the house that was devastated. All of us from the two houses had by this time collected in a ground-floor room—among us two young women in helmets and trousers and a young soldier. One group played animal, vegetable, or mineral, while another disputed whether this was a worse raid than they had had at—wherever it was. Then bombs began to fall—north, south, east, west; across the road, up the street. Of course we felt they were all aimed straight at us. Every minute or so there was a thud, so heavy that the whole earth shook. We heard the swish of the bombs—they take a pestiferous time to fall. Now and then the wearers of the tin hats ducked and banged each other's heads with a metallic clang. It is difficult not to duck. Then the room was brilliantly illuminated. An incendiary bomb had fallen in the back garden. One of the tin-hatted girls jumped out of the window and put a bag of sand on it, and it went out at once. They aren't difficult to put out if you aren't afraid of them. There were many more incendiary bombs, all of which were dealt with. In the street a Canadian soldier kicked one, scattering the bits about the street. A piece stuck to his boot, and he had to kick that off. These appalling thuds went on and on. We tried not to look at our watches.

At last dawn came, and we tried to find our beds, which were smothered in plaster. The lights in our house had gone out, and down the stairs of the other house water was dripping. My bed was whole, and after scrubbing half an inch of dust off my face, I slept deeply.

The next day all the devastation appeared. You could hardly see for the dust. The thing was where to begin. Mrs. Powell and I—she is the daily woman—began by lifting large slabs of plaster off the kitchen floor, for we felt we must be able to do something about food. The gas hadn't gone, fortunately. We carried bucket after bucket of mess out into the road, all the time swallowing dust by the peck. People turned up asking for lodging, but we hadn't any with all those wrecked rooms. They ought to invent something better than plaster for ceilings if we are to have the luxury of blitzes. Everybody was worn out but rather glad to be alive and a little proud of having managed the raid successfully. I must say morale was

pretty good. You couldn't help feeling tense, but everybody talked and joked as though nothing much were happening. As I said, the noise of shoveling went on all day and is going on now.

I am sorry to say I have just lost all my work owing to further restrictions on paper. It is a bore not to do essential work—I mean like war correspondence or information, which is all there is just now. Wrecked homes are such a commonplace that it seems hardly worth while writing about them.

MURIEL HARRIS

London, April 18

CONTRIBUTORS

LEWIS COREY is the author of "The Decline of American Capitalism," "The House of Morgan," and "The Crisis of the Middle Class."

M. B. is a British seaman who has been serving on convoys for the past ten months.

JEROME H. SPINGARN is a New Jersey lawyer who has contributed articles to *Harper's*, the *New Republic*, and other publications.

PHILIP G. BRADY has written scientific articles for trade journals and other magazines.

BERTHOLD C. FRIEDL was for many years on the staff of the *Encyclopédie Française* and a regular contributor to *La Lumière*, *Vendredi*, and *Ere Nouvelle*. IRVIN EHRENPREIS has just received his Ph.D in English literature from Columbia University.

BABETTE DEUTSCH, poet and critic, has just received the Julia Ellsworth Ford Foundation award of \$2,000 for the best book manuscript for children, "Walt Whitman: Builder for America."

RALPH BATES, distinguished English novelist, is the author of "The Olive Field," "The Fields of Paradise," and many other books.

JACQUES BARZUN, assistant professor of history at Columbia University, has recently published "Darwin, Marx, Wagner."

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THE BRITISH DECISION TO OCCUPY SYRIA may seem obvious, but clearly it was not adopted without a very careful weighing of risks. The danger to the whole British position in the Middle East if the Nazis secured full military control of this vital region was plain to the most amateur strategist. But it was also necessary to take into account the possibility that invasion of this French mandate would give Vichy an excuse to become a military member of the Axis and to order its navy into action against the British Mediterranean fleet. General Wavell has a huge area to defend with limited numbers of troops and a limited amount of equipment. It was therefore essential to balance the prospects of rapid success in Syria against the risks of a strong Axis offensive in the western desert. One factor, no doubt fully considered, was the evidence of disaffection among the French soldiers in Syria. Interesting particulars on this subject are given on page 688 by Peter Stevens, who was in Syria not many weeks ago. His article also refutes contentions that Vichy remains in independent control of Syria. General Dentz, he shows, has been little more than a voice for the German representatives and has even been unable to check the Nazi propaganda among the Arabs which was steadily undermining all French authority in the two mandates. There is plenty of evidence that in the past few weeks the Germans have not merely taken control of the main Syrian airports but by one means or another have brought in several thousand soldiers. The latest reports suggest that these men are being hurriedly evacuated, partly because the French troops might refuse to fight side by side with them and partly because of the difficulties of supply and reinforcement.

✱

ALTHOUGH THE VICHY GOVERNMENT HAS reacted to the British invasion of Syria with loud and indignant protests, it now seems improbable that it will forthwith plunge into general war with Britain. This is not because of any tender feelings toward its former ally, for Admiral Darlan has made it clear that Vichy's one desire is to see Britain beaten as quickly as possible. But the hopes of the vast majority of Frenchmen lie in

the exactly opposite direction, and even a dictatorship cannot easily carry a country into war without some substantial measure of public support. Another factor tending to restrain Vichy's enthusiasm for an all-out alliance with Hitler is President Roosevelt's plain speaking. There is a fear that collaboration between Vichy and the Axis of a kind which would place Germany in open control of the African colonies might precipitate an American move against Dakar and Martinique. It is probable that Berlin is still anxious to avoid a showdown with the United States and is therefore willing to allow Vichy to continue on the present basis of open economic cooperation with the Axis combined with a limited amount of secret military cooperation. There has again been a persistent series of reports about disagreement between Vichy and General Weygand, but these should be regarded with a grain of salt. The belief that Weygand could be counted upon to take independent action if German demands on France became too insistent has been very useful in encouraging Anglo-American appeasement of Vichy. It may be that the Berlin-Vichy strategists hope that this myth can still be effectively employed.

✱

THE FRENCH PASSENGER LINER WINNIPEG, which was seized by a Dutch naval vessel toward the end of last month, was found to have on board 210 Germans and 76 Austrians who were reported to be bound for Martinique. This statement was hotly denied by the French embassy in Washington, which declared that all passengers with German passports were bound for Latin America, and which implied that they were refugees. We now learn from an American who was in Trinidad the day the Winnipeg was brought in that most of these Germans were young men and believed by the authorities to be under military orders. What their mission in Martinique might be it is easy to guess. They could hardly add any appreciable strength to the garrison of the island, but they could do a skilled job of sabotage on French warships and planes at Fort de France. The extraordinary thing about this affair is the fact that the British authorities in Trinidad have remained completely silent since releasing the first news of the Winnipeg's capture. It seems not to have occurred to them that an attempt to land an organized party of Germans in Martinique is a matter of extraordinary importance, particularly to the United States.

✱

HITLER IS SAID TO HAVE LAUGHED WHEN John Cudahy, former United States Ambassador to Belgium, now correspondent of the North American Newspaper Alliance, told him that many Americans feared he would carry his aggression to the American continent. The Führer cited the 2,500 miles of open water between Europe and North America as proof of the absurdity of their fears. Hitler also ridiculed the idea that Germany

could be an economic menace to the United States. In the course of the interview nothing seems to have been said by either Hitler or Cudahy about South America or Dakar. Mr. Cudahy did not ask, for example, why Germany was pouring shipload after shipload of "tourists" into South America via Lisbon, as was recently reported from first-hand observation by Carl B. Wall in *PM*. Mr. Wall cites a German, perhaps a little more indiscreet than Hitler, as saying that Germany would rather take over South America than all of England. Our suspicion that the Cudahy "interview" was stage-managed to meet the immediate interests of Nazi propaganda is heightened by the parallel between its content and the orders issued by the official German propaganda agency in Berlin, as revealed by President Roosevelt. The first of those orders, it will be recalled, urged all Nazi agents to stress the idea that Germany had no thought of aggression in the Western Hemisphere.

✱

BATAVIA'S REJECTION OF TOKYO'S DEMANDS has placed the Japanese militarists very much on the spot. The Japanese trade delegation, headed by Kenkichi Yoshizawa, had made sweeping demands for a large share of the island's oil, rubber, tin, and other strategic war materials. After a long period of fruitless negotiation, "final" demands were presented, accompanied by a press barrage that strongly hinted at war if they were rejected. A suspicion that these threats were largely, or wholly, bluff was confirmed when the Dutch authorities stood fast and presented a counter-proposal that gave the Japanese little of what they asked. At first the delegation announced that it had no choice but to break off negotiations. Later, after instructions had apparently been received from Tokyo, it consented to remain, at least temporarily. Meanwhile Tokyo officials have gone into a series of conferences to decide what, if anything, can be done about this unprecedented affront.

✱

JAPAN'S FINAL DECISION WILL DOUBTLESS hinge primarily on the firmness of American policy. The United States is deeply concerned in the outcome of the affair, for the granting of Tokyo's demands would seriously affect our ability to obtain adequate supplies of tin, rubber, and other strategic materials. And it is fairly obvious that Japan wants these materials not only to strengthen its own military preparations but to enable it to transship vital supplies to Germany. Unfortunately, the critical situation in Europe has led American appeasers, and some non-appeasers, to seize this moment to renew the demand that the fleet be shifted from the Pacific to the Atlantic. It is argued that we must at all costs avoid being engaged on two fronts at the same time, and that the Japanese threats are merely a part of Hitler's strategy to keep our fleet tied up in the Pacific.

There is no indication that the Administration has been swayed by this special reasoning. Some units of the fleet may, indeed, have been shifted—Washington no longer gives out information on ship movements—but they probably consist solely of destroyers and other light vessels suitable for patrol duty. The speed with which the British tracked down and sank the Bismarck indicates that there is no need for additional capital ships in the Atlantic. But Tokyo has shown in the past that it keeps close tabs on the position of our battleships. If a half-dozen of our larger vessels were suddenly transferred to the Far Eastern fleet, it is probable that Japan's threat to the Dutch East Indies would be quickly abandoned.

★

THE OUTCRY AGAINST THE BILL TO DRAFT private property illustrates once again that sauce for the goose is definitely not sauce for the gander. It is true that the original bill was sweeping in character. It would have permitted the President to requisition any private property, upon payment of compensation, if such action was considered necessary in the interest of defense. The President, of course, had no intention of authorizing raids on private homes to pick up aluminum pans or, as was whispered in anti-New Deal quarters, of confiscating all bank accounts over \$1,000. Administration leaders merely desired a measure broad enough to meet any contingency. The bill would have given the President roughly the same powers over property as he already possesses over young men under the selective-service law. It paralleled in its scope the provisions of the emergency legislation adopted in Great Britain a little more than a year ago. But it has met with such vigorous opposition—from the same quarters that have been urging the government to crack down on labor—that it will have to be drastically modified before it can be passed. In its modified form it will presumably give the President ample power to take over defense plants in the event of a serious threat to production. The refusal of Congress to put national interests above property interests in the emergency is not likely to sit well with the hundreds of thousands of young men who have given up their jobs and are prepared if necessary to sacrifice their lives in the cause of democracy.

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THE DECLINE IN AIRPLANE PRODUCTION from 1,427 in April to approximately 1,350 in May is symptomatic of the lag in all defense production. The decline cannot be attributed to labor difficulties, although some newspapers have tried to make it appear so. There were no strikes in airplane plants during May. Labor disputes may have been the cause of some delay among subcontractors, but there is no evidence that this accounts for the drop in production. The chief difficulty is the lack of planning and coordination. The great Boeing

plant at Seattle, for example, is at a standstill because the National Defense Advisory Committee failed last fall to allot the company sufficient aluminum to insure uninterrupted production. Changes of design, some necessary and some not, account for other delays. Since the decline in production figures reflects in part a shift from light to heavy models, it does not necessarily imply retrogression. It is evident, however, that 1,350 planes a month will not go very far toward saving Britain or guarding our own defenses when the Nazi production is nearly three times that figure.

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WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN PRETTY SURE THAT we knew what was behind the Christian Front; our suspicions were fully confirmed by the news of a meeting in Boston at which the Nazi film "Victory in the West" was shown to 600 people. Francis P. Moran, director of the Front in that city, admitted that his purpose was to spread the belief that the Nazis are invincible, and he urged mothers in the audience to write their sons in the army that the film had convinced them that the United States had little chance of beating the Germans. If this effort to undermine army morale is not subversive, that word has no meaning. Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* and the *Brooklyn Tablet* were sold at the meeting, and the film was preceded by a long speech in which Moran defended the Nazi conquest of Europe and attacked the British and President Roosevelt. "Under present laws," said the newspaper report, "the showing cannot be stopped because no admission fee was charged." We can't help feeling that if the Christian Front were "red" and "atheist" rather than reactionary and Catholic, a way would be found.

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MISUSE OF FRANKING PRIVILEGES HAS BEEN a perennial scandal in Washington. But isolationists appear to have carried the abuse farther than any other group in recent years in their frantic opposition to the government's foreign policy. Certain of them, including Wheeler, Nye, Thorkelson, and Tinkham, are reported to have delivered large quantities of their franked, unaddressed envelopes to organizations like the Christian Front, the No Foreign War Committee, the American Coalition Society, the New York German-American list, and the America First Committee. Franked material under Wheeler's signature has been distributed by Joe McWilliams, leading American pro-Nazi. Since the Government Printing Office will not deliver franked envelopes without a requisition signed by the Senator or Representative whose name appears on the envelopes, the men named above cannot very well disclaim responsibility. The lending or leasing of a Congressional frank is a violation of the spirit if not the letter of the law, and isolationists should be held to account for their acts in the same manner as other persons.

THERE IS NO NEED TO REPORT THE MANY resolutions passed by the fourth annual American Writers' Congress, since by a remarkable coincidence they were practically identical with those approved by numerous other Communist-controlled organizations which follow the "line" from "imperialist" war to "release Earl Browder." We feel, however, that the following letter written to the League of American Writers by the veteran British artist, author, and Socialist, J. F. Horrabin, ought to be placed on record. It was *not* read at the Congress.

Dear Comrades: I am not entirely devoid of imagination and I did not, as a matter of fact, need to read "For Whom the Bell Tolls" in order to realize just what decent Spaniards must have felt about us British and French people when we covered up our cowardly "non-intervention" policy with high-sounding phrases. Now I don't even have to use my imagination any more to find out just how Spaniards felt—I know in my own person. Here in London, with the bombs dropping—the same make of bombs as smashed up Madrid—it is really thrilling to learn from your manifesto that in America there are writers and artists whose slogan is still "non-intervention," and whose main dread, apparently, is that their stories, poems, plays, essays, and books might be "abridged."

Thank you, dear comrades, for a good belly-laugh in a grim world; and may the Lord have mercy on your prim, little, self-preserving, non-intervening souls.

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THE "BUY SOMETHING BRITISH" MOVEMENT, which is carrying on a campaign in New York and elsewhere, should attract the support not only of advocates of all-out aid to Britain but of those isolationists who sincerely want Hitler beaten so long as it doesn't mean sticking out our own necks. For no one can assert that in buying British goods we are in any way exceeding our neutral rights. In Britain today manufacture for export is considered second only in importance to production of weapons and munitions. Every boatload of goods that can be sold abroad provides the means for the import of essential foodstuffs and war materials. Although the Lease-Lend Act relieved Britain of its most pressing financial anxieties in this country, it still needs to raise large sums in dollars from its own resources. It has almost exhausted its stocks of gold, and as rapidly as market conditions permit, it is realizing American securities and direct investments commandeered from British citizens. Only two weeks ago the shares of the American Viscose Company, the largest producer of artificial silk, wholly built up by British capital, were offered to the American public. Every dollar realized will stay in this country to pay for American goods exported to Britain, as will every dollar raised by the sale of British goods. Thus in "buying British" we are promoting reciprocal trade and helping ourselves.

Murray vs. Stalin

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S action in ordering the Army to take over the North American Aviation Company's plant at Inglewood, California, is a step which will be viewed with equanimity by only three groups—extreme reactionaries, Nazis, and the Communist Party. The reactionaries want to see labor crushed; the motivation of the Communist Party, which is filling the air with charges of betrayal, is more complicated. It wishes to disrupt the defense program, and its strategy is to discredit the Administration and the present leadership of the C. I. O. To gain these ends it is quite ready to provoke anti-strike legislation and other repressive measures—which would provide it with ammunition against the Administration and the C. I. O. leadership and a new basis for recruiting strength among workers as politically naive as those in Inglewood obviously are.

In all three of the West Coast strikes, involving nearly 50,000 workers in aviation, shipbuilding, and lumber, the workers are seeking redress of legitimate grievances; and the great majority of the workers involved are undoubtedly innocent of anything resembling a subversive motive. But it has become very clear that the aviation and lumber strikes are under Communist direction, that the course followed has been motivated by the desire to foment trouble rather than to secure benefits for labor, and that the leaders of these strikes have not hesitated to misrepresent to the rank and file the position of the National Mediation Board and of the national leadership of the C. I. O.

The walkout of 11,000 men at the North American Aviation Company was called, despite a solemn promise to defer strike action, after the Mediation Board had had only two days in which to work out a formula for a very difficult and confused situation. A clear indication of irresponsibility or worse in the woodworkers' strike of the Puget Sound area lies in the fact that a dispute in the Columbia Basin region involving the very same grievances was adjusted by the Mediation Board without a walkout. The settlement worked out by the board for both areas included a wage increase which brings the minimum to 75 cents an hour, vacations with pay, and a "union-maintenance" shop. All present employees must be union members as a condition of employment, while new employees will be "encouraged" to join. This is an excellent settlement. It was found acceptable by the Columbia Basin group and recommended by Philip Murray, but it was branded a scheme to "bulldoze the workers" by O. M. Orton of the International Woodworkers.

The machinists' (A. F. of L.) and steel workers' (C. I. O.) locals conducting the shipyard strike are said to be under the influence of the Maritime Federation, which is controlled by Harry Bridges. In this case a con-

test for power between the Bridges organization and the national leadership of the machinists' union seems to be one major element in the difficulty. Another is the refusal of a Bethlehem Steel subsidiary to sign the agreement accepted by its competitors.

The strikes have created a delicate and dangerous situation. The movement toward drastic anti-labor legislation has already begun. But such legislation would only play into the hands of those elements which are prepared to capitalize on the resulting discontent. The principal hope lies in the ability of labor's top leadership to put its own house in order. Philip Murray's letter addressed to the woodworkers' locals over the head of Orton and recommending prompt acceptance of the National Mediation Board's terms, the stout condemnation of all three strikes by the Labor Advisory Council of the OPM, and the suspension by Richard Frankenstein, head of the United Automobile Workers, of the leaders responsible for the walkout at Inglewood, are the first steps in that direction.

The task of heading off anti-labor laws and other repressive measures rests largely with Murray. John L. Lewis could help. He could retrieve much of his lost prestige by repudiating the use of his name by the Communist factions in the various unions involved and by throwing his support to Murray, whose devotion to labor's interests is beyond suspicion. We understand that Lewis is being strongly urged to do just that, and Washington observers say that there is a better than even chance that he will do so. Meanwhile the three strikes have at least served to bring into the open the real objectives of the Communists, whose efficiency as organizers is more than offset by their efficiency as wreckers.

Charles Evans Hughes

THE NATION, which opposed the confirmation of Charles Evans Hughes as Chief Justice of the United States, extends its best wishes to him on his retirement. The balance sheet of his accomplishments, struck at the close of an extraordinarily long and variegated career, does him honor. It is a pleasure to admit that though he did not fully grasp the needs of a changing time, as Chief Justice he amply refuted our fear that he would bring to the office the outlook of the typical corporation lawyer. The period of his life spent in private practice can now be seen as the comparatively short interlude it was, and there is much in his record which deserves gratefully to be remembered. Less spectacular, if more fruitful, than his brilliant work as a young man in the New York gas-monopoly and Armstrong insurance investigations was his successful fight as Governor of New York to save the resources of the St. Lawrence from the aluminum and power trusts. If his opposition to the rec-

ognition of Russia marks a blind spot in his service as Secretary of State, his work at the Washington conference of 1921 helps to weight the other side of the scales.

As a jurist, Charles Evans Hughes will be best remembered as a friend of civil liberties and the rights of minorities, particularly that minority which has most needed protection, the Negro. His decisions during his first term on the bench, though they do not rank with those of the Olympian Holmes, showed more knowledge of the business world and sometimes greater insight than those of the philosopher from Massachusetts. There are a number of cases involving problems of business regulation and at least one in the field of Southern circumvention of peonage laws in which Hughes stirs admiration where Holmes evokes indulgence. This is achievement enough for any judge.

Ambition drives men to the sources of power, but posterity is perverse and recalls their relations with the lowly. Hughes stood with Holmes in the forgotten dissent against the legal lynching in the Frank case in Georgia. He helped free Herndon and the Scottsboro boys. It was not until he became Chief Justice that majority opinion on the court accorded civil liberties the same protection under the Fourteenth Amendment it had so long accorded property rights. This is a proud record for the man *The Nation*, along with its brilliant Washington correspondent, Paul Y. Anderson, and Senators Borah and Norris, tagged a Wall Street lawyer in 1930.

It may be some years before the full facts are known as to the part played by Hughes in the Supreme Court fight, and attempts to judge it can be but tentative. There would have been no court fight if Hughes and Roberts had held to the conception of the economic emergency laid down in the Appalachian coal case and to the broad interpretation of government power to deal with that emergency in the Nebbia milk case. Their failure to apply the same wise standards to the legislation of the New Deal period made it necessary for the President to fight or surrender. He chose to fight. Whether the method he picked was the right one or not need not concern us at this moment, because it failed. Hughes's letter to Senator Wheeler on the work of the court and the condition of his docket refuted the President's claim that the court needed to be enlarged because it was overworked. What it needed was a change in personnel because its majority was behind the times.

The Chief Justice earned esteem by realizing that it was not sufficient merely to block the court plan. The principal reforms of the New Deal were approved before vacancies permitted the President to name a majority. The constitutional revolution of 1937 reversed doctrines which had grown up since the nineties and brought a return to older and broader interpretations. Hughes had the acumen to recognize the inevitable, and that is the larger part of statesmanship.

Wars and Rumors of Peace

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

THE two weeks since the President's speech proclaiming an unlimited emergency have been queer weeks. Things have happened which encouraged hope of strong consistent action. Other things have failed to happen which should have—giving rise to a new wave of doubts and to new rumors of peace. The peace talk has been a symptom of something even more sinister than Nazi propaganda at work, though it obviously was encouraged from Nazi sources, as the President bluntly charged. But its wild-fire spread was the result of an underlying pessimism which was evident before Mr. Roosevelt spoke and has persisted since, a pessimism based on growing doubt of the capacity of the British command—in Whitehall and on the fronts—to cope with the magnificently organized ruthlessness of the Germans. This doubt is not the creation of Nazi propaganda; it is the natural child of defeats and setbacks. The loss of Crete was more than a loss in itself, and more than a direct threat to the eastern Mediterranean bases of the British fleet. It was widely accepted as a new proof of Hitler's superior planning, of the shrewd daring with which his aggressions are carried through, of the degree to which the British were being out-maneuvered, outwitted, outnumbered, and surprised on their own grounds. The reaction was vigorous. In England it expressed itself in open and healthy criticism, and a full debate in Commons on the situation in the Middle East is promised. But the Nazi successes were also responsible for the wild rumors of a peace of capitulation that have played so handsomely into the plans of the enemies of democracy on both sides of the Atlantic.

Doubt cannot be stilled by pronouncements; and some of the official statements of recent days have only served to feed it. The war-aims talk of Anthony Eden was probably designed to buttress the fine effect of the President's speech by contributing content and aim to his analysis of the struggle. Its actual effect was quite the contrary. In the context of today's events the speech simply didn't make sense. Without quite knowing why, the hearer inevitably found himself harboring misgivings about a government whose Foreign Secretary offered nothing but lofty generalities to a civilization in mortal throes. It was the smooth, high-minded, unrealistic sort of talk that characterized the statements of British officials throughout the years of fencing and evasion that led to war. It provided no peace aims that a hungry Europe—or an anxious America—could get its teeth into. And so it did more harm than good.

The overwhelming vote against a negotiated peace

registered at the British Labor Party convention in London was the most heartening event of the two weeks. It showed that no worm of defeatism has crept into the heart of Britain's workers and that they still consider the war against international fascism their own struggle. But the peace-aims resolution was disappointing. The Labor Party should have seized the opportunity to establish a clear and solid position in contradistinction to the vaporous suggestions of Mr. Eden. Instead, it wrapped up a collection of generous hopes in socialist language and let the matter go at that. In a time of desperate crisis it is difficult to formulate the terms on which peace can be restored and then organized; but this task is none the less pressing, if only to put a moral weapon into the hands of the anti-fascist forces of the world. Today all the concrete plans and promises are on the side of tyranny, and they comprise one of its most powerful instruments of penetration.

As a tonic for public confidence Ambassador Winant's visit to this country was hardly more effective. He reported to the President and to various department heads, but he made no public statement. This was unfortunate. Whatever specific private information he may have had for the government, there was much he could have told the people as a whole. He should have been authorized to speak openly about the general situation. Instead, his opinions trickled out in the form of rather pessimistic and qualified fragments often quoted at second hand, and the air of official secrecy which closed around his visit encouraged rather than helped to check defeatist rumors.

But even the best statements sound hollow unless they are backed by the only argument that can make them effective—vigorous and determined action. The movement of British and Free French forces into Syria has been almost as stimulating as a victory. Following the British success in checkmating Nazi moves in Iraq, the drive in Syria proves that it is not too late even now to seize the initiative from Hitler. That the effort was unduly delayed is not to be denied; Mr. Stevens's article on page 688 exposes Britain's all-but-fatal procrastination in this crucial region. But the energetic offensive now in progress has changed the situation in the eastern Mediterranean—and in men's minds as well.

In the end American confidence can be restored only by proofs of vigor in Washington. What is needed is the quality official Washington most desperately lacks—a keen, imaginative, fighting spirit. The country feels that lack; and it realizes that the President cannot inject it into the veins of bureaucrats merely by talking about it. Men must be found who can cut through obstacles to get things done quickly, and who are willing to face the realities behind smooth appearances. No wonder the people feel uneasy. How long are solemn warnings to take the place of firm action? How long are Nazi agents

to remain in America disguised as diplomats? How long are we going to send our enemies supplies of war materials to be used against our friends—and ultimately against ourselves? When do we intend to change the neutrality law to permit the use of American ships for

carrying goods to Britain? When are we going to begin really to protect the goods we send?

Doubt is no crime. It is a sensible reaction to slackness and stupidity. It can be wiped out only by evidence of realism and courage in high places.

Snub-and-Sell Diplomacy

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 8

VICHY need not think it can collaborate with Hitler unscathed. I hope I am revealing no military secrets when I predict that after the Nazis have occupied Dakar, Mr. Hull will take note in the strongest terms of the grave allegations arising and, should a new situation on full inquiry be disclosed, resume freedom to act accordingly. "Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration. . . ." Beneath the imperturbable mask of protocol beat the hearts of tigers, and I consider it a duty to report a growing suspicion here that American diplomacy has already delivered a crushing blow to Vichy. On Friday M. Henry-Haye, the French Ambassador, asked Mr. Hull for an interview. M. Henry-Haye was kept waiting. M. Henry-Haye, after a wait, was informed that unfortunately the Secretary of State was very busy. The suspicion spread that M. Henry-Haye, as evidence of this government's displeasure, had been snubbed. The clever part of this, if I remember my Grotius, is that a snub, even the snub intentional, is not a *casus belli*. The sly old foxes of the State Department had again taken measures short of war.

The clumsy amateurs in Congress do not understand that a war of blitzsnub as waged by the State Department requires the utmost secrecy, lest the element of surprise be eliminated. The complex questions of national policy which lead our State Department to seize the western end of M. Henry-Haye before the breathless Nazis have had time to consolidate their hold on the eastern end of the Mediterranean cannot be debated on the Hill.

Mr. Hull sent an emissary to the House Rules Committee on Wednesday to block passage of the Gillette-Coffee resolution to investigate the leak—a mild word for it—of American supplies to the Axis. The State Department seems to be cleverer at office politics than at international, and I am sorry to report that its spokesman on this occasion was Dean Acheson, whom the President put into the department recently to leaven the sodden mass of Breckinridge Longs. Though Mr. Acheson is no appeaser and is not in favor of providing the Axis with oil or other war supplies, he turned up neatly garroted in the old school tie. The department's point of view, as he

presents it, seems somewhat lacking in clarity. It appears to be that disclosure of the facts would be unwise; that the facts are already disclosed in Department of Commerce reports on imports and exports; that exports to countries friendly to the Axis are being carefully watched; that of course, although they are being carefully watched, there is no way of being sure supplies are not being forwarded to the Axis; that one must be careful in shutting off supplies to countries friendly to the Axis because that would make them friendly to the Axis. If this still leaves you a trifle confused, remember that in diplomacy there are no blacks and whites—just fog.

In civil life a progressive and intelligent specimen of the corporation lawyer, Mr. Acheson seems something of a radical in the State Department. Unfortunately in this case he has let the old crowd in the department maneuver him into a position where he will take the rap for them. In a search for motives proponents of the resolution point to the fact that last year Mr. Acheson appeared before the Supreme Court as counsel for the Ethyl Corporation. Ethyl is jointly owned by the du Ponts and Standard Oil of New Jersey. Neither can afford to have this resolution approved. Nor can those in the State Department who act as their international errand boys. I am prepared to vouch for Mr. Acheson's innocence and high state of subjective purity, but I still think it was improper for him to appear before the Rules Committee in opposition to a measure that would hurt important clients he had served in private life. The result will be to make him the lightning rod for less honorable elements in the department. I wish they handled our national affairs as skilfully as their own.

The Rules Committee held an executive session, but some of the facts presented there leaked to the press, as they should have. The figures on shipments to Japan are an old story; Brigadier General Russell L. Maxwell, administrator of export control, testified recently that we sent Japan 157,534,350 gallons of petroleum from July 1, 1940, to March 15, 1941, although oil was "embargoed" on July 31, 1940. The Rules Committee learned that Japan is not the only possible channel through which supplies are going to the Axis and that oil

is not the only war material being sent them. Toluene is one of the constituents of TNT. We sent no toluene to Spain in 1939. We shipped 1,574,000 pounds to that country in 1940. Tinplate and taggers' tin have many military uses. Shipments to Spain rose from 6,105,000 pounds in 1939 to 20,436,000 pounds in 1940. Shipments to Portugal rose from 1,911,000 pounds in 1938 to 34,976,000 pounds in 1940. The State Department thinks this is for tinning sardines. I think we ought to make sure it isn't for tinning tools and plane parts for the Germans.

Cotton linters and pulp can be used for stuffing mattresses. They can also be used for explosives. Spanish imports of American cotton linters and pulp last year amounted to 2,337,000 pounds; there were none the year before. Spanish imports of lubricating greases rose from 577,000 pounds in 1938 to 3,931,000 pounds in 1940. Both the State Department and the British Ministry of Economic Warfare have explained that Spanish imports of petroleum have been sharply restricted to Spanish

domestic needs. But Spain's imports of petroleum from this country rose from 2,571,000 forty-two-gallon barrels in 1938 to 4,456,000 barrels in 1940. The committee's attention was also called to the sensational rise in the shipments of American lard to Finland. We sent Finland 122,000 pounds in 1938, 732,000 pounds in 1939, 17,602,000 pounds in 1940. Finland today is in the German economic orbit.

For all its eulogies of democracy the State Department has always had an aristocratic professional dislike of democratic processes. This inquiry is feared (1) because it might interfere with the possibility of appeasing the Japanese, (2) because it would reveal the powerful influence of oil and other interests in the department, and (3) because it would thereby hurt the department's behind-the-scenes fight to control the long-postponed establishment of a Ministry of Economic Warfare. The only safe place for that ministry is in the Treasury. The State Department would sabotage economic warfare as it has the "oil embargo."

Can Vichy Hold Syria?

BY PETER STEVENS

AT THE eleventh hour the British have marched into Syria in an effort to obtain control of a region which, from the dawn of history, has been the strategic key to the Middle East. As long ago as early April, when I was in Beirut, I could see that a showdown between Britain and the Vichy government was approaching. The Luftwaffe had not yet moved in, but the country was swarming with Nazi agents, and the administration headed by General Dentz was wholly subservient to the Axis. Since then the Germans have occupied the airports and brought in ground crews and perhaps some soldiers. But the main defense of Syria still depends on the French, and the success of the comparatively small forces which General Wavell can spare for this operation may well turn on the extent to which Vichy can count on the loyalty of a handful of French civil servants and officers.

The Germans are certain to do everything possible to maintain a grip on Syria, which with its good north and south communications offers a route to Suez far easier than the western desert. But they have not yet solved the problem of transporting large numbers of men and their equipment to the battleground. Unless they go through Turkey, how can they get to Syria? The British island of Cyprus lies between the German army in Crete and the Syrian coast. The strength of Cyprus is the subject of many conflicting rumors. Some say Chamberlain made a secret agreement with Mussolini in 1936 and

1937 not to modernize the fortifications of Cyprus. Some say it has been strengthened with new guns and planes since last autumn. To try to pass Cyprus and capture Syria from the air, or with sea-borne forces protected from the British ships based on Cyprus by an air escort, would be highly dangerous. It will not be surprising, therefore, if the Germans attempt to counter the British move into Syria by an attack on Cyprus after the Crete pattern. But the capture of this island could not be fully exploited if meanwhile General Wilson had secured full control in Syria. The vigor and extent of French resistance becomes, therefore, of vital importance.

A handful of French officials backed by a small military garrison sit on the safety-valve in Syria holding down a large French-hating Arab population. Vichy has in Syria not over 50,000 troops, 40,000 of them Senegalese blacks from Africa. There is one battalion of the Foreign Legion. This is a totally inadequate force to halt a determined invasion from any quarter. In the harbors, mainly in Beirut and Latakia, are three or four destroyers, one or two submarines, and a few small patrol boats.

Beirut, seat of the French government for both Syria and Lebanon, is a hotbed of petty intrigue and dissension. The headquarters of the Vichy-Italian-German group is the grotesquely ugly new Hotel Normandie, a colonial Frenchman's dream of a modernistic palace. The

few Britishers, the pro-British French, and the Americans gather at the Hotel St. George on the waterfront. Between them the war is conducted in miniature, with plots and threats. The night that Keren fell to the British and Free French forces a daring group of Americans invaded the Normandie and drank loud toasts to the Italian defeats until the police discreetly suggested it would be well for them to stay in their own hotel.

The French military is split into two antagonistic camps. One is anti-German and pro-British, almost de Gaulist and anti-Vichy. The other is anti-British and pro-Pétain, with even a few pro-Germans. Roughly it may be said that majors, colonels, and higher-ranking officers form the second group, while the junior officers are pro-British almost to a man. Most of the men in the Foreign Legion are anti-Nazis and many are refugees from Germany. Everyone, of course, is anti-Italian.

A captain said to me, "We shall get orders from Vichy to oppose the British when they come in. My old colonel would execute them in good faith, but what if I and my lieutenants ordered our Senegalese to throw down their arms and surrender? They would gladly obey. These blacks know that Hitler called them half-apes. No, I think our army might dissolve before a British invasion and leave Fougère and his colonels to hold the fort for Laval and Hitler and Darlan."

Vichy can depend, however, on its naval forces, for the navy is bitter over Oran and Dakar and eager for revenge. At least one of the destroyers at Beirut in April was a veteran of both battles, and its officers were thoroughly pro-German.

An old French colonel, a shining exception to my rule-of-thumb categories, a veteran of both Verdun and the Maginot break-through, said rather bitterly, "Why don't the damned British come? They are always late. If they lose this war, it's nothing but too much cricket. Why, man, a brass band and four Tommies could have taken Syria last summer, unless they had been smothered to death under the flowers we'd have thrown at 'em." He bolted his drink and added, "Tell 'em down in Jerusalem that it's growing harder every day."

It is growing harder every day because the Germans and Italians have been far from idle. The Armistice Commission is busy everywhere, promising everything to each Arab group, fomenting trouble, and spending money like water. Baron von Rosen, German adviser to the Italian Armistice Commission, is frequently in the news. Behind him, and far more ruthless and more sinister, is Baron von Hentig. Both are working like beavers at Beirut and out among the Arabs. Hentig, an archaeologist, is an Arab expert and an intriguer of long experience. As a young man he went to Afghanistan in the last war and caused Britain no end of trouble on the Northwest Frontier.

General Dentz, the French High Commissioner for

Syria and Lebanon, said to an American friend of mine, "As long as these Boches, Hentig and Rosen, are here I am really not High Commissioner at all. They appear humble and helpful and courteous, but every suggestion of theirs that I turn down comes through a few days later as orders from Darlan. Hentig tells Ribbentrop, Ribbentrop tells Abetz, and Abetz gives the order to Darlan, who gives it to me. I can save time by obeying my bosses here."

As relations between the Germans and the Vichy government become closer and closer, there must come a day of reckoning for the Germans who have subsidized anti-French Arabs. It will be difficult for Otto Abetz to promise Darlan the integrity of the French Empire while reports of Hentig's and Rosen's backing of the Nationalists in Syria continue to come in from General Dentz. And sooner or later even Arab Nationalists will come to realize that not each and every group of them can be the leader of a vast independent Arab empire while at the same time France maintains its empire on a German guaranty. Almost anybody can figure out after a while that two governments, like two objects, cannot occupy the same space at the same time. Either Abetz in Paris or Rosen and Hentig in Syria will have to begin to pull in their horns before long.

The chief Nationalist organization, the Shukri Koualty Party, is openly in the pay of the Germans. On March 24 it issued an interesting manifesto which said in essence: "Frenchmen, get out of our country. We never asked you to come here. You are defeated and discredited. You made this war, not we, and yet we are hungry as a result. Get out and allow us to eat our own food." Fundamentally this is true. Syria lives largely on imported rice and exported wheat. With the fall of France rice imports stopped, and the French fixed such a low price for wheat that most of it was smuggled out of the country and traded for Turkish money, which the Arabs are hoarding. On the long, almost uninhabited Turkish border the French are helpless to stop the smuggling. As a result many Arabs are hungry—and angry.

All during March and April street fighting was going on between French and Arabs in Aleppo, Homs, and Damascus. Six or eight dead were reported every day, and there were rumors of many more. Tanks finally had to be sent out to quell the Nationalists.

Wheat and rice are not the only shortages. All sorts of small manufactured articles are missing or terribly expensive. Gasoline and coal are rationed in such small quantities that few automobiles can be run at all, and the hotels furnish no hot water except in jugs once a day for shaving. A taxi is allowed less than ten gallons of gasoline a month. I was able to motor about Syria by obtaining gasoline from Palestine on a special British export permit.

Formerly the pipe line from the Kirkuk oil fields split

at Haditha, and half went to Syria and half to the British refineries at Haifa. The French built no refineries in Syria but took the crude by tanker to France to be refined. After the armistice the British were able to cut off the Syrian supply by the simple process of turning a valve in Iraq. The French then built a small one-still refinery in Tripoli and refined the little oil they had on hand. When that is gone, there will be no more.

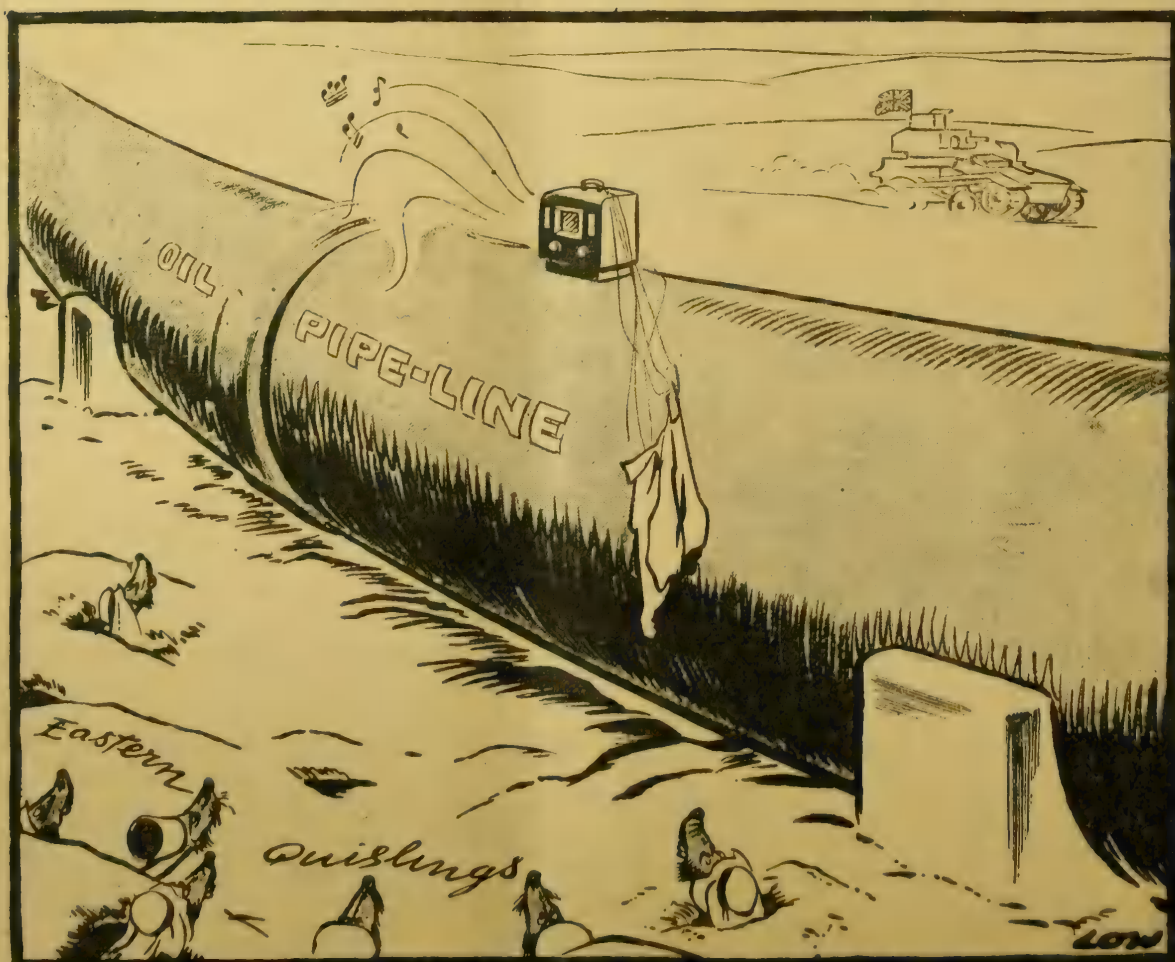
In the south of Lebanon a small pro-English Arab party persists. It took a lot of French misgovernment and stupidity to drive these Arabs to the point of becoming pro-British. They call themselves Chah Bander after their leader, who was assassinated last year by a Koualty man from the north. They are probably subsidized by the British; at any rate they are directed by a small independent Arab Office established in Jerusalem by the British army and headed by a very clever young man named Ogden, who was formerly consul in Damascus.

The French in Syria have been so corrupt and so selfish that it is difficult to feel very sorry for them in their plight. Scandal after scandal has occurred. Typical of these is the salt monopoly given to a Stavisky type of

politician named Tallec, who destroyed all the Arabs' equipment for making their own salt from sea water and drove the price of salt to astronomical heights. Upon investigation it was discovered that not a penny had come into the treasuries of the two mandated republics and that all the profits had been split between Tallec and a group of ministers and political bosses in Paris.

In the struggle that has now begun Germany holds many of the best cards. General Fougère, commanding all troops in Syria, is a lifelong Anglophobe; Rosen and Hentig have worked long and well. But the British are on the spot, while the huge resources in men and material which Germany commands in the eastern Mediterranean are still some hundreds of miles away. The British have other assets in the proximity of their Palestine bases and their command of plentiful oil supplies, but the decisive factor may prove to be the attitude of the young French officers.

Anything can now happen—a great German victory and a break-through to the Persian Gulf, to Abadan and oil, to Suez, and even to India; or a new Marne, from which Germany, drunk with success, might not recover.



JAIRMANY CALLING-JAIRMANY CALLING-

The Liberals' War

BY STANLEY HIGH

POLITICS has never more notably justified its reputation as the maker of strange bedfellows than in the current fight against all-out aid to Britain. The brunt of that battle is being borne by an inorganic but none the less effective alliance between radicals and reactionaries, liberals and conservatives—a left-right coalition. It is the first joint job of its kind in our history.

Thus, shoulder to shoulder, stand the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Daily Worker*, the United States Chamber of Commerce and the American Youth Congress, the National Economy League and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Mrs. Albert Dilling and Robert M. Hutchins, Father Coughlin and the La Follettes. When Norman Thomas came to Washington to testify before a Senate committee, he was taken in tow by Alice Roosevelt Longworth. On the original list of sponsors of the America First Committee the name of Henry Ford appeared only two places removed from that of Kathryn Lewis, the daughter of John L. Lewis.

What these normally antithetical persons agree on, in effect, is this: that of all the possible evils that could befall us war is the worst. They mean, of course, this particular war. Whatever happens to Britain and however powerful and filled with blood-lust Hitler is due to be after it happens, they are for peace now. They are for peace, not primarily in order that we may have time to prepare, but because they are frightened. They are afraid of a war, not because they think we would lose it, but because of what fighting it, win or lose, would do to us.

The prospects which they see ahead of us are in line with the conflicting ideological settings from which they spring. To those of leftist-liberal persuasion, democracy would not stand the strain of war; to their reactionary colleagues, it would stand the strain too well. To the former, it would wipe out the social gains of recent years; to the others, it would too indiscriminately extend them. Prepare, says Norman Thomas, for a capitalist-imperialist dictator; look out, says Colonel McCormick, for Ernest Bevin. It is plain that the two groups who reach these contradictory conclusions cannot both be right. One or the other of them should know better. As between the two views, it seems to me that the reactionary makes far more sense. In fact, the reactionaries appear to be better caught up with their history and to have read the signs of the times with more intelligence than the leftist-liberals who are lined up with them.

That pacifism should have such powerful conservative support is in itself an indication of how times have

changed. The assumption that big business was largely responsible for the last war and that, given half an international crisis, it would go hell-bent for another has been for twenty years one of American liberalism's most prized clichés. It is still prized, despite the Cliveden set, Manufacturer Neville Chamberlain's Munich, Henry Ford, General Hugh Johnson, General Robert E. Wood, and a host of other militant conservatives who in this particular crisis are unmistakably pacifist. This pacifism of theirs is firmly rooted in self-interest. Its growth, however, is not a result of the knowledge that the profits in the next war are sure to be more drastically curtailed than they were in the last one. It is not immediately related to profits at all or to fear of the consequences of over-expansion. The fear on which it is nourished is a matter of tendencies, or trends. And these trends are not hypothetical. Business, particularly big business, has been actually experiencing them ever since March 4, 1933.

Since that date government, which was once the convenience if not the servant of big business, has increasingly become its master. This has not come to pass as a result of one of those periodic and therefore generally superficial shifts in government emphasis from which, in due time, a shift back can be expected. It has been accomplished by the deliberate elevation to a place of decisive political power of that vast company of our citizens who in a more class-conscious country would be called the proletariat. Thus, what we have gone through, as the reactionaries size it up, is something that approximates a revolution. They do not believe that we are all the way through it. They cling to the hope that it can be stopped at about where it is now and eventually, perhaps, even pushed back a little. That is why they are for peace at almost any price. They know that in a war "big government" inevitably gets bigger. They particularly do not want this big government to get bigger, for the bigger it gets the more potent will grow the forces behind it and the more unlikely will be any reversal of the trend of the times.

Norman Thomas, Robert M. Hutchins, the La Follettes, and a great many other liberals of various stripe make, by implication, an exactly contrary appraisal of what has happened and the power behind it. They are not convinced that the legislation of recent years has come to stay, that the trend behind it is permanent, or that the people behind the trend can be counted on. A war, they say, is all that is needed to turn back the clock and send these newly articulate voters scurrying back to

where they came from. "If we go to war," said Mr. Hutchins in a radio address, "we cast away our opportunity and cancel our gains. For a generation, perhaps for a hundred years, we shall not be able to struggle back to where we were. In fact, the changes that total war will bring may mean that we shall never be able to struggle back. Education will cease. The effort to establish a democratic community will stop. We shall think no more of justice, the moral order, and the supremacy of human rights. We shall have hope no longer."

The facts do not support Mr. Hutchins. The facts support the reactionaries. It is a notable phenomenon of recent crises that their chief beneficiaries have not been the "Mr. Bigs" but the "little fellows." From all outward appearances the United States was never freer from crises than during the regimes of Harding and Coolidge and into the first year of Hoover. The high spots of that period, in terms of Mr. Hutchins's humanitarian values, were Teapot Dome, the jazz age, prohibition, the Ku Klux Klan, Al Capone, Daddy Browning, and the bull market. Things of liberal moment began to happen when that world blew up—with the market crash. Since 1930 the United States has had more crises than in any other decade since the sixties—and has got more done of social significance. This is not to say that a holocaust is an essential prerequisite to progress. It is to say, rather, that the "little fellow" is better placed today than he ever was before to turn the aftermath of a holocaust to his own account.

In the United States the trend toward that situation got under way as far back as Bryan and the first Roosevelt's revolt against McKinleyism. Slowly but steadily ever since, the more or less underprivileged classes of our citizens have grown aware of the economic possibilities of political power and more familiar with the instruments and technique of politics. The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 was their first major achievement. He was elected not by a Democratic but by a class landslide. Most of what has been accomplished since has been designed to meet the needs and consolidate the power of the members of that class, who have won two more Presidential elections. Anyone who thinks that a war now would frighten that bloc away from its objectives has failed to note how long it has been on the way or how far it has come in the last eight years.

Moreover, the facts about the present war crisis just as plainly confirm the fears of the isolationist reactionaries, who are distressed at the prospect of too much democracy, and controvert the isolationist liberals, who are distressed at the prospect of too little. Far more than most, this is to date a little people's war. In every country they have suffered first and most. Particularly in England they have lost their lives and their small possessions. And all the signs and portents indicate that their sufferings, far from shaking their morale, have only increased it.

This, I think, is not chiefly because of their innate heroism. It is because long before devastation began to drop from the clouds these people were already acutely aware of what the war was all about. They are now taking it on the chin as the lesser of two evil alternatives. As between bombing and the tyranny of the evil agency behind the bombs, they have chosen to be bombed.

In the many pre-war efforts to placate Hitler, not one of any significance could have been called a little people's movement. On the contrary, appeasement was a policy pursued most energetically by those at the opposite end of the social and economic scale. One of the first great appeasers was Fritz Thyssen, assisted by other German big shots. He was joined—to their country's ruin—by the steel families of France. Appeasement in England was supported by Neville Chamberlain, the big business man, and behind him was the influence of those who are sometimes described as the Cliveden set. British labor—except, at a late date, the Communist minority—was all the time implacably anti-totalitarian. Stiffening the back of the British government, which involved the ousting of Chamberlain and the elevation of Winston Churchill, was almost wholly the work of middle-class and working-class opinion. And it is the continued and unchanged force of that opinion which has prevented the rise in England of any movement toward a negotiated peace.

It is a further mark of the ascendancy of this opinion that British democracy, in the midst of the war, continues to flourish. And there is every indication that, if Britain wins, the British working classes—as Britain's reactionaries shrewdly foresaw—will be the chief gainers. Their gains will begin with the modern housing projects with which London's bombed-out East End will be rebuilt. They will probably include a democratic revamping of the British school system and a similar overhauling of the country's vast landed estates. There will be no lack of other measures. Meanwhile, next to Churchill, who, though an imperialist, is no coddler of the aristocracy, the British man of the hour is Ernest Bevin, a labor leader. That Mr. Roosevelt senses what is in the wind is indicated by his dispatch to Britain of Messrs. Winant and Cohen, who are as unversed in diplomacy and military matters as they are schooled in social reform.

It is possible, of course, that when peace comes events will get out of hand as they did under Kerensky in Russia. In that case the worst that the far right looks for from the war will probably materialize. But if, on the other hand, the Roosevelt-Bevin point of view prevails, what we shall get will probably be only more of what, since 1933, we have been getting. That, as things stand today, is not a pleasant prospect for the reactionaries. But by the war's end it may be so much more pleasing than its alternative that it will be hailed with relief.

Meanwhile it would profit those liberals who are pacifist because of their liberalism to take a look around. A good

many things may go to pot before the war and after it. But, given Hitler's defeat, there is very little present prospect that the objectives they pursue will be among them. Anyone who believes that in the event of a democratic victory democracy will be the loser has completely

lost sight of the power which the democratic masses have accumulated, of their increased skill in the use of that power, and of the degree to which, using it, they forced the present showdown between democracy and totalitarianism.

Muscle Shoals Land Racket

BY ALDEN STEVENS

"HAVE you got \$750? Do you want to turn it into \$4,400 in three years—or less? Look at the profit you can make by buying land at Muscle Shoals." Sales talk of this kind is being heard again; people are again being offered the chance to become millionaires by the simple method of speculating in land. The people who will work in defense-industry plants must have houses to live in near the factories that are going up. These houses have to be built on land. So buy yourself a piece of land and hold it for a couple of years, and it will make you rich.

Land speculation is going on wherever there is a defense boom. Soaring rents mean higher land values, and rents have doubled and tripled in Norfolk, San Diego, Starke, Florida, and many other towns. The farms around one new powder plant have been turned into residential subdivisions; near another a real-estate man has bought an old cemetery and sold off twenty-foot building lots. There are many places besides Muscle Shoals where money can be made in that way, but Muscle Shoals offers Exceptional Opportunities.

It seemed to offer Exceptional Opportunities once before, toward the close of the last war, but the war was over before the government got around to producing nitrates with the power generated at Wilson Dam, and the opportunities didn't materialize. Three small cities are clustered near Wilson Dam: Florence, which T. S. Stribling writes about; Tuscumbia, where Helen Keller was born; and Sheffield, where most of the trains stop. These places are almost contiguous and are called by their inhabitants the "Tri-cities." They are all typical Alabama towns. But hooked on to one side of Sheffield is Muscle Shoals, and that is not at all typical.

Wide avenues run straight in Muscle Shoals and are crossed by wide streets with sidewalks and fireplugs and fine lamp posts. Handsome street signs proclaim the names of the broad avenues—Wilson Boulevard, Washington Avenue, Michigan Boulevard, Broadway. There is a City Hall, compact and neat. There are a couple of real-estate offices, a few scattered houses, and some miscellaneous other buildings. The rest of Muscle Shoals is the ghost of a realtor's dream. Grass really does grow

in the streets here, and in the middle of the blocks too.

Now Muscle Shoals contemplates another boom. At the City Hall they are working nights recording taxes paid up by property owners who had let them slide for ten, fifteen, or twenty years. This boom isn't going to fizzle out, they think. One local real-estate man, between hurried dashes to New York, nodded his head prophetically and said, "It's sure going to hit us this time." Real-estate men are pushing lots as if they were some new kind of kitchen gadget. Do you want to hear more about these "opportunities"? Fill out the addressed postpaid card that came to you and drop it in the mailbox at the corner. Mr. Bixby, of the Bixby Associates, to choose a name at random, will be ringing the bell almost before you get back to the house. He will be a well-groomed, pleasant gentleman who talks frankly and convincingly.

The Tennessee Valley has been called the "Ruhr of America," he says; potentially it is the heart of the industrial United States. Three enormous dams—Wheeler, Wilson, and Pickwick—will develop 1,260,000 horsepower. Even today they have a capacity of 440,000 horse-power. All these dams, Mr. Bixby points out, are in "the Muscle Shoals area." Wilson Dam alone, he says, produces 81,000 horse-power today and will develop 130,000 when the powerhouse is fully equipped. (TVA figures, oddly enough, show more than this: 245,000 capacity today; 592,000 ultimately. Mr. Bixby has the natural conservatism of the real-estate salesman.) He then quotes a statement by Henry Ford, printed in the Dearborn *Independent*. Mr. Ford said that in his experience the ratio of industrial employment to available horse-power was one to one; that is, for every unit of horse-power developed, one worker is employed. So when Wilson Dam produces 130,000 horse-power, 130,000 men ought to be working there. Again the conservative streak in Mr. Bixby comes out. He doesn't want you to think he is exaggerating so he is going to divide this figure by five. The result gives a minimum of 26,000 men to be employed in the "Muscle Shoals area."

Where will they work? Mr. Bixby knows. The Electro-Metallurgical Company is going to triple the size of its plant, putting in \$15,000,000. Reynolds Metal is going

to build a \$40,000,000 aluminum plant. The TVA is expanding its nitrate plant and also building a million-dollar office building. Mr. Bixby has newspaper clippings to prove it. Also, he whispers, du Pont is going to make synthetic rubber at Muscle Shoals if it gets the government contract it is after. At least \$63,000,000 is going to be poured into the Muscle Shoals area in the next three years, plus whatever the government spends, plus the du Pont plant if this materializes, and Mr. Bixby does not doubt that it will materialize. "You know the rubber situation today, don't you?"

Every worker, Mr. Bixby says, supports four other persons (the national average is generally held to be two and one-half unemployed for each employed person). This means that the population of the area will be about 130,000 people. The average price of residential property, he says, in a community of 130,000 is \$110 per front foot, and he has a chart to prove it. Mr. Bixby's choice lots for home building in the Muscle Shoals area are 40 by 128; so they should be worth \$4,400 when the plant expansion is complete, that is, in two or three years. Mr. Bixby's price to you is only \$750; \$4,400 less \$750 is \$3,650—your profit.

Mr. Bixby frankly admits that this spectacular rise in land value is contingent upon the expansion he has outlined. Also, admittedly, the price per front foot varies even among communities of similar size. Let's see what the *lowest* price per front foot is, in a community of 130,000. Seems to be, he says, according to the chart, about \$50. That makes a forty-foot lot worth \$2,000; your profit, then, would be \$1,250. How can you lose? Look here—even if the most fantastic things happen (or rather, if they don't happen) and a lot turns out to be worth only \$25 per front foot, that's \$1,000, and you're only paying \$750!

Not only that, but Mr. Bixby, since he called on you himself, has no salesman's commission to pay and can afford to let you have it for 10 per cent less. Have you got cash? That's splendid—5 per cent off for cash. To you, only \$641.25. You can practically be sure of tripling your money in three years, and if everything goes well you might more than quintuple it.

I don't want to imply that there is anything crooked about the proposal. I don't think there is. It's just that I was in Muscle Shoals and the Tri-cities a short time ago, and I carry a different picture of the area in my mind. The property Mr. Bixby is selling is in a town with a present population of only 5,500, and residential property has to be extremely choice in a town of this size to bring more than from \$15 to \$20 a front foot. It is true that all four towns are very close together, and if you want to call them all one community, and if the Muscle Shoals expansion turns out to be as big as Mr. Bixby and his friends expect, the price of \$110 isn't fantastic; it's just pretty high.

One thing, however, is certain—somebody is going to be fleeced. If people flock in to work in the defense plants, they will be the ones to suffer. If they don't, the people to whom Mr. Bixby is selling lots will be stuck. In the long history of American land speculation the original speculators have rarely lost.

Luftwaffe Behind Bars

BY ALLEN A. MICHIE

London, by mail

THERE is no perceptible weakening of morale in the German airmen who are being captured in Britain. Once in a while a Luftwaffe pilot alights from a machine that has been shot down and cracks, "Thank God, I'm in jolly old England," but the vast majority are tough, truculent young Nazis who are fully convinced that Germany is winning the war in the air. Occasionally a bomber that carries a Gestapo officer in addition to the regular crew is brought down, but not often enough to make the presence of such an officer seem of any great significance.

Every German airman shot down is given a preliminary interrogation by R. A. F. intelligence officers on the spot and then a thorough going-over when he arrives at the prison camp. Nazi airmen captured in the south of England are taken to London and put on a train for a prison camp in the north, and the British guards usually manage to follow a long, slow route through a great deal of the city on the way to the railroad station. The Nazis are invariably surprised at the small amount of damage their bombers have been able to inflict on London's vast area (twenty-five miles across). And they always open their eyes at the absence of food queues and remark on the food in shop windows. Apparently they have expected to find most Londoners homeless and starving.

Unknown to the prisoners, the guards are supplied with dictaphones to record all conversation. Some of the remarks the Germans make are revealing, others simply amusing. A few weeks ago three members of a disabled bomber's crew were driven to Euston Station on their way north. From their remarks they seemed to be not professional party members but youngsters who had been attracted by the socialist appeal of National Socialism. This was how their conversation went:

As they stood on the grimy, black platform at Euston Station, the first Nazi muttered, "Filthy station . . . typical of Britain's decadence." A member of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force, neat as a pin in her blue uniform, passed by. "Hmm, so the British put their women in uniform," snorted the second Nazi. "Right step, left step, forward march into bed. . . . Shoot her in the morning . . . plenty more where she came from."

The three airmen were marched into a third-class rail-

way carriage, whose comfortable plush seats contrasted with the hard bare boards of German third-class carriages. "Third class . . . plush seats . . . no wonder the British are soft," said one of the Germans.

As the train pulled out of the station a large American-sized limousine rolled past on the street bordering the tracks. "Pluto-democratic car," said one Nazi, pointing at it through the window. The pluto-democratic car pulled ahead of a tiny, typically British Morris. "Ah," said another Nazi, "German auto."

In the early months of the war, when captured German aviators were few, the army undertook to "educate" them politically. The attempt was a complete failure. The few who were anxious to hear the British side of the war were afraid to admit their deviation from the Nazi Party line, and whenever the British guards turned on the BBC news reports in German in the recreation rooms, the Nazis hurriedly left. British-edited German-language newspapers and English books and magazines remained unopened on the tables. The education of the Nazis has now been taken away from the War Office and put in the hands of a group of German refugees and English intellectuals who at least are showing originality in their propaganda methods. Radio loud-speakers have now been installed next door to the open-air latrines, and interested Germans can hide themselves away and listen to the BBC German bulletins in peace.

Reports that German airmen are all very young are untrue. Some boys of seventeen and eighteen have been captured, but the average age is around twenty-five, the same as in the R. A. F. Untrue also are the stories that only the squadron leader's machine is fully equipped with the necessary instruments and that the rest of the pilots simply follow the leader. All the Nazi planes I have examined, fighters as well as bombers, have been as well instrumented as any British or American plane.

All planes shot down, or what remains of them, are carefully examined for new devices and other clues as to the condition of the German war machine. For example, the substitution of a new metal in the construction of certain parts may indicate a vital shortage of some material. The manufacturer's stamp and date of production on the plane may bring a new German aircraft factory to the attention of the R. A. F.'s bomber command. Gasoline and lubricating oils are analyzed to discover source and quality. The Germans use a lower-octane gasoline for aviation purposes than the British and Americans, but its quality has been uniformly good and there have been no indications that the Nazis are short of it. German lubricating oil, on the other hand, has been of a poor quality for months and has given the Luftwaffe a good deal of engine trouble. Even the airman's clothes and personal papers are meticulously examined, since the maker's label on a new shirt might reveal the town near which the squadron was located.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Railroads Miss the Train

IN THE week ending May 24 freight-car loadings on the American railroads totaled 866,000. This was a 26 per cent increase above the figure for the corresponding week in 1940, and it compared with a 1940 peak, reached last October, of 637,651 cars. At that point it was estimated that the roads had a surplus of about 76,000 cars, which was just about the minimum necessary if freight forwardings were to be handled smoothly and expeditiously. Today the margin is almost certainly less; yet we are nowhere near the loadings peak for 1941. That is expected to be reached in October, when official estimates anticipate that traffic movements will rise to 925,000 cars. By October 1 the railroads hope to add 50,000 new cars to their stock, but even so it is impossible to see how congestion is to be avoided. Indeed, the Association of American Railroads is now hinting at a much earlier crisis.

Just about a year ago a report was presented to the National Defense Advisory Committee pointing out that the defense program, then still in its infancy, would place an extremely heavy burden on the railroads, a burden which could not be met without a big increase in equipment. The report suggested that in order to be prepared for this expansion in traffic, and to avoid the risk of shortages of labor or materials as the defense program began to absorb all resources, the purchase of 500,000 new cars and 2,000 locomotives should be put in hand as quickly as possible. This proposal was sat upon heavily by Ralph Budd, the well-known railroad executive who was then the transport member of the NDAC and who now occupies a similar position in OPM, and was the occasion of scornful comment by most "practical" railroad executives. There was no need, it was said, to worry in the least about the ability of the railroads to meet all expected traffic demands. Nor was any planned expansion in carrying capacity required: left alone, the roads would order the new equipment as traffic developed.

As the seasonal traffic peak developed last fall, the Association of American Railroads did show symptoms of anxiety about the situation and went so far as to recommend that its members purchase 100,000 freight cars during the coming year. But having paid that modest tribute to foresight, it relapsed into complacency. On December 7, writing on this page, I called attention to the signs of a freight-car shortage in the course of 1941, by saying:

No form of bottleneck can do more to slow up the defense program than railroad congestion. But that is something we are likely to experience six or twelve months hence unless drastic action is taken quickly. . . . The railroad signals are set at "Danger." Will the Defense Commission take heed or must we wait for action until demand crashes supply and the tracks are blocked?

Just after this article appeared, I noticed the following in the New York Times financial section:

"Self-styled economists" in Washington are disseminating "a lot of nonsense" to the effect that disarmament expenditure

will unduly tax the capacity of the railroads, according to Samuel O. Dunn, a frequent speaker on railroad topics. "In spite of the huge expenditures for preparedness now beginning," said Mr. Dunn, "the railroads still have more reason for fearing they will not have enough traffic and earnings in the months and years immediately ahead than for fearing that they will be offered more traffic than they can move."

On January 21 of this year Mr. Budd said he was still of the opinion that existing transportation agencies under private ownership would be able to meet all needs of the defense program. The same day his optimism was buttressed by data made available by M. J. Gormley of the Association of American Railroads. Mr. Gormley estimated that the increase of freight traffic in 1941 compared with 1940 would not exceed 7 to 10 per cent, with a rise during the first quarter of about 9 per cent. Actually the first nine weeks of the year showed an expansion of 11.2 per cent in car loadings, and by March the weekly returns were spurting 20 per cent and more ahead of 1940. By April 1 the Shippers' Advisory Board was forecasting a 15 per cent increase over 1940 during the second quarter.

Meanwhile, the first note of doubt had been struck in OPM circles by W. Averell Harriman, then chief of the materials branch, who told the Traffic Club of Washington on February 13: "I am sure the railroads cannot guarantee that there will not be a tight situation in the autumn of 1941 or 1942." However, this leading railroad director hastened to reassure his audience. "I cannot agree," he said, "with the back-seat drivers who contend that we should . . . force the railroads to buy some hundreds of thousands of freight cars when it is not clear that they are needed."

Barely two months later it became "clear" even to the American Association of Railroads that an awful lot of cars were needed in a terrible hurry. In addition to replacements, it told its members, they should buy 270,000 cars during the next thirty months. Allowing for retirements of 40,000 annually, this means the production in the given period of 370,000 cars. The *Wall Street Journal* commented:

The decision of the A. A. R. . . . is a right-about face from the attitude taken until very recently. In some quarters it is felt that it is too late to avert some sort of car shortage next fall although the carriers will get some 50,000 to 60,000 additional new cars by that time.

Nevertheless, we now have a big equipment program, approaching that recommended nearly a year ago by the "unpractical" Washington economists. But here's the rub. In the past twelve months the car-building companies have taken on huge armament contracts, and in addition there is today a shortage of sheet steel, despite the many assurances from the steel industry that it would be able to deliver the goods. So we find one bottleneck thrust into another. No doubt there would have been shortages even if the steel and railroad industries had put their backs into expansion when they were first warned, but we should have gained the valuable production of many months, now lost forever.

Why is it that so many of our big corporation executives, who are supposed to owe their positions to unusual drive and foresight, have not displayed these qualities in planning for defense? Why have they ignored the lessons of the last war, the experience of every other country faced with similar problems? Why have they consistently minimized the eco-

nomie repercussions of the defense program, which were so plainly visible to anyone able to read a chart? The answer in each case would seem to be a psychological inability to face the realities of the present emergency, an effort to escape its threatening implications to a system which profits by scarcity. It is the same attitude which, in other fields, has earned the dismal verdict: "Too little and too late."

In the Wind

NOT LONG AGO the Reverend Francis J. McConnell, Methodist Episcopal Bishop of New York, was waked at 2:15 in the morning by a ringing telephone. The voice on the wire told him that he was scheduled at that moment for a fifteen-minute radio talk on Spanish refugees, to be broadcast as part of the Milk Man's Matinee, a pre-dawn program on Station WNEW. Drowsily the Bishop protested that he had never agreed to speak. "You're scheduled," came the answer, "and you must begin immediately. You can talk into the telephone, and the microphone here at the studio will take your speech." The obliging Bishop pulled himself together and spoke for fifteen minutes on the plight of Spanish exiles in France. Next day inquiries were made. The station denied knowledge of the broadcast. It was all a hoax.

AN EMPLOYEE in a defense industry recently learned that he was on a list of persons suspected of being potential saboteurs. After careful investigation he discovered that he was on the list because he had been seen by an FBI agent in the Soviet Pavilion at the World's Fair two years ago.

THE COMMUNISTS have embarked on a campaign against Senator Wheeler. They class him as a warmonger and, because of his association with ex-Colonel Lindbergh, a conspirer in the plot to have a concert of democratic and fascist states destroy the Soviet Union. This is part of a slight turn in the Communist line, which now opposes a negotiated peace because such a settlement would probably be made at the expense of the U. S. S. R.

GENEROSO POPE, pro-Fascist publisher of the two largest-selling Italian-American newspapers, gave editorial support to the President's "unlimited emergency" speech but omitted anti-Axis references in reporting the speech itself.

A REFUGEE recently arrived from Norway reports that a theatrical strike was taking place in that country a few weeks ago and may still be going on. It began after an ad lib act in an Oslo play was suppressed by German authorities. During the course of the play an actor dressed in the king's robes walked slowly across the stage. He said nothing until he disappeared into the wings. Then he thrust his head out and said, "Do you want me to come back?"

[The \$5 prize for the best item received in May goes to C. R. of 11 East Tenth Street, New York, for his story about Father Curran and the America First Committee published on May 31.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

John L. Lewis and Casey Jones

And the switchman knew by the engine's moans
That the man at the throttle was Casey Jones.

THAT song has spread across the country from Jackson, Tennessee, where they buried Casey. It seems to come from simpler, pleasanter times in America, even if also from a bad time for Casey. Today Isaac B. Tigrett is the big man of Jackson. He's a railroad man, too, better fixed if not better known than Casey. He was coming along as cashier of a country bank when Casey died. Today in Jackson he is Baptist, Mason, Rotarian, Democrat, railroad president, and president of a securities company. Also, he belongs to the Union League Club in Chicago and the Traffic Club in New York. He has gone farther at a faster rate than Casey did. As the reputed oldest railroad president in America in point of service, he speaks more clearly, I think, than some metropolitan financiers for a good many men who have made the same trip.

And what he says of America in general and John L. Lewis in particular is this: "When it becomes necessary for the people of this country to send representatives to New York to consult one man as to whether or not we may have fuel with which to keep our defense industries running, there surely must be something wrong either with us as a people or with our leaders."

It is a very easy matter in intellectual centers to dismiss Mr. Tigrett as a rural reactionary. But within his limits and on his side he is talking about the problem of bigness which has also preoccupied such a man as Justice Brandeis and which certainly has not been interrupted by the defense effort. Indeed, nothing has ever emphasized it quite so much. A great many Americans share the fear about the danger of power centered in the leaders of great unions. Even the friends of labor recognize in the national organizations through which they work a tremendous change from the old immediate relationship between workers and employers. The whole business is an old story, new only because of a change in the direction of complaint.

Even Mr. Tigrett is undoubtedly aware of the growth of huge centralized business and industry in this country during the last half-century. Big Business is not merely a politician's phrase but a fact. In Alabama, where Mr. Tigrett spoke, centralized steel in Pittsburgh and New York controlled the steel mills and the mines long before

John L. Lewis had any such power as that about which Mr. Tigrett complains. Men in the mines of Alabama were dependent upon a far-off decision as to what wages they would get, what jobs they would have. People everywhere were dependent upon a far-off decision as to what they must pay for a piece of iron.

The rise of Mr. Lewis did not end that situation. Indeed, Mr. Lewis's power may be exactly as dangerous as Mr. Tigrett says it is. Labor cannot deny the problems of democracy involved in its own centralized bigness, but nobody can look at Big Labor with intelligence or honesty without recognizing it as a part of the same process which first produced Big Business.

Both, however, endow with a special significance now the question of how a democracy of all the people can deal with the tremendous powers that have grown up within it. Long before Lewis appeared, bad as he may be, Big Business used the separations of government in the American system to devise a legal system by which it could escape all control while using both federal and state powers to control the people it exploited. Big Government in America grew straight from the people's necessity to end the legalized anarchy which smart lawyers made for their big clients. Now the same lawyers do a good deal of the talking about labor's irresponsible power. And the funny part about it is that for once they may be right—or half right, which is better than usual.

The powers within our democracy have multiplied. Mr. Lewis is one of them. But he is certainly not the only one. Monopoly is another. Sometimes, as has been pointed out often enough, we seem to have developed in this democracy a feudalism in which Mr. Lewis is a powerful lord contending with such another powerful lord as, for instance, Mr. Morgan. The growth of government, before defense, was the growth of hope that all powers could be made subject to the welfare of the whole people. Sometimes the growth of government has seemed only to foster the growth of equality in conflict. But that is gain. Not even defense has so far succeeded in quieting the contentions of powers outside the government. Bigness is still the problem of democracy. The Nazis had a solution for it. The Communists had one. We do not like them. Have we got a better one? If we haven't, we might as well stop singing "God Bless America" and start singing "Casey Jones." Our democracy will be going the same way the Cannon Ball Express went and at the same rate of speed.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

HAVE you a "little woman" in your home? Is she intelligent? Has she had a college education? And do you sometimes wonder why, since you have worked your head off to give her all the comforts of life, including a maid or two and a modern kitchen, cars and smart clothes and a bridge table, she seems dissatisfied with her "place in the home"? Then read "Of Men and Women" by Pearl S. Buck (John Day, \$2). You may discover that you are harboring a "gunpowder woman" whose mental and physical energy so far outstrips the demands of running a modern home and a modern family that most of it goes to feed the fires of an undivine discontent which is likely to explode in Reno or lead to the psychoanalyst's couch, and which in any case fills the "English-style" suburban home with the fumes of insecurity.

The pioneer housekeeper had a real job. She was a partner in a struggle, and her work was creative and satisfying as well as hard. She performed an important social as well as domestic function. Today, to be sure, there are thousands of women in the lower-income groups who are allowed to be their husbands' partners, but only under the compulsion of a desperate economic need which robs the partnership of its satisfactions. But Mrs. Buck is primarily concerned with that large group of women who have received the same education as men and then "settled down." For these women, keeping house and raising a small family may be a full-time job while the children are very young. But the kindergarten takes the children at a younger and younger age, and keeping house has become a matter of a few daily hours of boring and sterile tasks. So, after a few years, the stage is set for trouble.

It is obvious that there are thousands of women in the United States who do not have enough to do, yet men have succeeded so well in convincing them that their place is in the home that they are the first to denounce anyone, particularly another woman, who questions the ancient shibboleth. And when a woman insists on taking part in the world's work as a doctor or a lawyer or a business woman she soon finds that she is barred from the highest posts in any of these professions, not because her ability is inferior but because the world has decided that she can't run a bank or deliver a baby as well as a man can. Needless to say, her fellow-women are the first to say so—just as in China the fiercest resistance to the abolition of the horrible custom of binding the feet of females came from women.

Chinese women resisted the change because their helplessness had given them an indirect power over men as vicious as that exercised over American men by "gunpowder women" demanding more and more luxuries with which to assuage their discontent. It is vicious because it is based on an assumption of inequality which poisons the relationship between men and women and between parents and children and in the end corrupts social relationships as well.

In Mrs. Buck's view privilege has been as great a curse to

American women as prejudice has been to American Negroes. Women have been denied the necessity, as Negroes have been denied the opportunity, to take part in the world's work. And she thinks discontented women constitute as great a threat to the democratic way of life as any other discontented minority. For in her opinion American women, after so many generations of having been denied responsibility, do not really want freedom; they are glad of an excuse to take refuge in the home; and as a result one source of a great danger, the danger of fascism, lies in the "masses of half-ignorant, half-idle, indolent, and discontented American women . . . ready to run to the call of anyone clever enough to justify their futility and to sentimentalize their sex."

She thinks that men are mainly responsible for this state of affairs, that privilege is the bribe man pays to woman in order to keep his most precious possession, his belief in his own superiority merely because he is a male. But as she points out, it is no accident that the suppression of women is one of the first tenets of fascism—which eventually enslaves men as well as women.

. . . in the United States neither man nor woman is ready for democracy—man by reason of his strength and woman by reason of her weakness . . . neither is willing to discover that jewel point where liberties will meet, and the balance of liberty for both be found which is true democracy.

For at that point man must give up his illusion of superiority; woman must give up her present privileges, "of remaining ignorant in spite of education," of mental laziness, of not having to think thoroughly through anything because she knows the ultimate decision will not rest with her.

Mrs. Buck scoffs at the idea that if women were given genuine equality they would lose that "femininity" about which both men and women become so eloquent when they are defending the status quo of the sexes. The "doll," to be sure, might disappear; and Mrs. Buck thinks the "exceptional woman" who is so often desexed by the ruthless fight she must make to achieve even an inferior place in a man's world would disappear also. But equality would not wipe out the exciting difference between the sexes; nature has taken care of that. It *would* wipe out the superior-inferior relationship which today poisons so many marriages and keeps both men and women from achieving true maturity, either as human beings or as citizens of a world in crisis.

I have touched only the high points of a provocative and closely reasoned analysis. Mrs. Buck's comparison of the home in China and in America is particularly interesting. Her discussions of women and war, education, and the old issue of women in politics are intelligent and fresh. She is, thank heaven, not one of those irritating women known as "feminists" who substitute female for male superiority as their basic assumption. Her thesis is that both men and women would be much happier if women were allowed, or forced, to function, not as angels or as concubines or both, but as human beings.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Croce on History

HISTORY AS THE STORY OF LIBERTY. By Benedetto Croce. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.75.

THE most obvious significance of Croce's book lies in the fact that this impassioned plea for liberty as the basic value of history has come out of Mussolini's Italy. Croce writes: "The adoration of the state or of might (*Macht*), born in Germany and introduced among other peoples, is nothing more than a base affection, not of citizens but of liveried servants and courtiers, for might as such, which is vainly adorned with sacred and moral emblems. . . . It is in fact stupid to exalt the state."

The ultimate significance of the book is that it represents a probably final word by a great philosopher on an aspect of philosophical thought which has been the preoccupation of his life—the philosophy of history. The fact that the book embodies a series of essays, not completely unified, detracts slightly, though only slightly, from its value as a comprehensive summary of his thought.

Croce approaches the problem of history from the standpoint of historiography. The question is: How can history be recorded? It cannot be recorded merely as a chronicle of facts and events, for these facts and events have a meaning. But their meaning can be appreciated only in the context of the meaning of the whole. Thus all but the most superficial historical records are involved in the problem of the meaning of history as such. Yet the historical perspective of the historian is itself relative, and his tendency is to interpret the whole past so as to justify a particular view of life, of society, and of history in his own present. (Thus a change in the party line prompts Communist historians to change their estimate of the character of Ivan the Terrible.)

Though Croce's entire work deals with this problem of historical relativism, he is inclined to underestimate its acuteness. Against all rationalists who imagine that it is easy to gain a position of rational transcendence over the relative stuff of history, he affirms the historical character of all thought; yet he criticizes Troeltsch for taking the problem of historical relativism too seriously. He believes that it is difficult, but not impossible, to achieve a "balanced judgment" which will correct the misinterpretations caused by the "arbitrary will of individuals." Yet the most plausible misinterpretations of the past arise not from an arbitrary or wilful falsification of historical data but from relative perspectives which are unconscious of the relativity and inadequacy of their position. The principle which underlies Croce's balanced judgment is that the interpretation of history must be governed by the total and perennial human situation and not by some particular human situation of this or that epoch. He finds the perennial factor he seeks in the struggle for freedom.

The most illuminating portions of Croce's work are his critical appraisals of alternative philosophies of history. He rejects naturalistic interpretations which regard history as scarcely more than an extension of the principle of evolution in biology. He is equally critical of eighteenth-century and later utopianism, which finds the meaning of history in the culmination of certain social values within history; and he wisely observes that to this utopianism it is

not even clear whether history culminates in the realization of social ideals *ad finitum* or *ad infinitum*. Marxist utopianism is subjected to a particularly severe criticism because it seeks to realize perfect equality in history, a purpose which betrays it into the destruction of liberty. Croce points out, I think correctly, that equality is a transcendent principle of justice and not a simple possibility of history, and that where this is not understood, utopian dreams turn into tyrannical realities. Unfortunately his criticism of Marxism is marred by a failure to understand the economic, as against the political, factors in social life, an error which blinds him to the most illuminating elements in Marxist thought.

Croce's thought is, of course, closely related to Hegel's, but he is careful to underline the differences, as well as the similarities, between his and Hegel's philosophy: "Hegel aimed at resolving history into philosophy by giving it the movement of a system which develops and is completed in time. We, on the other hand, aim at resolving philosophy into history, considering it as an abstract moment of historical thought itself, and its systems as historical situations historically transient and historically justified." Thus the absurd culmination of history in the Prussian military state, or any similar realization of the eternal in the temporal, is avoided.

Croce is careful to point out that his idea of "balanced judgment" has nothing in common with either an impartiality which abstains from all judgments or a neutrality which merely finds a mean between contrasting judgments. The true historian "cannot remain immersed in events," but neither can he "stand outside them and move in a void. It is necessary to move through them, to feel the impact and the agony which they generate in order to stand above them, rising from suffering to judgment and knowledge."

But there can be no such transcendent judgment without a principle of judgment which transcends all particular historical circumstances. He finds this in the principle of liberty. "We always tend toward liberty and work for it even when we seem to be working for something else; liberty is realized in every thought and action that has the character of truth, poetry, and goodness." History is not the story of increasing liberty but the record of the fight for liberty under ever-changing circumstances "The problem of freedom is perpetually resolved and perpetually recurs" because it is the desire for liberty which defines man as man.

One would think that the nature of man required community as well as liberty, and that history could be more adequately described as the interaction between these two partially contradictory and partially complementary desires. Croce tends to identify them. He declares: "These two requirements form a single need, for we cannot conceive of liberty without social organization, nor can we conceive of society and state without liberty, for it would no longer be human."

One difficulty with Croce's interpretation of history is that it seems to give no meaning to history as an ongoing process with cumulative effects. Croce admits that modern man must win his freedom against the tendency toward tyranny in a technical civilization, whereas primitive man asserted his freedom against the necessities of nature, but he seems to find no meaning in this historical development, tragic or otherwise.

Such criticisms and questions must not be allowed to obscure the greatness of this book. It is the work of a profound thinker who has meditated deeply on the most perplexing problems of human existence and who touches no issue without illuminating it.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Famous Fortunes

MEN OF WEALTH. By John T. Flynn. Simon and Schuster. \$3.75.

APPLYING the biographical method to economic history, and thereby making more palatable to the general reader what is often regarded as a dull subject, Mr. Flynn tells the story of twelve famous men of wealth. In selecting his subjects he has chosen, not the makers of the greatest fortunes, but those whose methods of accumulation seem most representative of the economic environments in which they flourished. Thus he begins with Jacob Fugger, the Bavarian banker, who at the dawn of the capitalist era financed the rising house of Hapsburg and reaped a rich reward in mining monopolies. He ends with J. Pierpont Morgan, who achieved power and millions by perfecting the art of manipulating the paper tokens of wealth.

How do individuals become rich? Not by working with their own hands, says Mr. Flynn, but by "getting a fraction, large or small, of the produce created by the collaboration of many men." Every step in mechanical progress has made that collaboration more fruitful, and every new refinement in the technique of credit has made it possible for those controlling money and machines to enlarge their "take." But as this book illustrates, few really significant fortunes have been constructed without the assistance of special privileges and monopoly rights. The one man among Mr. Flynn's dozen who is an exception to the rule is that maverick of capitalism Robert Owen. He made his pile in the highly competitive cotton industry during the early stages of Britain's Industrial Revolution, despite the fact that he treated his workers with quixotic generosity according to standards of his day. And then he spent every penny of his fortune promoting socialism.

Mr. Flynn has shown commendable restraint in not pressing historical analogies too hard in support of his well-known views on current controversies. But occasionally the temptation has proved irresistible. Thus he treats John Law, whose discovery that money could be created through the agency of bank loans led to the Mississippi Bubble, as a precursor of Franklin D. Roosevelt, implying that New Deal finance will suffer a similar collapse. This analogy would have more validity if it were possible to show any similarity between the basic economic situation of eighteenth-century France and that of the United States in the 1930's. John Law's monetary experiments were attempted in a country of peasants and handicraft workers, where the possibilities of expanded production were extremely limited. Thus the rapid multiplication of the means of exchange almost immediately overtook the supply of goods, making inflation inevitable. But under the New Deal the margin between current and potential production has been so vast that only now, with the tremendous extension of deficit financing necessitated by the defense program, have we come within hailing distance of inflation. And

today the causes and dangers of inflation and the methods of checking it are widely understood.

Mr. Flynn, it seems to me, also strains the function of historical analogy in his comparison of Cecil Rhodes with Hitler. Rhodes, it is true, entertained absurd theories of the basic superiority of the Anglo-Saxon and dreamed grandiosely of uniting the world under the British flag. But he thought of that world as a universalized version of the Empire, made up of self-governing dominions, and not as a collection of colonies and vassal states completely subject to London, in which only Englishmen were first-class citizens. He harbored no ideas of constructing his world state by force but looked rather to the slow processes of education. Thus he sought to give permanence to his vision by the Rhodes scholarships, which were to be available not only to citizens of the dominions and the United States but also, a fact which Mr. Flynn omits, to Germans.

There are a number of errors in this book which are perhaps worth pointing out for future correction. The British general defeated and killed by the Boers at Majuba Hill was General Sir George Colley, not Colby; the indemnity paid by France after 1870 was five milliard francs not five million; and the author of the "History of Great American Fortunes" is Gustavus Myers, not Meyer. Mr. Flynn also speaks of the machine-breakers of the British industrial revolution as "Ludites, named after Ned Ludite, a village idiot who to be avenged on his tormentors broke some machinery." Actually, they were called Luddites, and the Ned Ludd from whom they took their name was, according to G. D. H. Cole, the leading authority on the period, probably a mythical character who, like an earlier symbol of resistance to oppression, Robin Hood, was supposed to have his headquarters in Sherwood Forest.

KEITH HUTCHISON

"Parade Without Music"

SOMETHING OF A HERO. By I. J. Kapstein. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75.

THIS is a thoroughly American novel, a novel of scene, character, and sentiment which could not conceivably be transposed to another land. It is a democratic casebook, a symposium of personal histories covering the years from 1907 to 1929 and showing the development of the city of Persepolis through the experiences of its representative citizens: the politician, the lawyer, the banker, the bootlegger, the small storekeeper, and the Civil War veteran, John Cantrell, who serves as hub to these spinning lives.

Though there is nothing directly imitative of Thomas Wolfe in this first novel, Kapstein's talents are in many ways similar. He has Wolfe's breadth of interest, his true ear for dialogue, his talent for welding a dozen parallel stories into a solid cable of narrative with all ends spliced in. But more urgently than Wolfe he has something to say, and the discipline with which to say it effectively. In these nearly six hundred pages there is little waste as the author shows by concrete and credible example the relation between the American creed and the too frequently futile struggle of faithful men to live by it. Despite the convictions of John Cantrell, the author's advocate, the many lesser characters

make ■ mockery of the freedom we boast; prejudice runs rabid through Persepolis—against the Jews, the Negroes, the rich, the poor. There are few good neighbors.

Dr. Dave Bandler, the son of the Jewish junk dealer, discovers that medicine in Persepolis must be practiced exclusively by and for white Protestant Americans. Indie, the Negro prize fighter, dreaming always of his golden island where he will be free and contentedly alone, is fouled whenever he lifts his guard in confidence of American fair play. Old Marius, the Socialist, earnestly but clumsily trying to better the lot of the poor, rests at last with his head caved in on the floor of the union hall. Through all these stories runs the author's banal refrain, "The creed must not be separated from the deed," but it *is* separated, tragically. Only three of the characters find deeds to do that conflict neither with the democratic creed nor with their own integrity.

Mr. Kapstein is admirably impartial in presenting the beliefs of these contrary characters. All people, he feels, are fundamentally decent. Joe, the killer, has his spot of gentleness. Smitty, the "peacherino's" crooked lover, sincerely yearns for another chance. The capitalist's belief that he is helping labor by exploiting it is poignantly true to life.

This is a book built with care and economy, ■ book of continuous suspense leading to chapters of sheer physical drama that could only be bettered, perhaps, by something of the humor which is as normal to man as charity or lust. John Cantrell, dying because he fought for both labor and capital, saw the strikers pass as a "parade without music." That is the book.

HASSOLDT DAVIS

Inside Japan

HONORABLE ENEMY. By Ernest O. Hauser. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$2.50.

JAPAN UNMASKED. By Hallett Abend. Ives Washburn. \$3.

BEHIND THE RISING SUN. By James R. Young. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$3.

THE FIGHT FOR THE PACIFIC. By Mark J. Gayn. William Morrow and Company. \$3.

IF WE are to judge by the four books listed above, journalistic interest has shifted abruptly, so far as the Orient is concerned, from China to the island empire of Japan. This is fortunate, because there has been a scarcity of good books on Japan in recent years. Those that have appeared have either been lyrically partial, like Willard Price's writings, or superficially hostile to everything Japanese. None of the present books are pro-Japanese, but their criticisms are in no sense superficial. All four are written by seasoned journalists and are based on exceptionally wide experience in the East.

Of all recent books on Japan, Ernest Hauser's is probably the most satisfactory for the ordinary reader. It is a vividly written, yet thoughtful interpretation. It is enough of an exposé to satisfy the sensation seeker, yet it goes ■ long way toward explaining why the Japanese are what they are. It tells why the Japanese have supported their government's expansionist policies, and how those policies have affected everyday life in Japan. Fundamentally, Mr. Hauser's argu-

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PHOTO-DIRECTION BY HERBERT KLINE

144 pages; illustrated with 135 photographs from the motion picture production.

The

FORGOTTEN VILLAGE

ment runs, the Japanese are not a modern people and cannot be understood if viewed as such. For all their veneer of modernity, they remain feudal and Oriental in mind and social organization. And the trend of the times is to strengthen rather than weaken this essential characteristic. Nor is Japan to be feared as a strong rising power. If it is to be feared at all, the reason lies in the fact that its weakness has resulted in an alliance with Germany and Italy which may lead to an unwanted conflict.

Hallett Abend, who first broke the news of the Tripartite Pact, tells of the secret clauses in that pact whereby Germany and Italy pledge themselves to use their influence to aid Japan in acquiring control of French Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies. But he also describes in detail the bankruptcy of Japanese policies—Japan's failure in China and the heavy sacrifice that has been imposed on the civilian population. His catalogue of Japan's economic woes is perhaps the most complete that has been compiled by any qualified observer. Abend also vividly portrays the hostility to Japan in the Dutch East Indies and American Hawaii. Although he has

no illusions as to Japan's strength, he is desperately concerned lest our opposition to its aims involve us in a war that no one wants. This, he believes, should be avoided if possible, but he fears that in the end we shall have no choice but to accept Japan's challenge and fight to a finish.

"Behind the Rising Sun" is a report, cast largely in the form of personal anecdote, of one of America's most experienced journalists in Japan. Mr. Young has the distinction of having been arrested and held for two months by the Japanese police because they did not like the tone of some of his articles. His offense lay in describing in some detail the effect of the war on Japan, a subject which he enlarges upon in his book. It is perhaps natural, in view of his experiences, that he should be intensely critical of Japan; but his criticisms are so sweeping that a reader unfamiliar with the East will be at a loss to understand how a country with such glaring weaknesses can be of serious concern to the Western world.

The background of the coming war in the East is described comprehensively in "The Fight for the Pacific." The book is a veritable encyclopedia. It covers not only China, Japan, Singapore, Indo-China, and the Philippines, but Mongolia—where the author was born—Russia, Alaska, Britain, and Thailand. It gives the essentials of recent history in each of these countries in so far as that history bears on the Far East. As a handbook it is probably unexcelled, but it has the weaknesses of a handbook. Because it covers such a vast area its treatment of particular aspects of the situation is necessarily rather superficial. Although reasonably accurate on the whole, it is marred by numerous minor errors. Yet it deserves to be widely read because it brings together more general information than any other recent book on the Far East.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

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America and the War

AMERICA AND TOTAL WAR. By Fletcher Pratt. Smith and Durrell. \$3.

AMERICA CAN WIN. By Major Malcolm Wheeler-Nicholson. The Macmillan Company. \$1.75.

OF THESE two books on America and the war, Fletcher Pratt's is by far the better, although it must be said that it suffers from a jerky style. Pratt makes the correct observations on the war in Europe and notes the displacement of the infantry-artillery combat team by the armored-air team, the revival of mobility and surprise, and the reappearance of verbal field orders. As to the United States, Pratt concludes that we have less to fear from a fifth-column movement than have the nations of Europe, that a direct invasion of this country is a military impossibility, and that while an attack through Latin America would stand a better chance of success, normal precautions on our part should suffice to forestall it. Fletcher Pratt is not a great military thinker or theorist, but he does possess the ability to present military theory in an understandable manner, and his aggressive and patriotic tone will doubtless be stimulating to many.

The publishers advertise Wheeler-Nicholson's book as a "concise" document, "based on realistic military logic," which expounds a "common-sense plan for utilizing our

present strength." Among these common-sense plans is a project to send a division of Irish-Americans to Eire under the command of "Wild Bill" Donovan, and another is a scheme to place General Weygand in command of all the Allied forces, including those of the United States. Wheeler-Nicholson's principal suggestion is that the untrained American conscripts should be sent to garrison the various British possessions in Asia, Africa, and throughout the world. The native and other British troops on duty at these posts would thus be released for service in Europe, and the American troops could finish their training while performing police duty in the colonies. One does not have to be a military expert to detect the obvious weaknesses of this scheme, and it is probably the one plan which both the military and political authorities of America and Britain could unite in condemning. Even were there more merit in Wheeler-Nicholson's projects, it would be obscured by his manner of presentation, which is rambling and evangelistic.

HARVEY S. FORD

The Nazi Courts at Work

SKELETON OF JUSTICE. By Edith Roper and Clara Leiser. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$3.

FROM 1936 to the spring of 1939 Edith Roper was the court correspondent of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. The appointment to such a position of a person as disloyal to Nazi ideals as Mrs. Roper had already shown herself was clearly a mistake, but it is a comfort to know that even the infallible machine that Adolf built occasionally slips. Allowing her to leave the country in possession of her voluminous notes was an even greater mistake. Add these mistakes together and the result is a fascinating account of the changes in German judicial procedure since Hitler's assumption of power.

The strength of this book lies in its painstaking documentation, which the author somehow accomplishes without for one moment fatiguing the attention of the lay reader. Scores of case histories are recited in detail; dozens of German judges, from those on the powerful People's Court to police-court magistrates, are named and sharply characterized. The organization of Mrs. Roper's material, credited to Clara Leiser, who rendered the account into English, plays no small role in the success of the book. Individual facts are gathered under such comprehensive and revealing chapter headings as The Jewish Trials, *Rassenschande* (Race-Shame) Trials, Foreign Exchange Trials, and The Political Trials.

The scandal of the Reichstag-fire trial begot a literature of its own, but to base our condemnation of fascist justice upon such sensational cases is not altogether safe. Herr Goebbels and his Ministry of Propaganda could quickly point to the Sacco-Vanzetti case as an instance of our own injustice. Infinitely more damning for fascism are Mrs. Roper's quiet accounts of hundreds of cases involving obscure individuals, cases that never reached the headlines. Injustice is shown to be not the accidental exception but the prevailing rule. This is not just another book about the horror inside Germany but an invaluable reference work for every anti-fascist.

MILTON HINDUS

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Wild Sea Water

SOUTH STAR. By John Gould Fletcher. The Macmillan Company. \$2.

WHEN, more than ten years ago, I first read John Gould Fletcher's variously colored Symphonies and Irradiations, I thought, "This is perhaps a poetry—like Edmund Spenser's—to which I will have to grow up."

Now I have read "South Star." It opens on a historical narrative, The Story of Arkansas. None of the twists of the rhythm, none of the varieties of rhyme—every device of couplet, quatrain, blank verse, free verse, short line to long line, invocation, lyric interlude is used—halt its mighty, headlong, irresistible prosiness. The events move like a high-school pageant. The characters have the animation of equestrian statuary: De Soto is "an armored man—a knight of ancient Spain"; "A marvelous vision cheered La Salle's stern heart"; "The steady gaze of Jefferson . . ."; "Then Woodruff came on. . . . And James Miller too came on. . . . And the governors came, Izard and Pope and Fulton. . . . And Albert Pike came. . . ." The cumulative effect can be seen in the lines:

Through the swamps, through the lake, through the clay,
Sinking down to their bridle reins,
They stagger and slash, but they find not a way;
So they ride back again for their pains.

After fifty pages of this come lyrics of Arkansas, the Upper South, the Deep South. Whatever their theme, the matter-of-fact still pursues them. Here are lines from the first five: "My father's watch this is, and it is old"; "Here was I fashioned and made"; "Low bosoms gleamed, the fiddlers scraped like mad"; "I have lived long. . . . Have felt the salty taste of kisses and the cold ache of being tired"; "Close by the door there hung a long lean scythe/Which, ere lawn-mowers came, was oft in play." This must be a falling-off from the 1939 Pulitzer Prize poems. I turned back to them.

The earliest suggest some of the graces and strangenesses of Chinese poems, without their brevity. If they are exotic, with "pale terraces" and "lacquered mandarin moments" and "flamboyant crenellations," the words are appropriate to one another; the repetitions and phrase permutations, the various "mood-movements," recall forms in music. But as they begin to move from "pure poetry" to personal meaning and observation, this resemblance diminishes. The orchestrations are ruined by an apparent belief that any theme, repeated and expanded, gains in significance. It is all done with pedals.

If I am right, if feeling, sincerity, industry, persistence have not been enough, what is it, for poetry, that corresponds to the 10 per cent of "wild sea water" without which fish in an artificial medium may not survive?

LLOYD FRANKENBERG

In Early Issues of The Nation
THE DIARY OF GINO SPERANZA
Reviewed by Gaetano Salvemini

CONSTANCE ROURKE:
NOTES ON HER PERSONALITY AND WORK
By Margaret Marshall

IN BRIEF

THE DAM. By Jerome Ellison. Random House. \$2.

A short novel with a happy ending, telling about a Chicago construction engineer forced out of work by the depression and how he rehabilitates himself and his family when he is placed in charge of an important WPA project. A few Dos Passos touches attempt to relate the individuals' lives and tribulations to the crazy pattern of the United States in the 1930's, but they neither impede nor add much to the weight of a simple tale about honest, well-meaning American people anxious to do their rightful work.

THE CAPTAIN FROM CONNECTICUT. By C. S. Forester. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.50.

Another spanking good mizzenmast and broadside yarn by the author of "Captain Horatio Hornblower," this time about the War of 1812, when American commerce destroyers were preying on British convoys as relentlessly, though hardly as efficiently, as the Germans are now.

MY DEAR BELLA. By Arthur Kober. Random House. \$2.

A collection of twenty-two delightful stories by the foremost living authority on family life and dialect in the Bronx, with additional local color supplied through illustrations by Hoff.

THOSE TORN FROM EARTH. By Frederick Hollander. Liveright Publishing Corporation. \$2.50.

A somewhat fantastic and shapeless but moving odyssey of artists driven from the Third Reich and carrying on their work in new fatherlands not yet "purified" by the Nazis.

HOUSING FOR DEFENSE. A Review of the Role of Housing in Relation to America's Defense. Factual findings by Miles L. Colean and the Program for Action of the Housing Committee of the Twentieth Century Fund. \$1.50.

From an extremely thorough and valuable analysis of the basic elements of a national housing policy in all its aspects, in the light of the experience of 1917-1918, the sound conclusion is drawn that an immediate plan of action is necessary to avoid the mistakes and delays of that time. More debatable is the finding that "private industry has the capac-

ity to provide the major part of the housing needs of our defense program." Taken as a premise in the program of action, it raises some knotty problems, especially that of rent control, which a more candid use of the factual findings might avoid.

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

FOR THE HEATHEN ARE WRONG. An Impersonal Autobiography. By Eugene Bagger. Little, Brown \$3.

SEA POWER IN THE MACHINE AGE. By Bernard Brodie. Princeton University Press. \$3.75.

THE THEATER OF THE GOLDEN ERA IN CALIFORNIA. By George R. MacMinn. Caxton. \$5.

AERIAL VAGABOND. By Bessie Owen. Liveright. \$3.

DANIEL DE LEON: SOCIAL ARCHITECT. By Arnold Petersen. New York Labor News Company. \$2.50.

CROSS WINDS OF EMPIRE. By Woodbern E. Remington. John Day. \$3.

LEGAL MISCELLANIES: SIX DECADES OF CHANGES AND PROGRESS. By Henry W. Taft. Macmillan. \$3.

ROD OF IRON: THE ABSOLUTE RULERS OF ENGLAND. By Milton Waldman. Houghton, Mifflin. \$3.50.

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This advertisement is inserted by a business man who back in 1926 retired to unravel the paradox of poverty and insecurity amidst potential abundance. Having achieved financial independence, after coming here as a poor immigrant, I wanted to repay my debt to America. I wanted to help make America's democracy a going concern.

My quest took me to South America and the countries of the Old World. I took time to observe the working of democracy in France and England. I went to see Soviet Russia and Fascist Italy in action. I observed the rise of Nazism on the spot. Later I went again to Germany to appraise its fruits. I have documentary proof that I spent thousands of dollars in this undertaking in the service of democracy.

In 1933, I put my findings in a book entitled "Enough for Everybody," published by Bobbs-Merrill. This was largely an analysis of our socio-economic ills. Later, I wrote a synthesis, or a way out of our difficulties.

As a trained economist, I say that my proposals are the first comprehensive plan since the one by Karl Marx (all others are fragmentary, with no blueprints for thoroughgoing action), with this difference: I do not ask to impoverish the rich in order to enrich the poor. I do not ask the dictatorship of any group. When there is enough for everybody, we don't have to hurt anybody to achieve the general well being. With our potential abundance liberated and rationally distributed, we can well maintain the high standards of living while raising the low standards.

Also, as a practical man, I have woven no theory that may not work in practice. Instead, my plan merely proposes to carry to their completion many of the creative partial adjustments already made in the New Age. A democracy, freed from the ills of maladjustment which brought many a past civilization to its knees, will, because of its inherent vitality, grow healthy and dynamic, and give us the real prosperity we want.

When I completed the manuscript in 1935, I let it rest for two reasons. First, I wanted to see if my thesis can stand the acid test of changing times. Second, I waited for the psychological hour when my proposals would have the chance of a hearing.

The hour has struck now. And on re-reading the manuscript I find that my proposals would also help fortify the democracies in their life-and-death struggle with totalitarianism. They would rid the economic order—of which our rearmament program is an integral part—of its anachronisms and its insufficiencies. They would help create a faith in democracy to surpass the fanatical faith of the Nazis.

To re-write the manuscript from the viewpoint of the war which broke out after its completion would take a full-time job of some months. To do this, I must put a capable man in my place to run my business, for I no longer have the means to retire again. Additional funds might well be used to supplement the publisher's advertising expenditures.

Therefore, I make the following offer to a person of means who would sponsor my book. I will give in return for his investment a share in the proceeds of the book. It is expected to have a large sale. Besides its sound and timely thesis, it will contain autobiographic sketches of my varied and adventurous life. These, I am told, would add color and life to the otherwise impersonal content of a politico-economic treatise.

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MUSIC

WITH no brilliant stage spectacle to claim one's attention at the recent concert performance of "Four Saints in Three Acts" in Town Hall, one gave it wholly to Virgil Thomson's music—to the unique method and its delightful and at times moving result. By separating and differentiating the flat repetitions of a Gertrude Stein verbal sequence Thomson's music articulates and differentiates them, gives them point and even sense; the music also imparts to them its own structure, climax; and its effect is often the most delightful humor. Some of the humor consists in skilful musical pointing up—by the high-lighting of a group of words, the placing of it in relation to its context—of Miss Stein's surprises and irrelevances of juxtaposition; and to these Thomson adds occasional incongruities of his own contriving between words and music—words of little or no sense or weight, and style and structure of great emotional import and weight in the music. But when such music is given to words like the "led, said, wed, dead" sequence the result is very moving. And in addition to the pleasure from the work there was the pleasure from the superb voice and style of Edward Matthews, the fine singing of Beatrice Robinson Wayne, the magnificent work of the chorus, in the performance expertly directed by Alexander Smallens.

A few days before this beautiful performance of a sophisticated work by trained Negro singers the fourth Coffee Concert at the Museum of Modern Art offered Negro religious music sung by members of the Reverend Utah Smith's congregation of the Church of God in Christ, Newark, who used only their fine natural voices and innate musical feeling. Recalling what such occasions can be made into one was impressed by the managerial skill and tact that had made these people feel at ease and had then placed them on the stage and left the rest entirely to them—left it to the Reverend Smith himself to run his show and get tangled up engagingly in his words, his ideas, his guitar, his wings, and left it to the others to sing and act their naive musical narratives with complete absorption, with affecting intensity, and in some instances with exciting vocal and musical style.

Decca Set 185 (\$2.75) offers a number of the most popular Chopin Valses—the Grande Valse Brillante Op. 18

(23191); Op. 69 No. 1 and the posthumous Valse in E minor (23192); Op. 64 Nos. 1 and 2, and Op. 70 No. 1 (23193)—played with grace and good taste by Robert Goldsand. The performances, which are better than Cortot's on Victor and Kilenyi's on Columbia, are moderately well recorded; but Op. 64 No. 2, in my review set, has a bad rattle.

In Victor Set P-61 (\$2) the Golden Gate Quartet give excellent performances of some of their Bible Tales: "Jonah and the Whale" and "Preacher and the Bear" (27322); "Noah" and "Job" (27323); "John the Revelator" and "Sampson" (27324). Victor Set P-53 (\$2) offers six English folk dances played by the Folk Dance Band under Ronnie Munro, with directions for the dances. The first volume of Latin-American folk music recorded by the guitarist Oyanguren (Decca Set 174, \$2.75) I have not found interesting. There are some good things in Folk Songs of the Americas (Victor Set P-55, \$3.50), and others that I don't care for; some of the foreign songs are sung—by Elsie Houston, among others—in the original foreign languages, but others are sung in English by an American quartet.

Concerning the wavering in pitch that I have reported hearing occasionally on Victor and Columbia records a reader writes to explain that it is caused by a common defect in records—"an eccentricity between the grooves of a pressing and the center hole" which can be observed in the oscillation of the pickup as it moves across the record. He points out that an oscillation of 1/16 of an inch means that near the center of the record "a sustained note would vary within frequency limits nearly a quarter-tone apart. . . . An extraordinary number of records have an eccentricity of as much as 1/32 of an inch, which is usually not too objectionable except on sustained notes and near the center of the record. When the eccentricity becomes greater than 1/32 of an inch, records have noticeable waver . . . and are, in my opinion, defective records which the companies ought to reject in the first place, or exchange if sold." My correspondent tells me that "correspondence with the Victor Company about two years ago brought forth a smug reply that their records had no eccentricity" (he would have got the same answer from Columbia). And his conclusion is "If you could bring this matter before the public the companies might eventually recognize the value of correcting eccentricity."

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Few Vote for Fordism

Dear Sirs: The striking feature of the recent NLRB election in Ford's River Rouge plant was not the victory won by the C. I. O. or the large vote polled by the A. F. of L. but the emphatic repudiation of Henry Ford reflected in the very small "neither" vote—less than 2,000 out of a total of nearly 78,000. The reasons for it are perfectly clear to anyone who has had a chance to observe, even casually, the innumerable irritations that a Ford worker must endure.

As one approaches any of the gates of the Ford empire, one is greeted with a barked-out "What's your business here?" from one of a group of men in civilian clothes who look more like loiterers than attendants who might be expected to give out information and directions. These loiterers, one learns, are the Ford service men, members of the privileged strong-arm squad, who keep an ever-watchful eye on the production men and see that the law, as Ford makes it, is unflinchingly enforced.

One of the rules is that there shall be no smoking anywhere within the 12,000 acres of the River Rouge domain. This is not merely a precautionary measure; it is a projection of Ford's personal asceticism. Smoking is prohibited in every nook and cranny of the place, including the foundry, where smoke and fire are always present, and the washrooms, where smoking could not possibly be harmful or dangerous. So absolute is this prohibition, enforced by the way without the aid of signs, that buddies changing shifts are likely to remark, "I'll think of you in here when I get out and light my first cigarette."

There are no chairs anywhere within reach of the production men; and in the most highly mechanized production plant in the world men must squat on the floor to eat their lunch, for which they are allowed fifteen minutes or half an hour. Anyone caught using the lavatories to rest his weight was, until quite recently, subject to dismissal, and there was usually a service man around to report the offense.

Henry Ford is referred to by both service and production men as "he." "He" will do this, "he" will do that, "he" will not tolerate the other. But

"he" received few votes. During the tally, one ballot was found on which only the word "Christ" was written. The company watchers protested against counting it void, insisting that it was meant as a vote for Henry Ford.

A number of the service men and some members of the supervisory force, apparently under instructions from the company, tried to vote. When they were challenged, they claimed to be doing various sorts of work auxiliary to production. One of them said he was a "pipe-leak-looker-ater." Another said he was not a foreman but just a "gang boss." "How many in your gang?" "About three hundred," he replied. "Practically a Führer," the C. I. O. watcher snapped back.

The visitor to the Ford plant is deeply impressed with the cleanliness, the spaciousness, the smooth clock-like efficiency of the huge enterprise. But when one observes the arrogant strutting of the service men, their aloof and threatening silence, and the looks of resentment directed at them by the men in overalls; when one is told that a voter said to a coworker who was serving as a poll watcher, "I bet you think you're smart sitting down in the plant"; when a watcher sucking on an unlit pipe is ruled out lest he make the men "feel bad"; when, in other words, a chair and a cigarette emerge as the two most immediate desires of a River Rouge worker, one realizes why 97.4 per cent of Ford's 78,000 employees leaped at the chance to tell him that they don't like being treated as automata.

ROSE M. STEIN

Pittsburgh, Pa., June 1

Let's Not Supply the Axis

Dear Sirs: I wish to express my appreciation of an editorial appearing in your issue of May 17 entitled No Henbane for Japan. Many of us are much concerned over the continued exportation of essential war materials to the Axis powers and feel that these shipments should be stopped immediately. It seems nothing short of criminal to continue to supply our enemies with steel, petroleum, and other war materials to use against Great Britain and possibly later against our own armed forces.

If this country is waging an all-out war against aggression, we should insist

that American business firms join with our drafted men and boys now in army camps, and with our laborers engaged in production, in making whatever sacrifices are necessary to win the war. If the United States is helpless in controlling large international firms, the sooner we learn the facts the better; so that some type of world organization can be established which can control them.

I believe American sentiment on this matter is sufficiently aroused to insist upon proper action being taken by our State Department. Perhaps we need another national committee, one which might be called "The Committee to Stop Sending War Materials to the Axis Powers." *The Nation* would be performing a great public service if it launched a crusade to secure action on this matter.

D. C. SOWERS

Boulder, Col., June 6

Waiting for Leadership

Dear Sirs: Possibly your readers may be interested in this telegram which I have just sent to President Roosevelt:

For twenty years everything has been too late. We dare not permit our navy to lie idle while our only possible ally bleeds slowly to death. Our people are ignorant of their danger. They await your leadership.

UPTON SINCLAIR

Pasadena, Cal., May 28

A Natural Reluctance

Dear Sirs: It seems to me rather unjust that you should be condemning so harshly the OPM executives, particularly Mr. Knudsen, for their lack of cooperation in the present crisis in defense production. Men who have ruled industry for years can hardly be transformed overnight into big-hearted patriots just because it looks as if a distant crisis (it's way over in Europe, isn't it?) might remotely begin to affect this country some time.

One of the great inconsistencies of our capitalistic society is the encouragement we give the profit-seeking motive until disaster threatens, when we condemn industrial magnates for their natural reluctance to start throwing profits away—which is precisely what subcontracting would mean to Mr. Knudsen and his dollar-a-year brethren.

I entirely agree with you that some-

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FOR SALE

Cacti, other Succulents. Ten interesting and strange plants, \$1. Send for price list. Mrs. A. L. Sutton, Jefferson, Ia.

thing must be done to loosen the grip of the dollar-a-year men on defense production, but I still do not condemn Mr. Knudsen and the others for their attitude. It is a natural outcome of years of monopoly and power. Few of us common wage-earners would act differently if we were in their shoes.

The obvious remedy is, of course, government control and supervision of defense contracting, such as exists in Great Britain.

H. C. FRANCIS

Chicago, June 9

Nazi Poles in London

Dear Sirs: Wladyslaw Malinowski's letter in your issue of May 31 could be construed as a confirmation rather than a refutation of my article in *The Nation*, Anti-Semitism in Exile, if it were not for its last surprising conclusion that I was unfair to the Polish people. In my article I drew a sharp distinction between the Polish people now actually under Nazi domination and the small group of Polish exiles in Great Britain. I even differentiated between the Socialist and reactionary exiles and made it quite clear that the Socialist press and speakers in Great Britain did not participate in the shameful anti-Semitic campaign. Mr. Malinowski confirms all these facts, but treats as entirely unimportant the activities of the anti-Semitic faction in England. Figures recently issued in official Polish quarters in London, however, showed that at least 50 per cent of the Polish National Council (the Polish parliament in exile) was outspokenly anti-Semitic. This section of the Polish people is far from insignificant, and its activities cannot be ignored.

The analogy which Mr. Malinowski draws between these anti-Semitic exiled Poles and the French "collaborators" with Hitler is not entirely complete, for whatever one may think of the Vichy collaborators, the fact remains that they are entirely at the mercy of the Nazis, whereas the Poles are conducting their campaign against the Jews on British soil. It was the shameless perversity of these Polish Nazis that prompted me to speak out in *The Nation*, not any political motive, still less any feeling of animosity for the enslaved Polish people, for whom I have the profoundest sympathy.

WILLIAM ZUKERMAN

New York, June 6

Release This Chinese Poet!

Dear Sirs: May I appeal to your readers for help in behalf of H. T. Tsiang, Chinese poet and patriot, for a period of

years an earnest student in this country, now confined for nearly a year on Ellis Island awaiting deportation.

I have tried in vain to find out, in any clear and definite fashion, why this young man should be sent back to China, where in all probability he will be put to death. I can discover nothing but baffling technicalities.

It is my hope that legal proceedings now under way will accomplish his release. But an earlier, indeed immediate, release should be granted by executive authority. To this end I appeal to your readers to write to Secretary Perkins or to Thurman Arnold, of the Department of Justice, asking for action.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

New York, May 21

CONTRIBUTORS

PETER STEVENS is the pseudonym of an American writer just returned from a year's stay in the Near East.

STANLEY HIGH, a frequent contributor to the *Saturday Evening Post* and roving editor for the *Reader's Digest*, is the author of "Europe Turns the Corner" and "Roosevelt—and Then."

ALDEN STEVENS has written for the *Survey Graphic* and other periodicals and is now working on the National Defense section of *McCall's Magazine*.

ALLEN A. MICHIE, until recently London correspondent for *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*, is now covering the Near Eastern front.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary, is the author of "The Nature and Destiny of Man."

HASSOLDT DAVIS is the author of "Save Me the Sun" and "Land of the Eye."

HARVEY S. FORD is the author of "What the Citizen Should Know About the Army."

MILTON HINDUS, contributor to the *Kenyon Review*, *Poetry*, and other magazines, served as translator for the Viennese theater group which produced "Reunion in New York."

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FREDA KIRCHWEY
Editor and Publisher

<i>Managing Editor</i>	<i>Washington Editor</i>	<i>Literary Editor</i>
ROBERT BENDINER	I. F. STONE	MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors

KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART

Dramatic Critic

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager and Director of Circulation

HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager

MARY HOWARD ELLISON

The Shape of Things

WITH THE RESCUE OF A SECOND GROUP OF the Robin Moor's passengers and crew, all those aboard the torpedoed vessel have been accounted for. But the happy miracle that saved the lives of these forty-six American citizens abandoned without mercy in mid-ocean cannot be allowed to excuse the German action. We may put aside the question of contraband, for both Britain and Germany have extended the definition of contraband to cover almost every article conceivably capable of being used to promote the enemy's war effort, and the Robin Moor's cargo included such things as trucks and steel rails. But granting that contraband was carried, the German submarine commander clearly violated the London naval treaty of 1930, which was signed by Germany, when he sank the ship without regard to the safety of those on board. The Administration, we are sure, will demand a formal explanation, an apology, and reparation for this incident. But it ought to go much farther and take steps to prevent any repetition. By the Neutrality Act we voluntarily abdicated the right to pursue our commerce in wide areas conceded to be danger zones. Now if any American ship carrying on any kind of trade with Britain and its allies is to be sunk wherever an Axis raider may catch it, most of our remaining trade routes will be blocked also. Authorized German spokesmen, commenting on the Robin Moor case, have been anything but conciliatory. "Germany," we are told, "won't be buffaloed by American or English discussions concerning the Robin Moor. Whenever any ship with contraband sails for England we'll shoot at it." Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles has pointed out that Americans have never been impressed by "bluster or threats." To do the Nazis justice, we think they are equally indifferent to bluff. Only by action can they be made to respect American interests.

★

THE BRITISH CAMPAIGN AGAINST SYRIA HAS not developed a *Blitzkrieg* tempo. Clearly Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, who commands the British and Free French forces, is anxious to restrict casualties on both sides as much as possible. But desertions from Vichy's

army appear to have been on a smaller scale than had been expected, while the attitude of the main body of Syrian Arabs has not yet been clearly defined. If the British are successful in capturing Beirut and Damascus, food supplies rushed from Palestine to these big centers of population may prove a compelling argument in winning the native Syrians from their extremely tenuous allegiance to Vichy. Meanwhile the news of the conflict seems to have done little to swing opinion in France away from pro-British sympathy and closer to the policy of collaboration in the "New Order." Admiral Darlan in his latest speech found it convenient not to mention Syria. Instead, he begged his audience not to listen to external voices and to avoid a disastrous peace for France by following where Vichy led. It was a remarkable admission of the gap which exists between Frenchmen and their nominal government. "There are many," said Darlan, "who are trying to darken the nation's understanding. You are nervous and anxious because, unhappily, many of you believe everything that is said and whispered, even without taking time to reflect—many believe that what they hear every day over the clandestine or dissident radio, paid for by a foreign power, is the absolute truth." This is indeed so, and the Admiral might have added that few Frenchmen believe anything they see in the French press or hear from the official government radio because they are rightly convinced that both do no more than parrot the voice of Berlin.

★

THE SMOKE OF RUMOR HANGING HEAVILY along the two-thousand-mile frontier between Hitler's Europe and Stalin's Russia is diverting attention from the smoke of battle over the Syrian and Libyan deserts. Perhaps that is the intention, or perhaps by making threatening gestures in the direction of Moscow the Nazis hope to conceal preparations for an all-out attempt to invade Britain. For there is no doubt that Berlin is encouraging rumors of troop concentrations directed against Russia and of impending military and economic demands on Russia of a sweeping character. In fact, if these stories, which pop up in one European center after another, could be traced to their source, most of them would probably be found to have originated in Goebbels's busy production department. Germany, as usual, seems to be playing a double skin-game. By brandishing his sword toward the east Hitler may hope to give an argument to those appeasers in Britain and America who have always thought his lust for conquest could be assuaged at the expense of Russia. This argument no longer cuts much ice in Britain, but conceivably American isolationists might still attempt to use it. On the other hand, Hitler does genuinely need Russian cereals and oil if he is to keep his swollen empire functioning through another year or more of war, and he has reason to know that Stalin is ready to pay a very big price to stave off a con-

flict. A clash between Germany and Russia seems unlikely, but of course Hitler may overplay his hand and demand more than even the dictator of all the Russias dare concede. There does not seem much that either Britain or America can do by way of interference, except to make it clear to the world that, no matter what other enemies Germany may attract, they will press the war unrelentingly.

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THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION CLOSING GERMAN consular and propaganda offices in the United States, coming on top of his order freezing Axis funds in this country, brings us as close to a break in diplomatic relations as we could come without taking that final step. No one can doubt the justification for this action. It has long been an open secret that German consular officials have been supervising propaganda activities detrimental to the policies of our government. Agencies like the German Library of Information and Transocean News have flooded this country with somewhat crude arguments in defense of the Nazi political system. Since these agencies were violating no law, exceptional measures had to be taken to stop them. As for the freezing of Axis funds, that came so late that it can hardly have much effect. Although it is estimated that Germany and Italy at one time had assets in this country of between \$300,000,000 and \$400,000,000, most of these assets were long ago turned into cash. Yet as long as the Axis powers were allowed financial freedom, there was no way of keeping them from using their balances to finance propaganda activities in Latin America. It is probable that they also found these balances useful for financing a subterranean trade in war materials to Germany via the Far East. This trade will now doubtless be financed by Japanese balances. Why Japan was not included in the order is not clear unless it was because the Administration is unwilling to antagonize Standard Oil and other companies which are still making large profits out of trade with an avowed enemy.

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THE STATEMENT OF THE POLISH CABINET IN exile in London pledging equal treatment in the new Free Poland for citizens "regardless of nationality, race, or religion" and condemning all anti-Semitic moves as harmful to the Polish cause is like a fresh breeze through an old ghetto. William Zukerman, in an excellent article in our issue of May 17, nailed down the anti-Semitic tendencies of influential Poles living in England. He also reported that the London *News-Chronicle* had been storming against the insult to democracy and the abuse of hospitality inherent in this attitude. The statement of the Polish Cabinet is certainly an answer to the *News-Chronicle's* campaign. It is also designed to win the goodwill of Americans, Jews and non-Jews, and we can't help feeling that Mr. Zukerman's direct attack found its way into the councils of the Polish Government in Exile.

ALTHOUGH AMBASSADOR GREW'S PROTEST against the bombing of the American safety zone at Chungking, during which bombs fell near the United States gunboat Tutuila, suggests a stronger policy toward Tokyo, the most recent Washington news hints at appeasement. Sensational stories regarding the location of the American fleet continue to be heard around the capital. And it has been revealed that despite talk of "gasless Sundays" along the Atlantic seaboard, Japan continues to get 800,000 barrels of oil a month—including high-octane gasoline usable in airplanes. We hope the direct action of Harold Ickes in halting a shipment of oil to Japan will be repeated. It is said that the President hesitates to dispatch a fleet of battleships to Singapore or Manila lest the United States become involved in a "shooting war" in the Pacific at a time when the Atlantic situation is most critical. Such a possibility cannot, of course, be disregarded. But if the past experience of the democracies with the Axis powers means anything at all, the surest way to create a situation out of which a "shooting war" will inevitably develop is to use big words and a small stick—while providing the potential enemy with the sinews of war.

★

JAPAN IS STILL IN A QUANDARY ABOUT HOW to deal with the rejection of its demands by the government of the Dutch East Indies. The trade delegation headed by Kenkichi Yoshizawa remains in Batavia despite several reports that it would be withdrawn. Whether negotiations will be continued seems to depend on the nature of the Dutch reply, as yet unpublished. Meanwhile, veiled hints of Japanese armed action in the near future are in the air. From a Chinese source we hear that the Japanese navy is already moving southward. Such reports have been circulated so frequently in the past that it is well to take them with a grain of salt. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the extremists are urging action, and although the extremists are not so powerful as they were a few years ago, it is never safe to count them out altogether. A year ago the Japanese could have had the East Indies for the taking. But if they move today they will encounter not only much more effective Dutch resistance but a much-strengthened Britain at Singapore. This opposition they might risk if they felt confident that the United States would stand by and allow its chief source of rubber, tin, and other strategic raw materials to fall into Japanese hands.

★

THE PRESIDENT'S SUPREME COURT CHOICES are on the whole good. Senator Byrnes, who replaces Justice McReynolds, has long been regarded as one of the ablest men in Congress. His bad record on legislation in behalf of Negroes is the chief count against him, and a serious one. But he has been very effective

in the field of government reorganization. The findings of the committee of which he was head still stand as the most constructive program for the coordination of social security, public works, and relief. Attorney General Jackson, who is to replace Hughes, has made a brilliant record as an able and consistent liberal during his brief stay in his present post. His position on civil liberties has been particularly sound, and it is comforting to know that a man with these views is to sit on the Supreme Court during the difficult period that lies ahead. The only appointment that had not been generally foreseen was that of Associate Justice Stone to be Chief Justice. And yet this should not have been a surprise, for Justice Stone is undoubtedly one of the ablest members of the court, as well as the oldest in point of service. Although a staunch Republican and Attorney General under Coolidge, he was among the first to recognize the necessity for greater governmental powers to meet the exceptional problems of the present day. As Chief Justice he can be relied upon to use his influence to see that laws are interpreted on a common-sense rather than on a formal or legalistic basis.

★

THE BOLD MOVE OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL of the American Federation of Teachers in initiating a membership referendum on the proposal to expel three locals on charges of Communist domination resulted in an overwhelming vote in its favor. Excluding the votes of the expelled locals, the membership approved the council's action by approximately four to one. New locals will be chartered to take the place of those expelled, and petitions for these charters have already been filed; but all applications for membership will be passed upon by a committee of four. The most difficult and delicate task still lies ahead—the task of keeping out Stalinists, those who hold party cards and those who don't, without penalizing the innocents who are the easiest prey of the "militant" Communists. It is so difficult, in fact, that no union would adopt such a procedure if there were any other way out of an intolerable situation. The situation in the Teachers' Union was certainly intolerable; and since it is a voluntary union and there is no question of the closed shop, the desperate remedy seems to us justified. It seems quite likely to be administered without abuses, for the members of the executive council are known liberals who realize that the vast majority of members of the expelled locals, like the membership of most unions under party control, are not Stalinists. One of the charters may be issued to the Teachers' Guild, which split away from the Teachers' Union several years ago on the very same issue. Meanwhile the officers of the expelled locals are threatening legal action and a fight at the union convention in August. One mark of the Stalinist is his intense dislike of even a taste of his own purgative medicine.

WE RECOMMEND AS GOOD LIGHT READING the annual report of the Department of Lighting of the City of Seattle. Last year's revenues were \$6,273,199, an increase of \$144,456 over 1939. Operating expenses, less depreciation, were \$2,102,397, an increase of \$66,616, which went largely to increased wages. The average wage of the plant's employees is \$172.90 a month, and they work forty hours a week. During 1940 the "all-electric rate" was introduced, providing residents of Seattle with electric energy for all domestic purposes except house heating at a cost of only \$5 for 370 kilowatt-hours per month. The people of Seattle not only save thousands of dollars every year on electricity for domestic use; they also enjoy the distinction of paying only 1.9 cents a kilowatt hour for their street lighting, which is one-half the rate paid in the majority of American cities. Unlike the private companies, City Light does something about paying off its bonded indebtedness. Since 1904 it has redeemed nearly \$22,000,000 worth of bonds entirely from its revenues, and in 1940 it redeemed \$1,704,000 worth. "Of course," says the spokesman for the private companies, "they pay no taxes." Wrong again. City Light paid taxes and made contributions to the cost of government to the tune of \$577,640.

Letting Britain Down

AFTER the President's words of a few weeks ago about the necessity for getting aid to Britain, the official figures on the first three months' operation of the Lend-Lease Act come as a profound shock. It will be recalled that when the act was passed, provision was made for the immediate release of \$1,300,000,000 in supplies from existing army and navy stocks so that no time would be lost waiting for new production. It was recognized on every hand that the situation called for the utmost speed. The position of Britain and Greece in the Mediterranean was already critical in mid-March. An invasion of England was widely expected by April or May. The shipping situation had become extremely serious on the Atlantic. There was a clear recognition of the fact that if we did not soon get substantial shipments to England and Greece it would be too late.

Such was the urgency. What are the results? A close analysis of the President's report indicates that we turned over to Great Britain in the first three months of the Lend-Lease program just \$10,729,684 in supplies out of the \$7,000,000,000 appropriated. Of this practically \$8,000,000 consisted of agricultural products, leaving the total amount of munitions—by the broadest stretching of the word—at a little more than \$2,700,000. No ammunition, ordinance, or arms were supplied out of the \$7,000,000,000 fund during the first three months. About \$1,500,000 worth of aircraft was provided.

The total value of shipments for the period was \$75,000,000, but more than \$64,000,000 of this amount came out of appropriations made prior to the passage of the Lend-Lease Act, and these shipments would have presumably been sent whether the act was passed or not. Even this latter figure is very far from the \$1,300,000,000 which we were supposed to provide from existing army and navy stores. And it is still farther from the \$1,000,000,000 a month which, according to conservative estimates, we must furnish Britain if American assistance is to offset Germany's superiority in armament production plus the economic advantages Germany has gained through the conquest of Europe.

Mr. Roosevelt makes much of the fact that \$4,277,000,000 of the \$7,000,000,000 was allocated during the first seventy-four days of the Lend-Lease program. This, of course, is a commendable record. But the history of the domestic defense program has shown that there is little or no relation between allocations and production.

In part, the bad showing in shipments may be attributed to transport problems. Great Britain has too few ships to carry all the goods we should be sending. But that is obviously not the crux of the difficulty. No additional shipping would be required to transfer fifty or seventy-five destroyers to Britain. Nor would it require ships to deliver a substantial number of bombers from existing army and navy stocks. And there is nothing to stop the United States from turning over additional merchant shipping to Britain. The real difficulty obviously lies deeper. It is to be found in the opposition of army and navy bureaucrats to turning anything over to Britain which we might need ourselves. Yet even if we do get into this war within a few months, our defense production will presumably have risen by that time to really substantial proportions. Meanwhile why not do all we can to help keep England going? For months we have been operating on the assumption that this was the government's policy. If it is our policy, it is high time we began to do something about it.

St. Lawrence Power

THE most hopeful document to come out of the Office of Production Management since its establishment was Release No. 516, dated June 5. "The press reported," the release said coldly, "that Mr. C. W. Kellogg, an OPM consultant, in a speech at Buffalo on June 3, expressed the opinion that no shortage was to be expected in electric power." "This view," the announcement went on to say, "could only have been expressed by Mr. Kellogg in his individual capacity, as it does not represent the position of the Office of Production Management. The Office of Production Management is not in agreement with the views on this subject

which the press has ascribed to Mr. Kellogg. On the contrary. . . ." The contrary, as stressed in the President's farsighted message on the St. Lawrence project, is that we have a shortage of power now, that shortages in the future are likely to increase, and that we must plan for expansion of power production immediately. And the OPM has now formally indorsed the President's position by approving the St. Lawrence waterway project.

One way to facilitate expansion of power, as of other production facilities, is to place men in control who are in sympathy with such expansion and have no private interests to be served by scarcity. Mr. Kellogg, the OPM's consultant on power, is head of the Edison Electric Institute. Like most of the OPM's consultants, he represents private interests opposed to expansion and to an "all-out" effort. It is good to see him rebuked—though the rebuke came after a blistering explosion from Secretary Ickes at a press conference the day before. It would be more encouraging if Mr. Kellogg and others like him were given their dollar and requested to go home. In the field of security regulation we have begun to understand that a man cannot serve two masters, that the public is hurt when the same interests sit on both sides of the table. It is time we applied the lesson to defense. It is time we ended the custom whereby Mr. Kellogg, the OPM consultant, gravely consults with Mr. Kellogg, the head of the Edison Electric Institute, for power trust, and solemnly assures himself that there is no need for the government to expand power facilities. Too many similar "conversations" have taken place on steel, on oil, on aluminum, on railroad cars, on copper, on scrap, and on every vital defense material.

It is painful to see the attitude toward power and the St. Lawrence of newspapers like the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, which talk of the need for an "all-out" effort. "The enemies of democracy," Mr. Roosevelt said, "are developing every hydroelectric resource and every waterway from Norway to the Dardanelles. Are we to allow this continent to be outmatched because shortsighted interests oppose the development of one of our greatest resources?" The answer of the *Times* and the *Post* seems to be "Yes." Though it is proud of being a newspaper "of record," the *Times* did not see fit to print the text of the President's message and buried the story on an inside page, as though it were the annual report of the Mamaroneck City Council. Both papers brought up the usual seedy objections, plus the new one of "diverting" energies from defense. The fact is, as Mr. Roosevelt pointed out, that the erection of steam electric plants as suggested would be a far more serious diversion of facilities needed for defense. Steam power-plant equipment is a bottleneck in ship construction; we still have plenty of facilities for digging ditches—and the St. Lawrence project is a glorified ditch-digging job.

The St. Lawrence seaway is important not only from

the standpoint of power but also from that of shipbuilding. "The Great Lakes today," the President said, "hold many shipways and drydocks, as well as resources of men and materials for shipbuilding. They are bottled up because we have delayed completing the seaway. If we start the seaway now, scores of additional merchant ships may be built in coastal yards freed by transferring a portion of the longer-term naval program to the Great Lakes." Congress must decide whether it will continue to place the wishes of shortsighted power, aluminum, railroad, and port interests ahead of national defense. The question could not be put more clearly than it is by the St. Lawrence project.

Keep Cool on Labor

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

THE strikes on the West Coast may or may not have been directed from the Kremlin. I don't believe they were. The theory that Stalin was trying to improve his bargaining position with Hitler by demonstrating his ability to sabotage the American defense program seems to me far-fetched even in this fantastic mid-war year. But that theory is not necessary to explain Communist strategy in the strikes. The comrades have fish to fry nearer home than Moscow. They want, first of all, to control the unions; to strengthen their own position behind the isolationist leadership of Lewis while weakening the pro-Administration elements behind Murray and Thomas. Second, they want to sabotage defense. Opposing the whole program and the foreign policy that underlies it, they naturally intend to lay hands on the rich pickings in power and prestige offered by the defense boom, even if they slow up production in the process. Third, they want to create exactly the reaction they have created—in Congress and in the country. Anger and a blind determination to stop defense strikes at any cost are putting fresh steam behind the demand for repressive legislation. Obviously this is what the Communists need. They have argued from the start of the European struggle that "war hysteria" in the United States would bring legislation directed against labor's rights and in the end produce home-grown fascism. Now they have created the objective conditions which may prove their prophecies, and so their entire position, correct. Some elements in Congress seem determined to fall in with Communist strategy and pass just the sort of laws they are angling for.

I think the President was right to send the army to take over the North American plant. He faced a challenge that the government could not ignore. It was a revolutionary challenge. The men responsible for breaking the union's agreement to give the Mediation Board a chance to settle the dispute represented an outlaw element. If the President had not acted, they would have made good

their defiance of their own union, as well as of the government. Such a success would have ended the hope of labor-government collaboration in the defense program and at the same time dynamited the whole structure of collective bargaining, which has been built with such enormous effort during the past eight years. The President's act precipitated the struggle inside the union and gave the pro-defense, pro-democratic forces both the strength and the opportunity to gain control.

But the use of troops to break a strike is a dangerous expedient. Successful once, like a slap in the face administered to a hysteric, it would be fatal as a regular treatment. And so it is easy to understand Philip Murray's opposition to an act that temporarily strengthened his hand in the union, although it is unfortunate that he failed to temper his attack with a clear statement of labor's stake in the defense program. Murray knows how easily, in war time, the habit of violence and repression takes hold. And he knows that repression, through executive act or legislation, will promptly swing the balance the other way, bringing rank-and-file support to the anti-Administration, anti-defense elements in the union.

It has already done so. The Communists and isolationists are not stupid. Having lost one round, they seized their next chance to move into action. No sooner had Murray denounced the use of troops and the anti-strike legislation brewing in Congress, than the New York Industrial Union Council, dominated by Communists, hurried to back the C. I. O. president in his "fight against repression," and they were joined by such eminent fellow-travelers as Mike Quill of the Transport Workers and Joe Curran of the Maritime Union. This effort to haul Murray into camp probably will fail, but it may succeed in weakening his position before Congress; his excellent case will not be helped by the support of isolationists and party-liners. And, even more important, it may serve to deceive the ordinary union member into thinking that there's no real difference after all between the Murray-Thomas-Frankenstein faction and the Lewis-Communist faction—that they're all agin the government together.

Murray has repudiated the rumors of splits and declared against any attempt to start a "witch hunt" within the ranks of labor. He has opposed the deportation of Harry Bridges and has held a long, friendly conference with Joe Curran. It is clear that he hopes to subdue rather than purge the so-called "leftists" among the C. I. O. officials. And perhaps this is a statesman-like move. It is if it works; but like most measures of appeasement it may also offer his opponents a breathing-space in which to marshal their forces and carry out their tactics of penetration and confusion. It will take a master-strategist to beat them at that game.

There is only one way to straighten out this evil mess. The President and Congress must put the whole weight

of the government behind the responsible leaders in both labor organizations. Because the foreign policy of the Administration does in fact offer the only hope of a future for free organized labor, it has the support of the majority of the workers and the best of their leaders. The election showed that to be true, and every important test in the leading unions has borne it out. The Communist and other isolationist groups can do no more than cause incidental trouble—unless the government goes out of its way to build up their strength. The one thing that will make them a menace rather than a nuisance is a wave of repressive legislation. So it is up to the President and Congress to decide whether or not they will strengthen the hands of their enemies—who are also the enemies of labor itself.

It is necessary, obviously, for the government to wipe out, by whatever face-saving formula can be devised, the reckless work-or-fight order of Brigadier General Hershey. This order not only did a disservice to the army by converting the draft into a form of penal servitude. It also wiped out the right to strike through a measure hardly distinguishable from martial law. It is guaranteed to rouse the fighting resistance of all able-bodied workers and create antagonism to the government and the army where none previously existed. If the Communists and Lewisites are to be neutralized, this order will have to go.

The Connally amendment to the Selective Service Act, already passed by the Senate, seems certain to be adopted in some form. The bill does little more than provide legislative sanction for what the President did on his own executive authority in North Inglewood—take possession of vital defense plants tied up or threatened by strikes. Since he has the power in any case, adoption of the amendment serves as a sort of vote of confidence. The C. I. O. opposes the bill, as perhaps it should do on principle. But so does the National Association of Manufacturers; and Senator Vandenberg, ignoring Communist denunciation of the measure, has said that he fears it will lead to permanent nationalization, adding, "Communism undoubtedly is interested in the nationalization of industry, and this bill might unwittingly help the fifth column." Idiocy aside, the Connally amendment may prove pragmatically useful, serving as a lightning rod to head off more drastic measures. If it is adopted we must look to the Executive to display the restraint and wisdom which alone will guide the country through the industrial hazards of the next few months. The Administration must put its foot down hard on the fierce anti-labor agitation which the Communists asked for and helped to foment. And by coordinating and speeding up and extending the facilities for mediation it must attempt to settle the outstanding labor disputes before they reach the stage where another showdown with the armed forces of the country becomes necessary.

Inglewood's Backwash

BY ROSE M. STEIN



Washington, June 16

IF, AS it is perfectly reasonable to assume, the chief purpose of the subversive elements behind the recent labor upheaval was disruption, embarrassment, and confusion, it was fully attained. Production was halted. The most pro-labor President in American history was forced to use federal troops in a strike. The slow fire which Philip Murray was building under obstructionists in the C. I. O. in order to smoke them out quietly burst into a major conflagration, bringing into the open a fight for which he was not fully prepared. Congressional clamor for anti-labor legislation was reinforced. Above all, an atmosphere was created in which nearly everybody is confused, and confusion is the handiest weapon of the totalitarian technique. In the ensuing *mêlée* labor's legitimate rights are likely to be badly trampled on.

One story that has aroused amusement and some apprehension down here illustrates the split inside the C. I. O. When Philip Murray wrote the eighteen woodworkers' locals to accept mediation, his letter was published verbatim in newspapers throughout the country. The *C. I. O. News*, however, printed only a brief summary, and in fourteen of the sixteen editions that go to different national unions, even the summary was omitted. Len de Caux, editor of the *News* and a faithful partisan of the Communist-influenced factions, was called on the carpet to explain his irregularity. His only answer was that the Murray letter was "controversial."

But though the labor situation has become difficult and confused, some actual benefits are emerging. Wyndham Mortimer, the power behind the so-called left-wingers, was relieved of his duties in the aircraft organization drive. This move, coupled with the general conduct of the North American Aviation strike and the resulting publicity, will curtail the leftists' expected show of strength at the Automobile Workers' convention next August, and probably pave the way for a major purge of Communists in this very important defense industry. Harry Bridges, too, would probably have been fired from his post of C. I. O. director on the Pacific Coast had it not been feared that this would have a prejudicial effect upon his pending deportation case. The woodworkers' defiance of Philip Murray and the National Defense Mediation Board has completely collapsed. More than 70 per cent of the men involved in the Puget Sound strike voted over the heads of their national officers to accept Murray's recommendations, and their president,

O. M. Orton, then scurried to safety by urging upon his membership the very settlement he had earlier denounced. The efforts of Joseph Curran, head of the Maritime Union, to promote the Communist-controlled American Peace Mobilization by calling a conference of trade unionists to formulate "peace" plans have been effectively squelched. Curran even stayed away from a Peace Mobilization meeting in Washington last week where he was scheduled to be the principal speaker. Finally, events of the last fortnight are tending to crystallize John L. Lewis's position.

Expectations that Lewis might denounce the Communists and come out in support of Murray appear so far to be pure wishful thinking. They are believed to emanate from government circles, which would like to make him take a positive stand one way or the other. If he remains silent, he will leave little doubt about his position. The left-wingers have repeatedly voiced their allegiance to him rather than to Murray. His silence, therefore, will denote acceptance of their fealty and alignment with their cause. The blast against the Administration just issued by Labor's Non-Partisan League, Charlie McCarthy to Lewis's Bergen, adds further weight to this assumption. If he does take this course, the result can only be his abdication from leadership—unless, indeed, the Communist hopes materialize.

There is little doubt that leadership in the three West Coast and Cleveland die-casters' strikes came from Communist ranks. But it cannot be too strongly emphasized that in the great majority of plants collective bargaining has not broken down. For instance, in the last two months the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee negotiated 590 contracts, with only two minor stoppages, while the Automobile Workers negotiated 500 working agreements, 68 of them in aviation. The President has promised "to maintain" the social progress made in recent years and "to strengthen it." This means that collective bargaining must be safeguarded, and not merely by such lip-service as Capitol Hill has indulged in lately. It cannot be safeguarded under compulsory arbitration, and the Defense Mediation Board is rapidly being converted into an arbitration body. Compulsory arbitration might not freeze wages, although that is a conceivable possibility; it would definitely freeze organization and automatically throw the National Labor Relations Act out of the window.

[I. F. Stone, our Washington editor, is on a brief vacation.]

Hitler's Grip on Finland

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

WHAT new mischief is Hitler brewing in northern Europe? In the daily flood of rumors about German pressure on the Soviets, reports about troop movements and other military activities in Finland are becoming increasingly prominent. There have been many reports of Nazi reinforcements reaching that country, and Helsinki has become a strategic center for the "war of nerves." New travel restrictions on foreigners in the Finnish northern and border regions have been officially announced. Attempts are being made to remove women and children from Helsinki to rural districts, and a number of Finnish reservists have been called up, ostensibly to take part in summer maneuvers. In Stockholm a few days ago the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Swedish Riksdag was suddenly called into session. No explanation was given for this event, but *ex tempore* meetings of that body are usually related to important happenings in northern Europe. Any outbreak of hostilities in the Baltic would inevitably touch Sweden nearly, and if these hostilities involved Finland, as well as Russia and Germany, the Swedes would be hard put to retain their cherished neutrality.

No country in Europe has been drawn more subtly into the Axis orbit than Finland, although it is not yet, in the strict sense of the word, an occupied country. Finland has not been invaded, like two of its neighbors, by the Nazi armies, nor has it, like several Central European and Balkan states, placed itself officially under German protection. Any Nazi forces in Finland at present—no less than five divisions are there according to latest reports—are "in transit" or "on leave."

Following the example of Sweden, which in June of last year authorized the passage of German troops and war material through its territory, Finland announced on September 24 that it had signed an agreement with Germany permitting the transport to and from Norway of German soldiers "on leave" and of supplies. Shortly afterward German troopships began bringing uniformed—but, it was officially claimed, unarmed—soldiers into Finland's principal Bothnian seaports—Turku (Åbo), Vaasa, Oulu, Kemi, and Tornio; and German engineers went to work on the strategic highway which links the Gulf of Bothnia and the Arctic Ocean by way of Rovaniemi. Some of these troops may have actually proceeded to northern Norway, where the Nazis are busy making real strongholds out of the former Norwegian garrison town of Kirkenes and the ancient, half-decayed Fort Vardöhus on the Varangerfjord, but by far the larger part stayed in Finland over the winter. A few weeks ago

this virtual army of occupation was greatly reinforced by the arrival at Turku of a fresh contingent of 12,000 German soldiers with armored cars, tanks, and other heavy equipment. The Finnish and German governments subsequently denied or minimized the news of these troop movements, but of course such denials need not be taken at their face value. They are a routine matter in connection with military moves.

Just what is the Nazi game in Finland? Everything Germany did or is doing in Norway and Denmark could be explained by the necessity of guarding against some alleged British plan. But the Petsamo district on Finland's narrow strip of Arctic coastline and the adjoining Norwegian Finmark, split at its northeastern tip by the Varangerfjord, are wholly outside British influence—at least at the present stage of the conflict. Yet this region is just now the scene of intense military preparations.

Undoubtedly the country really threatened by the German military dispositions in the extreme north of Europe is the Soviet Union. This is not to say that the long-awaited clash between Hitler and Stalin is imminent, but rather that the Nazis have so successfully maneuvered that they can now use a squeeze play against Russia as effectively as against Vichy or Franco. The five Nazi divisions in Finland, with the twenty to twenty-five divisions lined up along the Rumanian border and an unknown but surely considerable German force strung across Poland to the tip of East Prussia, form an effective thumbscrew with which to extort more and more concessions from Moscow. Altogether, according to John T. Whitaker, writing in the *New York Post* for June 4, Germany has some 2,000,000 men on the Russian frontier.

Should Stalin prove uncooperative, it does not follow necessarily that this huge striking force would be employed in a direct attack on Russia. There are many indications that Germany, instead of engaging the Soviet Union in open hostilities, plans a war by proxy, using as its tools Finland and possibly Sweden in the north and Rumania in the south. Finland is still smarting under the hard Peace of Moscow (March 12, 1940), by which large chunks of Finnish territory were incorporated in the Soviet state. In spite of its economic and financial difficulties, practically the entire nation has set its heart on recovery of the lost territory. And German propagandists, always alert to seize an opportunity, have not been slow in exploiting this sentiment to the full. Though Germany's attitude at the time made it possible for Russia to defeat Finland, Nazi agents now promise to obtain for the Finns restitution of all lost territory, and even more.

The Nazis in Finland are old hands at this game. Two years ago—in fact, right up to the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact in August, 1939—they were cooperating closely with Finnish nationalist circles, to whom they promised Russian Karelia and Ingermanland. Finnish chauvinist organizations like the *Isanmaallinen Kansan Liike* (I. K. L.) (People's Patriotic Movement) and the Karelian Academic Society (A. K. S.) fanned the flames of anti-Russian feeling and thereby gave at least some color to the Soviet charges that preceded the war. According to latest reports from Finland, these organizations, which were temporarily suspended in 1939 because of their avowedly fascist tendencies, are now becoming active again. Both the fascist *Ajan Suunta* and the chief conservative organ, the *Uusi Suomi*, have been violently irredentist of late, and Russian reprisals would surely have followed if so many Nazi troops had not happened to be "in transit" in the country.

An interesting sidelight on the headway already made by this new Axis drive in Finland is provided by recent reports from Helsinki that Eljas Erkko, who was Foreign Minister at the beginning of the Russo-Finnish War, and Marshal Mannerheim, who was commander-in-chief, are among the sponsors of the new Party of National Union, of which the I. K. L. and A. K. S. form the backbone. Both these men have long been considered pro-British,

and Erkko was reputed to be a sincere democrat, but they have obviously been bitterly disappointed by the course of events and are now seeking Germany's, instead of Britain's, support for a war against Russia.

In Sweden these developments have caused great uneasiness, for if Finland, with open or under-cover backing from Germany, went to war against Russia, Sweden too would almost certainly be drawn into the conflict. Since Swedish policy, as past events have clearly shown, is primarily to "keep out of war at all costs," much disapproval has been expressed of the aggressive tone adopted by Finnish newspapers in recent months. In the latter half of April the press of the two countries indulged in a long-drawn-out controversy, described by one Finnish paper as "a duel in the dark." Both sides were, in truth, almost completely in the dark about the main issue—whether, when, and where Germany intends to strike at the Soviet Union.

It was primarily for the purpose of working out a common Finnish-Swedish policy with regard to Germany and Russia that Sweden's Foreign Minister, Christian Günther, went to Helsinki on May 6 to see the Finnish Foreign Minister, Rolf Witting. We shall probably know before long how well he succeeded in his attempt to convince the Finnish government that the time has not yet come to try to recover Finland's lost territories.

To the Class of '41

BY ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

[This article is an abbreviated version of the Commencement address delivered by Mr. MacLeish at Union College on June 7.]

COLLEGE classes are remembered through the brief periods of college history for one characteristic or another—the largest or the brightest or the tallest or the wildest or the luckiest or whatever. Your class, not here only but throughout the United States, will be remembered as the most talked-at class since the first divinity student said goodbye to the last cow in the Harvard cow yard and headed west to Watertown to convert the Indians. I have no doubt that you are thoroughly sick of the whole business—the talk and the talkers and even of yourselves as the objects of talk. A satisfactory Commencement to most of you would be a Commencement without words at all and certainly without words directed at the opinions, orthodox or otherwise, of the graduating class.

You will not have, I am afraid, a satisfactory Commencement. Here or anywhere. And for a reason which relates not to the motives of those who have been invited

to speak to you but to very different considerations. Neither you nor they can avoid the discussion of your opinions because, of all opinions of which men can think or speak, yours are most immediately significant. The debate which has been going forward over the past twelve months between members of your generation and members of mine is not a frivolous debate, nor is the attempt to define or to modify your views a gratuitous and impertinent interference with matters private to yourselves. Whether the contestants realize it or not, they are engaged in a struggle as important to the outcome of this war as any other—perhaps more important. For in a sense which is not at all figurative you are the principal battleground of this war—you, the young men and young women of every country, and particularly of this.

There are some among you who, thinking of 1914 and of 1860 and of other years, claim special consideration for your opinions because, you say, you will do the fighting in this war if there is fighting to be done. Men of your generation will not fight this war any more than old men and women and children will fight it: the ex-

perience of England would seem to show that you may fight it even less. But the opinions, the beliefs of young men and young women have nevertheless an importance in this war which it would be impossible to exaggerate. We speak most frequently in geographic terms when we speak of the war. But even the enormous titles of geography and war are smaller than the truth. For the true battleground is not an extent of land at all or even an ocean or a sea. It is larger still. It is the minds of the young men.

It is the minds of the young men not in poetic metaphor but in the most precise and literal truth. The Nazis may win all the battles of geography—they may defeat all their enemies and subdue the continent of Europe as they have now subdued the greater part of that continent, they may win the Battle of Africa, the Battle of Asia, even the Battle of the Atlantic—but they will not have won the war unless and until they have persuaded the minds of millions of the young to accept the kind of world they propose to create.

They know this well enough. Their first effort in every country they have conquered has been to win the minds of the young men and the young women to their cause—to persuade the young men and the young women of Denmark and Norway and Holland and Belgium and France that democracy is corrupt, fat, decadent, and dying; that only discipline and blind obedience to the Nazi will can give the young men jobs again and the young women marriages and children. You cannot combine millions of human beings in a going and effective economic system coordinated for industrial production on the modern scale by billeting troops in their towns or by lodging secret police in their homes or even by torturing those who resist and shooting their relatives. To win the war as the Nazis mean to win it they must not merely destroy the cities of those who fight back and cripple their children with bombs and liquidate their writers and their teachers in the cellars of warehouses and send their scientists and their preachers to rot behind barbed wire. To win the war they must win the minds of whole populations of human beings, and particularly of the young among those populations, to affirmative cooperation in a "New Order" of which the fascist slogan is the perfect description: "Believe, obey, fight."

But the same necessity compels those also who are determined to resist the establishment of such a system. They too must win the battle of men's minds. They must first of all bring millions of men to desire to resist a danger which is not real to most of them until it can no longer be resisted—men who hate war as all sane and serious human beings hate war, men who have, or think they have, nothing of their own to fight for, men who wish only to be left alone, to be passed by, to be forgotten. They must bring millions of such men to see the things they look at, to listen to the sounds they hear,

to understand that these horrors of which they read, of which they speak, are actual horrors. They must bring millions of such men to understand with the final shock of personal understanding that in this war it is not possible for any man, no matter how anonymous, no matter how indifferent, no matter how small, to be passed by; that the outcome of this war will affect every man whatever his wishes; that "no personal significance or insignificance will spare one or another of us."

But even this necessity is only the beginning of the necessities which drive those who understand what Nazism is and who propose to resist it and to persuade others to resist it while they still can. They must not only win this preliminary battle, they must not only persuade men who are not yet slaves to resist slavery, but they also—they as much as the Nazis—must win the remainder of the fight. They too must persuade men's minds to accept an organization of life—and not only to accept it but to affirm it as a man affirms a cause in which he believes and has faith. They must bring men to believe in the possibility of the organization of men's lives by the instruments of freedom for freedom as an end.

There are two reasons why they must persuade men's minds of this: first, they, no more than the Nazis, will have won the war if they do no more than destroy the Nazi weapons and break the power of the Nazi dictators. To do that much is to win a tremendous victory and yet to win nothing, for Nazism is not Hitler but an evil with a long and bloody past. That is the first reason. The second is this: that unless the partisans of freedom persuade men's minds to accept as their own the cause of freedom, they will not even win the fruitless, the negative preliminary victory against armies and machines. For unless they can persuade men's minds of this, they will oppose to the disciplined and propagandized and indoctrinated armies of the fascists—soldiers educated to believe the fascist lie of force—an army altogether lacking in any affirmative belief, an army prepared only to resist and hence half defeated from the start.

This, then, is the real battle of this war—the battle fought upon that darkling plain of the human spirit of which Arnold wrote—the battle of which you and millions like you are the field. It is a battle fought not with bombs or guns or ships, although bombs and guns and ships play their real and terrible part. It is a battle fought with words—words which also are realities and can be terrible. It is a decisive battle, upon the outcome of which the future of the world does truly depend.

But it is not only because this battle must be fought that men of my generation have busied themselves so long and so insistently with your opinions. There is another reason also—a reason which your elders do not perhaps admit to themselves or altogether realize but which is nevertheless a continuing presence in their thoughts. The reason is that this battle for your minds is

one which may very possibly be lost—and lost because your minds, however your wishes or your wills may stand, are tipped against us. The reason is that in this battle, as in the European battle of armies, those to whom we are opposed have the advantage of weapons and of time and of position. And in this battle as in that, the advantage is one for which we ourselves must take responsibility. Your minds, as those who taught you have now come to see, are more open to the persuasion of the enemies of freedom than to the persuasion of the partisans of freedom. It is because we have ourselves prepared our own danger that we turn on you in whom the danger lies. It is because we now see that we have deprived ourselves in you of a power of words which should have been ours, and have armed our enemies in you with weapons of words which are already turned against us, that we have plagued you as we have.

What we are coming now to see is this: that the weapons of words are of two kinds in this fighting. A bomb is a bomb no matter who drops it or on whom—the Nazis on the English or the English on the Nazis. It falls, it explodes, it kills, regardless of the sender and regardless of the target. But words in this war are not equal words. The words which the Nazis can use as weapons against us are not the words we can use as weapons against them. The enemies of freedom, whose cause is not an affirmation but a denial, can use as weapons only the words which will destroy hope, which will corrupt belief, which will poison the confidence of men in their own dignity. But the partisans of freedom, because they are partisans of freedom, because their cause is the reaffirmation of belief in common men, can use as weapons only those words which can create and re-create the self-respect of men, the confidence of men in their own worth and their own power, their belief in themselves and in the life they can build together.

The weapons of the Nazis, the weapons they use with the populations they have subdued by force of arms but must convince to conquer, the weapons they use with the populations of more distant countries whom they wish to paralyze with doubt and fear until their own time comes—their weapons are what we know: the words powerful in destruction, powerful in negation, powerful in doubt. They are the words which define democracy in such a way as to destroy all faith in democracy; the words which shake belief in liberty, in freedom, in free-will, in self-government; which debunk, discredit; words, in short, skilfully chosen to drive their listeners, disillusioned and disgusted with themselves and every man, into the iron arms of discipline and obedience and slavery, not out of love of discipline and slavery, but out of disillusion and contempt for other orders of the world.

And for the same reason the weapons of those who oppose fascism and who would bring against it the affirmative passion for freedom in a free man's world are

the candid and believing words which say that men have dignity, that men have value, that all men are created free and equal, that the earth, as Jefferson said also, belongs to the living generation. Their words are the words used not to deny but to assert, not to obscure but to clarify, not to destroy credit but to create credit, not to corrupt belief but to create belief. They are the words of the great hopes, the recurring dreams, the indestructible declarations.

It is this difference in the use of words as weapons which men of my generation have come to see and understand in the years since Spain, the years since Austria, since Bohemia and Poland and Norway and Holland and France. We have come to understand also the advantage in this battle of words which we have ourselves prepared for those who attack us. The advantage is this: that in the field of your opinion, the field in which this battle must be fought, the negative words, the questioning words, which serve our enemies for weapons are superior to the words of affirmation which serve us. The advantage is that the generation to which you belong has been prepared by education and experience to respond more readily to the use of language to question and to disabuse and to breed doubt than to the use of language to declare and to affirm. Your instinctive loyalties altogether apart, you have been taught by us and by your experience of a world for which we are responsible, that the great declarations of human hope and human faith and human idealism are far more likely to be false than true and that the part of wisdom is to question first and afterward still to question.

It is the fact of this advantage which stands at the heart of the long controversy over your beliefs. The question is not now and never was a question of your courage, physical or moral. Neither is the question a question of the seriousness with which you have faced the issue of your time. You have faced it far more seriously than my generation faced the issue of 1917. The real question is that posed by your predisposition to give validity and weight to the words of doubt and of discredit rather than to the words of affirmation and belief. It is because the men and women of your generation have been trained to suspect that all the affirmations of belief and faith are propaganda, not realizing that the unquestioned suspicion is itself a propaganda of formidable strength; it is because your disposition to reject the one and accept the other has encouraged you to accept the words in which the case for fascism can be presented and to reject the words in which alone the case for freedom can be made.

But if the actual issue is so defined, the resolution of this long debate should not be difficult. The central issue will remain until the outcome of the battle for men's minds has been determined, but the responsibilities can be assigned. It is we, certainly, as the generation charged

with the government of this country and the education of those younger than ourselves, who are responsible for the predispositions of your minds.

It is our fault and only ours if the most highly educated of our young men and women have developed over the past decade and a half a suspicion of words, an automatic distrust of declarations of belief, an equally automatic distrust of eloquence, of emotion, a fear of being moved, of being persuaded, which becomes in its extreme form a kind of gullibility in reverse—a simple-minded gullibility which assumes as a matter of course that all the gold is brick, that all the appearances are false, that all the virtues are hypocrisies, that there is an inside story to all stories, that there is a lowdown to everything, and that the only wisdom is to be wise not as the great were wise but as the wisecrack is "wise"—as the tough kids are "wise" at the drugstore corner.

The responsibility for all this is our responsibility, but there is another responsibility which is yours. We cannot ask you to believe, by an effort of will, in the possibility of an organization of the world for freedom through the instruments of freedom. But what we can ask you to do is to face the question of belief as fairly as the world we have made and the education we have given you will let you; to be no more afraid to confess belief than you are to admit doubt; to be as trustful of passion and emotion as of skepticism and emotional impotence

—even when emotional impotence describes itself as scientific doubt.

Maintain if you will the attitude of the objective searcher after truth in which you have been trained, but refuse to let that attitude betray you into credulous acceptance of all doubters. Put us both on trial for our truth and for our lives—we who have failed to create a true democracy in this country or in the world and these others who now offer you obedience and discipline instead; we who have created for you a society, an economic order, which neither you nor we can take much pride in and these others who would give you in its place a different order made by the police. Put us both on trial and choose between us, but remember, as you choose, the choice you make is for yourselves.

What we can demand of you, and what you can demand with even greater authority of yourselves, is that you put off the irresponsibility you have learned from us, the irresponsibility of those who wear suspicion as an armor and doubt as a disguise—those who evade their time by hiding in the cotton wool of doubt and skepticism and refusal. What you can demand with honor of yourselves is this: that you accept the issue history has forced upon you and that you come to your decision on that issue, not by default and not by refusal, but in the full responsible determination to decide your future for yourselves. More than that, no man can ask.

Le Deuxième Gestapo

BY CARLO A PRATO

THE Vichy government and the Axis powers are collaborating in many ways, but none is more shameful than their joint effort to round up and destroy the refugee anti-fascists now on French soil. Many thousand men and women who in the past several years fled from Nazi oppression and were subsequently hounded by the French police now face a combination of the Gestapo, the Italian Ova, the Franco police, and the French gendarmerie, all working in harmony, exchanging records and supplementing each other's activities, in order to wipe off the face of Europe the most outspoken enemies of the New Order. As a political refugee who arrived in America less than a month ago, I know from personal experience that this cooperation exists. Moreover, I have had access to a number of documents emanating from high officials of the Vichy government. Both my experience and the official record expose the nature and extent of the collaboration. This is a side of Vichy-Axis relations largely ignored by both the French people and the outside world, since it has

not been written into any of the published agreements.

At the beginning of the year pressure was exerted on Vichy by Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco to "reorganize" the French military-intelligence section, known as the Deuxième Bureau, and the local police forces. Reorganization is, of course, a euphemism for the process of installing fascists and their sympathizers in posts from which they can enforce Hitler's wishes. That the Deuxième Bureau had been well coordinated by Marshal Pétain even before then is established by the part it played in the dismissal of Pierre Laval on December 13, 1940. Evidence placed before M. Henri Peyrouton by the Deuxième Bureau is believed throughout France to have led to the government's expulsion of Laval. That was Vichy's last action with any semblance of independence. After Darlan and Pétain put France completely at the mercy of the Nazis, it was not difficult to take the last short steps toward full Nazi "reorganization" of the police and secret service.

On his first trip to Paris as Vice-Premier, Darlan was presented by the German authorities with a formal re-

quest for a new "agreement of collaboration." The purpose of the agreement was chiefly to enlist the cooperation of police authorities in obtaining the delivery or extradition of German refugees living in the unoccupied zone and in North Africa. Darlan assented, and the agreement was put into effect on January 27. Early in February the Germans gave Vichy several long lists of persons they wanted. Some of these were men and women whose whereabouts was known to the Gestapo; others were left to Vichy to locate within seven days.

Vichy's secret agents worked diligently at the complicated task set them by the Nazis, but they were not able to finish within the specified time. The Germans thereupon presented two new lists on March 10. The names were the same, but to them were added many of the Gestapo's own data and, more significant, the names of French inspectors who were to be held personally responsible for the apprehension of particular groups of refugees. If any were unsuccessful, there was a provision that they should be discharged and punished by Darlan.

Refugees whose addresses were known to the Gestapo were to be rounded up by March 14; those not yet located were to be turned over to the Nazis by the eighteenth. Darlan immediately divided the work among the deputies named by the Germans. One document in my possession reads in part:

The French commissioner Betz must be personally responsible for the following persons: Ettingaus, former German deputy, probably in the Marseilles-Nice region; Grunow, former member of the Schwarze Front and aide of Otto Strasser; Guibarty, Hungarian who worked with the German Social Democrats; Felzenstein, Austrian Socialist; Frl. Helen Loeffel; Alfred Kuntz; Joseph Braun, former German deputy; Deutsch, Austrian Socialist [who is known, by the way, not to be in France].

Another runs as follows:

The French commissioner Chanzy is in charge of Friedrich Muller, Karl Blumer, Johann Herner, Gustav Segesser, Heinrich Kessler, H. Joss, M. Struder, H. Weiss, M. Rosenfeld, Al. Kahn. Commissioner Wilhelm is responsible for Maslov, a Communist deputy; K. Hurlimann, M. Mogouilski, Klara Wolff, Dr. E. or F. Frey. Commissioner Crespit is responsible for Frl. R. Fischer, Dr. Katz, Walter Delang. Commissioner Baillaux is responsible for F. Gerry or Geery, Joseph Oser, Michael Katz, Frl. Fr. Gugelstein.

Reproduction of these lists can do no harm since they came originally from the French and German authorities. Whether or not all the persons they name were delivered to the Germans on time I do not know, for I left France too soon to find out.

These, naturally, are only a random and hasty sampling of the names listed in the hunt for 30,000 refugees. Hundreds of other lists have been handed out since I left

and undoubtedly will continue to be for months to come. Each case is not only an unimaginable personal tragedy for the hunted but evidence of the debasing compliance of the Vichy government. On February 24, for



Admiral Darlan

example, an Austrian Socialist named Hertzfeld, having been caught by the police, killed himself before they had a chance to deliver him to the Nazis. At the time he was in a concentration camp in occupied territory—at Moulins, in Barracks No. 4. Vichy was so frightened by what it imagined the Nazi

reaction would be that it not only officially disclaimed responsibility for the suicide but announced at once that it would turn over the corpse to the Nazis. The Nazis cremated the body and sent the ashes to the man's family in Austria, with word that he had died from unknown causes in France.

At about this time the Germans served General Huntziger with a request for collaboration that went far beyond the agreement signed by Darlan in January. It demanded that the French accept the assistance of the Nazis in reorganizing the Deuxième Bureau not only for dealing with refugees but for handling other matters. This makes it incumbent upon French police and intelligence officers to report to the Germans whatever they can learn of British movements in both the occupied and the unoccupied zone, and to report on American consular and diplomatic activities throughout France. Darlan again consented, although General Huntziger, who was first approached, was hesitant. Pétain intervened, however, and over his name a statement went out ordering the Deuxième Bureau to "cooperate fully with German authorities in order to crush all British activity in France and North Africa." Pétain having approved, Huntziger added on his own account an order to watch Alsatians and Lorrainers who might fail to cooperate with the Germans or even instigate an opposition movement.

Vichy is cooperating with Mussolini and the Ovra as effectively, if not as extensively, as with Hitler and the Gestapo. At the beginning the Gestapo took care of those the Ovra wanted. Surprised by the sudden defeat of France, many well-known Italian anti-Fascists were unable to escape and were immediately seized and returned to Italy. A few of them, Communists who agreed to work with Doriot and other fascists, were released, but Italians are constantly being sent across the frontier.

Some of the better known among these are the former trade unionist, deputy, and secretary general of the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, Bruno Buozzi; the former leader of the extreme wing of the Partito Popolare, Guido Miglioli; and Signora Berneri, the wife of a well-known theoretical Anarchist who was shot in Barcelona at the time of the Anarchist uprising.

With the Ovra fully installed for operations in France and Darlan's Montpellier agreement with Serrano Suñer

signed and sealed—forcing back across the Pyrenees thousands of Spanish Republicans who had expected to go to Mexico—the problem of the refugees will become even more difficult. They have long known hardship and death, however, and the story of Pétain's and Darlan's cooperation with the police of the Axis shocks one not so much because it intensifies the predicament of the anti-fascists as because it reveals the thoroughgoing degradation of a once noble republic.

Lone Star Razzle Dazzle

BY ROLAND YOUNG

THE current election campaign in Texas to fill the late Morris Sheppard's seat in the United States Senate contains so many elements of the ridiculous that at times it is difficult to take it seriously. Yet in some aspects it is typical of our political life. The buffoonery of the occasion derives from the number of marginal political characters who have entered the race and the peculiar manner in which they appeal to the electorate. The name of any person who has filed in time and paid the dollar fee will appear on the ballot on June 28. There have been no party nominations, no primaries, and no run-offs in this special election; the candidate who gets the most votes wins.

Of the twenty-nine aspirants one is a Communist, two are Republicans, and twenty-six are Democrats paying various sorts of lip-service to President Roosevelt. Their assorted biographies and platforms make entertaining reading, the platforms in general expressing the candidate's own views rather than those of a specific minority group. One man wants to make the Trinity River navigable; another wants a five-ocean navy; a third wants us to enter the war at once; a fourth (now withdrawn) offered a free mattress to the largest poll-tax-paying family appearing at his rallies; a fifth campaigns with a hill-billy band; a sixth is a perennial candidate who assures the electorate daily that he will fight it out to the end; a seventh has carefully calculated that he will finish seventh; an eighth is for prohibition; and so it goes. The four most important are Governor W. Lee O'Daniel, Attorney General Gerald Mann, Representative Martin Dies, and Representative Lyndon Johnson.

In a contest of personalities O'Daniel might well prove the winner, and to save Texas from this self-made charlatan, Johnson, who is President Roosevelt's only 100 per cent supporter, needs to clarify the political issues—other than the defense program, which all the Big Four support. This he is doing very rapidly. In one sense, the Roosevelt leadership is the issue, with Johnson boldly up-

holding the President's program, just as he has supported it for four years as a member of Congress. The issue is also decent representation against demagoguery, for O'Daniel is one of the most ambitious and persuasive politicians in the country. Johnson not only has the best chance to beat O'Daniel, but he is by far the best man in the race, and in the most recent public-opinion poll in Texas he led the field. O'Daniel, however, is still the psychological favorite, for his two razzle-dazzle campaigns for governor stunned the state into believing him an unbeatable miracle man. "Pappy's going to win," many say, "but I'm not for him." "Pappy" received his title from his incredible campaign slogan in 1938, "Pass the biscuits, Pappy."

Until the summer of 1938 O'Daniel was a successful Fort Worth flour salesman who used the radio and a hill-billy band to popularize himself and his wares. That summer he decided somewhat tardily to run for governor, and so spectacular was his campaign, so large the following he had built up by his years of crooning, that he received a majority over all other candidates in the first primary. And this in spite of the fact that he was ineligible to vote because of non-payment of his poll tax; that his political affiliations were far from clear; and that his political beliefs—except on the question of old-age pensions—were unstated. It is not this record, however, which makes O'Daniel a man to keep out of the Senate. It is rather the fact that his political beliefs have turned out to be reactionary, that he mixes politics and religion in a nauseating manner, that he belittles democratic institutions, and that he can seduce the underprivileged into voting for him. O'Daniel's backing comes largely from two groups of citizens: first, a few wealthy Texans, such as Jim West, the publisher of the *Austin Tribune*; Hal Collins, the Crazy Water Crystals promoter; and E. B. Germany, the leader of the Garner-for President movement; and, second, a great number of poor people to whom O'Daniel has promised pension

and who believe he is protecting them from crooked politicians.

O'Daniel has outdone any politician extant in personalizing his office by talking to the people every day over the radio. On week days the Governor speaks at noon, just as he formerly did when selling Light Crust and Hill Billy flour, and on Sundays at six in the morning. That he uses the religious appeal for partisan ends is a charge, I believe, that can be fairly made. Ostensibly, he speaks for no particular belief, and at the end of his little sermonette on Sunday mornings he admonishes all listeners to go to the church of their choice. His Sunday talks, however, show that Pappy has much more on his mind on a Sabbath morning than communion with God. He has even identified a landlord's eviction of a tenant with the laws of God. "The main thing that counts," he once said, "is the manner in which we each respect and obey the laws laid down by the Maker of this world and everything in it, including us. God's rules of occupancy of space in this world by man are so perfect that our landlords pattern after Him. If a tenant does not comply with the rules of the landlord, he soon gets put out."

Another device of O'Daniel's is his pretension that he alone represents the people and that all other democratically elected officers are ganging up on him. "It seems that they don't care which one of the other candidates gets elected," says Pappy, feeling mighty persecuted, "just so it isn't me. You, friends, will recall how that was the same situation when I ran for governor. They were for any candidate in the race except O'Daniel." He promises, moreover, to expose what is going on in Washington. "They do a lot of talking about wanting trained and experienced men to go to Washington," he says. "That's right. They want them trained and experienced, but how? Trained to work with their gang, because they might get a good, capable, honest common citizen up there who would not be one of the gang, and he might find out the truth about what is going on in this circle of petty politicians and get right up on the radio at Washington and tell the common citizens back home all about their tricks."

Fortunately, the chances are extremely good that for all his quackery—or, perhaps, because of it—O'Daniel will be licked. His scheduled opening address in Waco on June 2 went very sour. Shortly before he began to speak, it began to pour. Though the crowd had gathered in what looked like clear weather, it numbered only about 2,500 instead of the expected 25,000—the number that had attended the Governor's opening campaign addresses in Waco in 1938 and 1940. Pappy was so flustered by the smallness of the crowd and the rain that he canceled all speeches for the remainder of the week.

Martin Dies has the largest national reputation of the Big Four, but his campaign does not seem to be clicking, and the chances are that he will run third or fourth.

Dies, as would be expected, is conducting a super-patriotic campaign, wrapping the flag around him whenever he speaks. He recently addressed the mothers of Dallas on communism in the American Youth Congress. He has no state organization and apparently relies on his reputation as a spy-hunter, plus the activity of his committee in Washington, to put him across.

The thirty-four-year-old Gerald Mann, a famous forward passer for the Southern Methodist University Mustangs in the 1920's, now Attorney General of the state, is aggressive, ambitious, and well-liked, but it is difficult to associate him with any particular political belief. To get the Dies vote, he advocates more FBI investigations; to get the vote of the soldiers' families, he advocates \$40 a month for draftees; to get the O'Daniel vote, he carries a Bible, which he occasionally thumps for effect; and to get the Johnson vote, he says that he sent a wire of congratulations to Franklin Roosevelt after the Chicago Democratic convention. Because he follows rather than leads and remains apparently indifferent to the great changes overtaking the country, he makes little real appeal. For instance, when all America was tingling with the question of Willkie or Roosevelt, when the issue of defense was as plain as it is now, and when the New Deal was threatened, Mann remained disgracefully silent. However, despite his agility with the soft-pedal, he is vastly to be preferred to Dies or O'Daniel.

The fourth candidate, Lyndon B. Johnson, is recommended not only by the weaknesses of his opponents—the buffoonery of O'Daniel, the flag-waving of Dies, the indecision of Mann—but by many positive characteristics of his own. He is not as well known nationally as he should be, but he is one of the most promising of the young New Deal politicians. He is convinced and he has convinced his constituents that the New Deal reforms mean a better life. Although he does not have the reputation of baiting the power trust, he is one of the strongest backers of the rural-electrification program in Congress, and every farm in his district now has access to electricity. Johnson was elected to Congress from the Austin district in 1937 to succeed the late James P. Buchanan and reelected without opposition in 1938 and 1940. He demonstrated his political courage in his first campaign when he ran on a platform of all-out support for President Roosevelt—this in the year of the court-reorganization plan and the Great Hate. Before this Johnson had been NYA administrator in Texas and before that secretary to Congressman Kleberg. In Congress Johnson voted for the repeal of the embargo act and has of course supported all latter-day defense measures. He has disagreed with the Administration but once, I believe—when he voted to continue a low interest rate on farm loans.

The President is of course vitally interested in the Texas campaign. Alsop and Kintner have reported that he persuaded Johnson to run, though Johnson pleaded

ill health (infected tonsils) and lack of money. Without presuming to tell Texas for whom it should vote, the President has pretty clearly indicated the confidence he places in Johnson. Johnson announced his Senatorial aspirations from the White House steps and later that day was referred to by the President as his "old, old friend." Roosevelt wired Johnson after signing the farm-parity bill, because, as he said, he knew of Johnson's great interest in the measure. The close parallelism between Johnson's Fort Worth speech of May 23 calling for the declaration of an unlimited national emergency and the President's speech on May 27 might be more than a coincidence. Also, on June 5 the President wrote Johnson that he favored a federal old-age pension plan, and reminded him—and the Texas voters—that the two had talked the matter over before, that their ideas were substantially incorporated in the Democratic platform, and that Franklin D. wanted Lyndon B. to drop in after election to talk the matter over. If Johnson is elected despite all the demagoguery and folderol of the campaign, America can breathe more freely.

Crete

BY BEN RAY REDMAN

The centuries collapse.

Backed by the timeless sun
Dive-bombers scream above Cnossus:
Ida's shadow falls upon squat tanks
Where came the Achaean and the Dorian
To tread the hundred cities into shards.

Lift up your eyes, Pythian Apollo,
You of Gortyna:
See how they bloom and blossom in the sky,
Swift-dropping flowers,
Men breaking from the stems,
Living for death,
Born and air-borne to kill and die
Where Minos sired by Zeus
Set firm his throne upon the fluent sea:
Where from the maze, with wax and feathers,
Son and father soared.

Now deep with Icarus the cruisers lie.

Deep, deep.

Deep temples have been raised to light,
And palaces: but there are deeper still:
Yet not so deep but that this latest dust
Will sift and sink and find them
And commingle.

In the Wind

THE SPLIT IN THE C. I. O. that has been awaited ever since the Nazi-Soviet pact is close at hand. Not only have several top labor leaders expressed their dissatisfaction with their pro-Communist colleagues, in many cases for the first time, but the Communists themselves are now publicly attacking Philip Murray, last fall's compromise candidate for C. I. O. president. Attempts may be made to forestall the eruption, such as Richard Frankenstein's statement in support of Harry Bridges, but most observers believe that the main initiative from now on will come from the Stalinists. It is also believed that when the showdown comes, some leaders identified with the party line will elect to stay with their unions rather than their political associates.

AT A DINNER in Washington recently Representative John E. Rankin of Mississippi, with whom Representative Michael Edelstein took issue just before the New York Congressman's death, spoke of a legislative battle he has been waging. "I had a grand ideal," he said, "and I pursued it to its ultimatum."

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE: A War Department release has gone out to government employees recommending a new semi-official toast and salutation. It is "Keep 'em flying," and the suggestion is that it be used in place of "Prosit," "Down the hatch," and "Here's mud in your eye."

KEN CROSSEN, a well-known pulp writer, was scheduled to speak at the League of American Writers Congress held last week in New York. His subject was to be New Heroes in the Pulp Field. Crossen never showed up. A reasonable assumption is that his absence was connected with the hero through whom Crossen makes his living—the Green Lama, who fights and foils Communists to the delight of the readers of *Double Detective Magazine*.

A MOVIE SHORT called "God Bless America," which gives the text and illustrates it, flashes a picture of Wall Street along with the words "my home, sweet home."

THE STATE DEPARTMENT is said to be considering a well-known liberal publicist as a possible successor to Lawrence Steinhardt as ambassador to the Soviet Union.

THE CANADIAN COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION has protested against the action of libraries in Toronto and Ottawa in removing from their shelves and destroying books by and about ex-Colonel Lindbergh. It has also taken issue with the plan to hold a public burning of Lindbergh's books in connection with the launching of the Victory Loan campaign.

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

The Smearing of U. S. 1

THE gasless Sundays have not begun yet, and here it is summer and the time of the wheels on the roads. Some suggest that, until Mr. Ickes as oil dictator says otherwise, there will be more riding than ever on the three million miles of American roads. They are not talking simply about the owners of new cars bought with the wages of new defense jobs. Those Americans, they say, who once crowded the ships which sailed to the Ritz bar in Paris and the cathedrals in Italy will now perforce look at America. I am glad to learn that indignation persists about some aspects of the scene.

U. S. 1 is not the only road, and Struthers Burt, the author who was born on one part of it and winters on another, is not the only man concerned about it, but I am glad this summer that he is mad about the sleazy shacks of the roadside salesmen and the signboards of the big corporations which are planted almost in a procession along this No. 1 American road. Not only was it the first road across the colonies; it still runs in primary importance from the Canadian border to Key West. The founding fathers forded the creeks it crossed, and the people they made the republic for go like hell on it beside signs big enough to be read at sixty miles an hour.

Kenneth Roberts, who, as novelist, does not think so much of the Founding Fathers, lives close to it, too. I have no direct information about him, but I hope he too is still angry 900 miles up the same road from Mr. Burt's place in the South. Three years ago he spoke of the unsightly nests of tourist camps in his state, which, he said, huddled in the fields as though some debauched summer hotel, on the loose, had paused on a dark night and given birth to the result of a misalliance with a sentry box.

Mr. Burt is still blasting about his part of the road: "The state is making a fool of itself where its highways are concerned. Tourists are talking about it. Furthermore, in the present mood of the public, nonsensical desecration of assets such as our highways is becoming increasingly hard to bear."

I hope there is something in Mr. Burt's faith in this present mood. Coupled with the present riding, it might do something about improving the appearance of America. I am not sure I entirely agree with Mr. Burt or with some others who have ideas about our highways. As a traveler I am not fond of roads which, in effect, hide the

country by a formal beautification of it. I like to go by America—the factory as well as the farm, even the slum as well as the suburb. But I am with him "all out" in protest against the very specialized smearing which makes our highways look like nothing but our sign-lined highways, cheap, confusing, almost contemptuous of the enjoyment of the very travelers they pretend to serve.

The crimes against U. S. 1 can also be found in California and Texas, but the cheap corruption of this route runs from Fort Kent into Florida. Mr. Roberts once made a sort of grisly poem of the signs in Maine. Recently Elizabeth and Walter Lawton reported to the magazine *Nature* that on one sixteen-mile stretch of the highway in Connecticut just east of the New York line there were 1,800 signs, 112 to the mile, more than one a second if you travel fifty miles an hour. They called the approach to the national capital on the Baltimore-Washington Boulevard stretch of U. S. 1 "the motorist's nightmare," with 618 business places and nearly 2,500 signs along less than thirty miles of road. One of the dirtiest and most damaged landscapes in America takes the millions who presumably seek beauty with pleasure to Maine and Florida and all the resort places between.

I wish I had Mr. Burt's confidence in this present American mood. Unfortunately, the highways have nowhere been worse smeared than by the honky-tonk villages at the gates of new army camps. More and more billboards are going up for the soldiers and for the travelers with defense wages in their pocket-books. Increasingly the neon signs shut out the stars at night. I am not sure America does not like the mess. Night and day, stopping along the roads, I find many more persons listening to nickelodeons than to nature. I wonder if more people do not look with pleasure at the wisecrack poems on the Burma-Shave signs than at any delectable mountains, or at any glimpses the signboards permit of the sea. I hope I'm wrong. But I know that not even the sensitive South resents the patent-medicine signs advertising the prevalence of chills and fever. Maine, which bases its hopes on its function as a vacation land, allows the gate to its shores to be as hideous a passageway as America possesses. The road runs close to Kenneth Roberts's house and provides the best possible evidence to support his thesis that mobsters made this land. Certainly their descendants have lynched the roadsides, and Mr. Burt's voice sounds very still and small beside their high-speed roar in the ruins. His is still a whisper that we need.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

CONSTANCE ROURKE: ARTIST AND CITIZEN

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

ALMOST three months have passed since the death of Constance Rourke, a death so sudden, so unreasonable, so irrelevant, that it is difficult even now to write as if it had actually occurred. "The news of my death, my dear"—I can hear her saying it in her firm buoyant voice—"has been greatly exaggerated." Her set toward living was so strong, she was attached to life at so many points, that one refuses to believe this break is not as reparable as a short circuit that throws a high tension system temporarily out of function.

"We all feel," wrote a friend in Grand Rapids the day after her funeral, "that she has been here with us all the time, and we find ourselves saying, 'How Constance would enjoy'—whatever it was—about her own funeral." She would certainly have shared her friends' amusement over the solemnities and ironies of funerals, including her own. Even more deeply, I think, she would have shared the resentment and anger that flared up in myself and in many others that her work had been so suddenly interrupted.

Some years ago Van Wyck Brooks, writing to Miss Rourke about an article she had published in *The Nation*, told her that he looked forward with great eagerness to the appearance of what was to have been her major work—a critical-historical "essay" as she called it, on the whole range of American culture, with particular emphasis on the arts. I am sure that workers in the field all over the country shared that expectancy. So did laymen like myself who had intimations of its richness and scope. For that "essay," of several volumes, was to have set forth the fruits of discovery and conclusion gathered in the course of thirty years of search and research. There is no question that it would have been a major contribution to scholarship—two years ago her bibliography contained 10,000 entries; there is no question either that it would have been an important work of American literature. The "little blue slips" which made up the log of an extraordinary voyage of research that ranged from Maine to California through the Middle West and the deep South can be salvaged; the work of literature is lost—and it is a major loss.

Constance Rourke's approach to her materials combined the care of a disciplined worker, the wariness and taste of a connoisseur, and the never-flagging excitement of a pioneer breaking new trails. A few summers ago, as chauffeur on a three weeks' trip through New Eng-

land, I had the opportunity of observing her work in progress. It was primarily a vacation jaunt, but with Constance in charge, it became an exploration as well. She was searching, among other things, for wall paintings executed in the early nineteenth century by itinerant artists. We picked up one trail in the library at Newburyport that led us down a country road to a fine old house. And presently we were sitting in a parlor crowded with beautiful mahogany and shouting into the ear trumpet of a fine old lady in black bombazine who was pouring out her past in the subdued toneless voice of the very deaf. The painting that covered the walls of the stair well was perfectly preserved—because, as she explained without inflection, there had been no children in the house during her lifetime. It was also exquisite: a river, more white than blue, flowing through a forest of stenciled trees (the itinerant painter had to take short cuts), highlighted by two leaping "stylized" deer, elongated and painted—scarlet.

A German design marched in stiff repetition around the walls of the parlor in Old Lyme; in this case the painter may have been a Hessian soldier. In some of the houses we visited—in all of them Constance achieved within five minutes the status of an invited guest—children and time had left only bare outlines. We visited the remnants of the Shaker colonies, whose founders had a talent for high views, and all the museums that lay in our path. I remember the skill and charm with which she won the confidence of a reserved Shakeress; and the keen, appraising, not-to-be-fooled look in her eyes as she went swiftly through collections whose contents she already knew.

As she often insisted, she was not an antiquarian but a critic whose purpose was to relate and correlate, not to collect. For that reason reading her books, particularly "American Humor," which prefigured the "big book," is like walking through new woods and flushing at every step not a scholarly or antiquarian "bustard urging its slow, heavy, laborious, earth-skimming flight over dreary and level wastes," but a "covey of poetic partridges with whirring wings"—if I may appropriate Coleridge's vivid sentences. Many of her ideas were bold and controversial—which makes for liveliness in writing. She invited rather than avoided argument—which makes for care in documentation and adds confidence to delight.

"American Humor" was subtitled "A Study of the National Character." When the big book was only be-

ginning to take shape in her mind, she described it as a study of the forms of the American imagination. This description gives the key to her central interest. Much of her long day's work was done in the obscure reaches of library stacks, but it was animated and directed by her passionate and by all odds primary concern—the problem of the creative artist, which she understood because she was herself one of that company. She held the view that the creative worker in any field, if he is to achieve the confidence and strength of maturity, must be aware not only of himself but of the social, historical, and cultural background out of which he has come. She conceived her task as critic to be that of making our natural inheritance of tradition, myth, and craftsmanship, both native and European, as accessible and as nourishing to the creative worker in America as, say, the French and European background has been to the creative worker in France. The last paragraph of "American Humor" might stand as a statement of her aims, and I quote it in full for that reason.

For a creative writer the major problem seems to be to know the patternings of the grain; and these can hardly be discovered in rich color without understanding of the many sequences of the American tradition on the popular side as well as on purely literary levels. The writer must know, as Eliot said, "the mind of his own country—a mind which he learns in time to be much more important than his own private mind." A favored explanation for the slow and spare development of the arts in America has lain in stress upon the forces of materialism. But these have existed in every civilization; they have even at times seemed to assist the process of art. The American failure to value the productions of the artist has likewise been cited; but the artist often seems to need less of critical persuasion and sympathy than the unstudied association with his natural inheritance. Many artists have worked supremely well with little encouragement; few have worked without a rich traditional store from which consciously or unconsciously they have drawn. The difficult task of discovering and diffusing the materials of the American tradition—many of them still buried—belongs for the most part to criticism; the artist will steep himself in the gathered light. In the end he may use native sources as a point of radical departure; he may seldom be intent upon early materials; but he will discover a relationship with the many streams of native character and feeling. The single writer—the single production—will no longer stand solitary and aggressive but within a natural sequence.

In "American Humor" Miss Rourke, among other things, placed our major writers in relation to the many sequences of the American tradition on the neglected popular side as well as "on purely literary levels." The result is a fresh and enlarged view of the sources of our literature, a view which includes the frontier as well as New England and Europe. Tall tales and the "comic

poets" who, beginning with stories out of other and older mythologies, created legends distinctively American were of special interest to one concerned with the "forms of the American imagination." This interest led her into long tedious examinations of the popular literature of earlier generations, which were rewarded by such discoveries as the beautiful tale, buried in an old almanac, of how Davy Crockett went to Daybreak Hill and came back "with a piece of sunrise in his pocket." And this is only one small example of her large store of gathered light.

I never felt that Miss Rourke's work received the recognition it deserved; just as I was always sure that that recognition would come with the publication of the "essay" on American culture. But though she missed the public triumph that should have been hers, she had her private rewards. I know of no individual, and this is a considered statement, who drew from so wide a range of people such rich, free offerings of affection, loyalty, and respect. This may begin to sound merely like a tribute to a friend. It is certainly that, but my reason for putting it in print is not personal. Constance Rourke's relationship with the world she lived in had a social as well as a personal significance. For one thing that world was far larger than the bailiwicks most of us inhabit. Intellectuals in particular tend to cut themselves off from this and that and the other current of American life. The scholar sticks to his books, the artist to other artists; the critic, confronted with so much dross, becomes a walking rejection slip. Miss Rourke was all three of these, yet she continued to see, and experience, American life whole. The fact that she lived and worked in Grand Rapids, Michigan, is in a way symbolic in a period when, as Van Wyck Brooks recently said, most writers "hated the town they were born in." She not only "resided" in Grand Rapids; she took part in its life as a community. I should like to quote again from the letter of the friend in Grand Rapids.

During these last days all sorts of men and women have called, and came to the funeral. There were librarians and teachers, poor people she had helped in little unknown ways, a farm woman who sold her bread at the city market, a maid who never worked for her but in whom she was interested; when the question came up of selecting bearers for the funeral we decided that we would just make a list of men who would want to be included without regard to number. We had fourteen. . . . There was the mayor, who had worked with her on the Committee to Defend America, there was the sales manager of one of our biggest firms, a lawyer and a doctor and an automobile salesman [she had no automobile]. Then there was a young liberal, the head of our Transient Bureau, a young struggling artist, and a professor at the theological seminary. No one of them knew all the others, and the list represented a cross-section of our community.

"There is no question," said a Grand Rapids business man to me, "that Constance Rourke was our most distinguished citizen."

Such statements hardly fit with the general assumption that the serious writer who lives west of the Hudson must necessarily be isolated and lonely. It was one of the assumptions that Miss Rourke often assailed, and her own experience suggests that the writer himself bears some of the responsibility for his status as outcast. She was as sensitive as anyone could be to cultural poverty; her awareness of it was the mainspring of her work. She was a liberal and a democrat in the most concrete sense of those much-abused words. Yet she contrived the good life in the place where Grand Rapids furniture and Senator Vandenberg come from. She was at the center of the cultural ferment that works in every community, the friend and adviser of the struggling painter, the beginning sculptor, the young man who wants to be a writer. She set the pace as well for that group of intelligent laymen which is likewise always to be found in the smaller American cities. She accepted "her town" and became a force in it. And one of her rewards was a sense of belonging to a community, which, as the Shakeress told us that afternoon in Maine, helped to explain why so many excellent craftsmen flourished in the Shaker colonies.

Her success with people of every age and calling was based primarily on an incorrigible interest in human beings. She loved the give and take of conversation and thoroughly enjoyed an argument. This interest was no doubt widened and reinforced by the nature of her work. The politician and the business man, as well as the artist, were manifestations of the complex American background she had set out to explore and put in critical order. She understood them often far better than they understood themselves, and her quick verbal sketches of character were extraordinary. She was a person of strong feelings, vigorous opinions, and strict standards; yet she never avoided the responsibility of living and coping with the infinite variety of human beings, never resorted to the self-defeating expedient of burying them in categories. She would have made an excellent diplomat; she was a born teacher; and she sometimes said humorously, but seriously too, that the American tendency toward evangelism and reform was in her blood. She incited loyalty, and her enthusiasm for work and life was infectious.

She influenced many people. But her sense of humor and a genuine humility precluded any touch of self-importance; and her influence was that of a friend whose faith is both a reassurance and a challenge that must be met. She was a source of strength; with her quick responses and her sense of the ridiculous she was also the gay companion. One looked forward to her visits for both reasons. It is hard to admit that they have ended.

When Huey Long Was Kingfish

LOUISIANA HAYRIDE. By Harnett T. Kane. William Morrow and Company. \$3.

NO ONE, not even the Kingfish himself, could quite explain Huey Long. He said, "Just say I'm *sui generis* and let it go at that." Mr. Kane has not added much to what was already known of Huey Long, but he has done a wholly creditable job of telling the story of the regime from start to finish. The men who ruled Louisiana after Huey Long was dead were easy to understand. They were, with a few minor exceptions, either vulgarians or thieves, and usually both. They put gold fixtures in their bathrooms and they stole everything in sight. It is an exciting story, and Mr. Kane portrays this amazing gallery of rogues with much skill.

Mr. Kane first of all makes clear why it was that Huey Long found the Louisiana soil so fertile for his dictatorship. The people had been so constantly abused and so often betrayed that they had precious little faith in what went by the name of democracy in Louisiana. Huey Long called it Tweedledum-Tweedledee government. He said, "One of 'em skinned you from the ankles up, the other from the neck down. But you got skinned just the same." The moral is obvious but will bear repeating in these days—if democracy is to be saved it must be made strong and healthy, a living thing, useful to the people, worthy of faith and of love.

Next Mr. Kane's book makes it clear that Huey Long was not a fascist, if by fascism one means some conscious theory of government such as rule by an élite or a totalitarian state. Huey Long knew little of economics and less of ideologies. His share-the-wealth plan was an unworkable hodge-podge of poor-white dreams and hopeless economics. The Long regime from beginning to end was motivated by nothing else than the hunger for power and the hunger for boodle. Huey Long was the "pure dictator," without any ideological frills. Early in his political career he perfected a formula for obtaining power. The poor whites could give him power, because they had the votes and trusted him as one of them. In return he must give them something, possibly not much, but more than they had had before. Huey Long kept enough of his promises to convince the poor whites that he meant what he said. The poor whites got free schoolbooks, good roads, and the work of building them; the politicians got the boodle; Huey Long got the power. The poor whites trusted him as long as he lived, and when he was dead they made a martyr of him. They trusted him even while he was betraying them by making secret deals with the "interests." Of course they didn't know about the deals, or at least not all about them. Nor did they fully realize that for every dollar of benefits they were getting, the dictatorship was stealing two dollars. But it is doubtful whether they would have rebelled even had they known the full truth. "At least we got something," a North Louisiana farmer said. "Before him, we got nothing. That's the difference."

The people excused themselves by saying that even if the men around Huey Long were crooked, Huey himself was a man of honesty and integrity. But Mr. Kane thinks that a part of the loot went into Huey Long's pockets. As for his

political integrity, he had none even at the beginning. There was never a time in his whole public career when he was not actively betraying the people who had voted for him.

By 1935 Huey Long had made himself the master of Louisiana and was reaching out for the United States. He had sent himself to the United States Senate, leaving behind a puppet governor. The Roosevelt Administration fully expected him to defeat Senators Robinson of Arkansas and Harrison of Mississippi in the 1936 primaries. Moreover, Jim Farley found that if Huey Long should run for President in 1936, he would get as many as 4,000,000 votes, possibly enough to hold the balance of power. The Roosevelt Administration was thoroughly scared, and Huey Long was having the time of his life. He was confident he would be President, but thought 1940 would be his year. At this point the assassin's bullet put an end to his career. Huey Long prayed, "Oh, Lord, don't let me die. My work for America is not finished."

The national threat disappeared almost from the day that Huey Long died. Gerald L. K. Smith tried but failed to keep the movement going on a national scale. The other heirs were willing to confine themselves to Louisiana. They might still be reigning there in unquestioned power if their greed had not led them on to ruin. Whereas Huey Long had wanted power more than money, his successors wanted money more than power. The Kingfish had once mused, "If them fellows ever try to use the powers I've given 'em, without me to hold 'em down, they'll all land in the penitentiary." That was exactly where most of them landed.

But one who believes in democracy will not find much comfort in reading Mr. Kane's account of their decline and fall. What finally broke the dictatorship was not the people of Louisiana but the intervention of the federal government. After having played a most ambiguous role in the "Second Louisiana Purchase," the Roosevelt Administration partly redeemed itself by sending in O. John Rogge in 1939. The parade then began to the penitentiary. Yet with most of the leaders in jail, and none but the incompetent Earl Long left to head the regime, it lost the election of February 20, 1940, by only 19,000 votes. Suppose that Huey Long had not died. Suppose that the federal government had not intervened. Suppose that the dictatorship had had one leader who was both able and honest enough to be put up as a "front." Suppose such another dictatorship, with no better purpose but with more shrewdness, should arise elsewhere in America. What then, fellow-Americans, what then?

CHARLES CURTIS MUNZ

"Lest We Forget"

THE DIARY OF GINO SPERANZA: ITALY, 1915-1919.

Edited by Florence Colgate Speranza. Columbia University Press. Two Volumes. \$6.

GINO SPERANZA was born in 1872 in Connecticut, the son of a university teacher of Italian origin. He was an American through and through, but in his soul a bridge of affection constantly remained open between the land of his birth and that of his ancestors. In August, 1915, after Italy had entered the World War, he went there as

correspondent and stayed until April, 1919. The American ambassador to Rome realized his usefulness as an expert in Italian affairs and attached him to the embassy.

During those years Speranza kept a diary of his whereabouts, talks, observations, and thoughts. The diary has now been published by his companion in Italy, his wife. Her love and intelligence have given us a model of skilful editing.

Speranza took up residence in Florence, then in Rome, and, while convalescing from a serious illness, in Sorrento. But he often motored from Venice to Naples, from Pisa to Ravenna. A man of exquisite taste, he enjoyed lovely landscapes and works of art. He loved Venice as his sweetheart. His pages on Venice in the blackout, as Arthur Livingston remarks in his excellent introduction, deserve a place in a Venetian anthology side by side with Goethe's and Ruskin's descriptions.

But Speranza was not a tourist living in the past and indifferent to the present. He often visited the fighting front, met people of all estates, observed economic conditions, intellectual currents, and religious and moral habits with lively intelligence, keen curiosity, and a generous heart. The picture changes from page to page. The whole Italian nation parades before our eyes: army chiefs and privates, ladies of the nobility and peasants, anti-clerical intellectuals and Catholic parish priests, young men who had come from Wyoming to fight and politicians homesick for the good old times of the German alliance. With sustained interest one follows the writer in his manifold inquiries and experiences, from the storm, cold, and death of Mt. Adamello, at an altitude of 12,000 feet in the Alps, to the smiling seashore of the Gulf of Naples. One shares Speranza's sympathy and respect for the wisdom, gentleness, and stoical endurance of the Italian humble folk.

When he arrived in Italy, Speranza had no doubts about the soundness of Foreign Minister Sonnino's policies. But his duty as an honest observer was to become acquainted with all pros and cons in Italian happenings. Thus little by little doubts began to creep into his mind. He wrote on January 18, 1916: "Is Sonnino's finely spun diplomacy too finely spun? Is it a house of cards?" Doubts went on increasing and developed into actual condemnation. The mean measures by which President Wilson in Rome was kept aloof from all but official circles aroused Speranza's contempt: "I am through with them! The trouble is that government everywhere today is class government, and it is so entrenched, if not behind physical force, then behind sentiments, respects, habits of mind, and human vanities that you can't hope to change it constitutionally." One of the firebrands who worked in the service of the official policies attacked him as a "paid agent of Yugoslav imperialism." He had committed the crime of meeting people who did not approve of those policies. "I have since learned that the Nationalists have it in for me because I am a friend of Z——, but to think that I have never talked with him of the Adriatic question!" Beside the common sense and gentleness of the humble Italian folk, there were also at work in Italy the brutality, boastfulness, and stupidity of nationalism, which was the father of Fascism.

Mrs. Speranza has prefaced her husband's two volumes by no more than three words: "Lest we forget." The poor

showing that Mussolini's armed forces have made during the present war leads too many people to forget what the Italian nation suffered during the other war, and to make light of the fact that there exists beyond Mussolini and will always exist after Mussolini the Italian people. "Lest we forget."

GAETANO SALVEMINI

Poetry Continues

NEW POEMS: 1940. AN ANTHOLOGY OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN VERSE. Edited by Oscar Williams. The Yardstick Press. \$2.50.

THE poetry here is on a surprisingly high level. There are at least three or four very good poems* and perhaps one great one. The credit belongs of course to the poets, but the responsibility for the presence of so much good verse in an anthology that confines itself roughly to a single year is particularly Mr. Williams's. I like his taste, I like his prejudices—even though I may suspect occasionally the intrusion of the politics of the professional poet and the man about poetry. Although he takes in much that stems from other areas of poetic opinion, Mr. Williams's bias runs more or less to the school of Auden and his affiliates. Auden leaves his impress everywhere: most of the poets here borrow or emulate his chic and timeliness; a good many work within his technique. Mr. Williams says that "the poetry . . . bears witness to a new vitality, a kinship with reality, a concern with an answer in a world reeling with questions." True

enough. Behind most of the poems the reader senses or should sense the presence of a moment in history great with threats. The poems depend for their emotion upon this sensed presence. Since there is so little left in the world that one can take seriously and sincerely enough to write poetry about, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Williams that this is a good thing, but not altogether for the reasons, or lack of reasons, he gives in an introduction shouted in the best avant-garde style and packed with the usual enthymemes with which poets since Shelley have been in the habit of justifying their trade.

Thirty-six poets are represented in this collection, eight of them British, the rest American. But the space given to the British representatives is far out of proportion to their actual number. George Barker gets more space than any other single poet—in addition to a foreword by him filled with metaphorical definitions, all of which have been heard before. But he earns it. He has as much energy as Dylan Thomas, by whom he is somewhat influenced; and if he has less intensity and incandescence, he is open to more experience and can talk about more things. Under Lorca's influence, Barker writes in the simple declarative sentence; his lines pound downhill in trochees and spondees, belaboring our ears with internal rhymes, assonances, and alliteration, jolting our minds with the abrupt stops and turns of his figures of speech. There are a few too many modish tags and epithets, too much of the small change of the latest best poetry, too much talk here and there about Time, but all these things are carried off by the poet's surging energy and somehow made acceptable. Meanwhile, what a sound-box! In Barker as in Auden, English poetry becomes once more loud orotund, periodic, declamatory.

As verse it is becoming even more irregular. To judge from this anthology, free verse as we knew it has disappeared almost entirely, but while seemingly regular measures are being taken up again, they are being subjected to a steady, subtle, and more dangerous attrition. There is under way a loosening and disintegration of the traditional syllabic and accentual system of English verse by which it seems to be acquiring a kind of "quantitative" character, using the cadenced phrase rather than the brace of syllables as its unit of measure. Syllabic accent has become so subdued that the poet is governed in the placing of his stresses only by sense-rhythm and our habits of breathing. The voice has a tendency to linger upon rather than bear down upon the emphatic syllable—as in prose. And rhymes are imperfect and do not coincide with important words. What is happening is that the cadences as well as some of the very tones of prose are being assimilated to poetry; not that the latter is becoming more prosaic in the sense—mainly descriptive—that free verse became prosaic, but that it is trying to expand its register. It wants once more to generalize, state, argue, and exhort, as well as to sing and describe. If anything, it is becoming more high-flown, and if it admits more ideas than formerly, it deals with them rather hysterically.

A hysterical note sounds through a good deal of the verse in Mr. Williams's anthology. It is justified by the state of our times. Sometimes, however, it is factitious, as in Muriel Rukeyser's poetry; sometimes it gets out of control, as in Mr. Williams's own verse.

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But let me signal to the prospective reader's attention such excellent poems in this book as Elizabeth Bishop's *Roosters*, W. R. Rodgers's *Summer Holidays*, Barker's *Second American Ode*, Dylan Thomas's sonnets, John Crowe Ransom's *Address to the Scholars of New England*, and most of all Stephen Spender's *The Double Shame*.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

Out of the Night

THE DARKEST HOUR. By Leo Lania. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.75.

LEO LANIA is an Austrian journalist who earned the hatred of Hitler as long ago as 1923, when he wormed his way into Nazi ranks under the pretense of being an Italian Fascist and subsequently wrote an exposé of the Munich beer-hall putsch. Lania was rewarded for this act in 1933, when the Nazis came to power, by having a price put on his head. He fled to Paris, where in spite of his long anti-fascist history he was placed in a concentration camp at the beginning of the present war. His situation was no different from that of thousands of other refugees who were judged by their nationality rather than their sentiments. While officials of the purest French blood were allowed to connive without hindrance in the highest government offices, anti-fascists like Lania were locked up.

After the country was overrun by the Germans, many of the refugees went straight from the hands of their French captors into the even less merciful ones of the Gestapo. Lania was one of those who escaped, and the story of that escape, a fine adventure story told with literary distinction, forms the substance of this book.

The incredible personal hardships suffered by Lania make all the more remarkable the balanced tone in which his book is written. He does not step before the reader to point the moral of his story but lets each incident speak for itself. Most of the incidents of this narrative are vivid enough to need no underlining. The reader is not likely to forget the figure of the terrified Negro whom Lania encounters while he is still in Nazi-occupied territory. He has become separated from his regiment and is trying to escape falling into the hands of the Germans.

A towering figure stepped toward us. A Negro. His face shone like polished ebony, and his eyes rolled like two white marbles. The rain ran down his cheeks.

"Have they passed?" he asked. He was trembling all over, and his teeth were chattering.

"Where do you want to go?" I asked him.

"I don't know. If they catch me—. They don't take us prisoners. They shoot us."

When asked about his companions, he continued in broken French, "Soldiers all prisoner. Negroes not took prisoner . . . they kill Negroes. Why? Aren't we soldiers too?" Such scenes are more likely to bring home the meaning of Nazi racial theories than any abstractions of partisan politics.

Edgar Ansel Mowrer has supplied a short but penetrating introduction to the book. Mr. Lania's translator, Ralph Marlowe, also deserves to be credited.

MILTON HINDUS

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

EUROPE UNDER HITLER IN PROSPECT AND IN PRACTICE.

By A. J. B. Oxford. 25 cents.

NORTHWEST GATEWAY. By Archie Binns. Doubleday, Doran. \$3.

THIS REALM, THIS ENGLAND. Edited by Samuel Chamberlain. Hastings House. \$3.75.

FUNDAMENTALS OF PLAY DIRECTING. By Alexander Dean. Farrar and Rinehart. \$4.

THE BERTRAND RUSSELL CASE. Edited by John Dewey and Horace M. Kallen. Viking. \$2.50.

AT THE SIGN OF THE REINE PEDAUQUE and *THE REVOLT OF THE ANGELS*. By Anatole France. Everyman's Library. Dutton. 90 cents.

THE DIARY OF A NOBODY. By George Grossmith and Weedon Grossmith. Everyman's Library. Dutton. 90 cents.

CHILE. LAND OF PROGRESS. By Earl P. Hanson. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$1.75.

DEMOCRACY OR ANARCHY? A STUDY OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. By F. A. Hermens. University of Notre Dame. \$4.

A LETTER TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By Lawrence Hunt. Putnam's. \$1.50.

PROBLEMS OF MODERN EUROPE: THE FACTS AT A GLANCE. By J. Hampden Jackson and Kerry Lee. Macmillan. \$1.75.

A SMALL-TOWN BOY. By Rufus M. Jones. Macmillan. \$2.

AMERICAN SCENES. Edited by William Kozlenko. John Day. \$2.50.

NAZI EUROPE AND WORLD TRADE. By Cleona Lewis. Brookings Institution. \$2.

PEACE AIMS AND THE NEW ORDER. Outlining the Case for European Federation Together with a Draft Constitution of a United States of Europe. By R. W. G. Mackay. Dodd, Mead. \$2.50.

CATHERINE OF ARAGON. By Garrett Mattingly. Little, Brown. \$3.50.

YOU CAN'T DO BUSINESS WITH HITLER. By Douglas Miller. Little, Brown. \$1.50.

THIS WAR WE WAGE. By The Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison, M. P., Howard Spring, E. M. Delafield. Emerson Books. \$1.

BEVIN AND CO. THE LEADERS OF BRITISH LABOUR. By Patricia Strauss. Putnam's. \$2.50.

THE RELUCTANT REPUBLIC. VERMONT: 1724-1791. By Frederic F. Van de Water. John Day. \$3.

THE POCKET READER. Edited by Philip Van Doren Stern. Pocket Books. 25 cents.

THE PARENTS' MANUAL. By Anna W. M. Wolf. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

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FILMS

Hollywood, June 11

THE Motion Picture Theater Owners of America are in town: at least some of them are. This year was to be the most important, most eventful exhibitors' convention ever held, with the M. P. T. O. A. and the Pacific Coast independent group meeting at the source of production and scheduled to discuss a number of vital and controversial subjects with the producers. Box-office receipts all over the country have recently been showing a steady and disconcerting decline, all the more disturbing because it coincides with heavy national-defense spending calculated to have quite the contrary effect on box-office takings; the exhibitors' convention was supposed to discuss, among other matters, how to offset this slump. The operation of the consent decree with respect to picture booking, the double feature, cash clubs, and bank nights were other problems which were expected to attract the enthusiastic attention of the delegates.

However, instead of the 1,500 exhibitors expected, about 350 turned up, many of them Pacific Coast theater owners. Of these, apparently a large proportion found the attractions of Hollywood too much, for at many of the meetings and addresses only a handful appeared, while the others were suspected of attending the races at Hollywood Park or visiting the night spots. The industry feels insulted by this rather cavalier treatment, for not only does it consider the financial situation of the motion-picture industry serious enough to demand the theater owners' earnest attention, but also it went to a lot of trouble to provide entertainment for the visitors, including such treats as tours through various studios and a barbecue

at the Columbia Studios Ranch, which apparently was not properly appreciated. A leading trade paper remarks that next time Hollywood is chosen for a convention Hollywood will not respond.

One thing that the convention is on the verge of accomplishing is the condemnation of the double feature. This is regarded by the top producers and by many exhibitors as the greatest evil in the picture industry, keeping far more people out of the theaters than it brings in and causing Hollywood to offer inferior products in order to keep pace with the demand for films. Some exhibitors, however, still regard the double bill as an attraction and have successfully opposed up to now the efforts of certain studios and other exhibitors to abolish it; at the present moment one of the chief supporters of the double feature is reported to be wavering, and if he can be won over, there is every hope that it will be abolished.

RECENT FILMS

Having sighted his precision rifle squarely on Herr Hitler strolling on his terrace at Berchtesgaden, Captain Alan Thorndyke renounces the pleasure of pulling the trigger as thoroughly un-British and unsporting, and from then on never enjoys a quiet moment during the entire course of "Man Hunt." This picture is an adaptation of Geoffrey Household's novel "Rogue Male," and the adaptation gains in thrills what it loses in plausibility. The director, Fritz Lang, seems able to give a few lessons in the technique of suspense even to Alfred Hitchcock, and has created out of a maze of improbabilities, inaccuracies, and poor performances a really exciting picture. Walter Pidgeon, who plays Captain Thorndyke, sportsman and brother of a lord, is thrown from a cliff, shot at in the subway, and trapped in a cave with a sangfroid so froid as to be confusable with woodenness, while Joan Bennett's interpretation of a Cockney girl belongs, if anywhere, in the high-school dramatics class: London is presented as a city of brownstone houses, Renault taxicabs, and costers in full regalia, and the English appear capable of no other emotions than a few slow resentments. How Fritz Lang managed to make of this material one of the most exciting adventure pictures since "Foreign Correspondent" is an inexplicable mystery, but indisputable proof of his ability as a director.

The screen version of the play "The Gentle People," now rather prosaically renamed "Out of the Fog," gives the

impression of being just about to deliver one of Warner Brothers' weighty social messages without ever quite succeeding in unburdening itself. Some essential element of the play must have gone with the title, for the banks of fog in which the characters wander seem to be symbolic of their state of mind rather than to serve any real dramatic purpose. John Garfield plays a petty gangster, a water-front bully, who terrorizes gentle old Thomas Mitchell and almost succeeds in enticing his daughter, Ida Lupino, away to Cuba. Virtue triumphs and terror vanishes in the soupy waters of Sheepshead Bay, but this, in the picture, seems to happen more through luck than good management. The play, for so it still is rather than a film, is beautifully acted by Mr. Garfield, Miss Lupino, and Mr. Mitchell, and Odette Myrtil gives an arrestingly good performance in a small role.

The distinctive flavor of Damon Runyon's prose is conveyed to the screen with great success in an unpretentious and amusing picture adapted from his story "Tight Shoes." A gangster whose feet hurt, corrupt politicians, a strip-tease artist, and a shoe clerk who finds himself transformed into a modern Carrie Nation provide the material from which the director, Albert Rogell, and the authors, Leonard Spigelgass and Art Arthur (via Mr. Runyon of course), have concocted a delightfully original film. The humor is certainly not subtle, but it is dispensed with much verve and gusto by a cast which seems thoroughly to enjoy itself. Binnie Barnes, who for some time has been unfortunately enmeshed in portrayals of ladies of the higher social brackets, comes into her very funny own with her performance as the strip-tease artist.

ANTHONY BOWER

RECORDS

TO ITS previous reissues of hot jazz classics Columbia has added an album (C-43, \$2.50) of performances in which the clarinetist Teschmaker participated. These include the famous four sides recorded by the McKenzie and Condon Chicagoans: on 35951 "China Boy," with the most exciting ensembles, an outstanding piano solo by Sullivan, and a superb solo entrance by Teschmaker that fizzles out miserably, and "Sugar," less exciting, but with good playing by McPartland on cornet, a fine half-chorus by Teschmaker; on 35952 "Liza," also less ex-

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citing, but with good playing by McPartland and Teschmaker, and building up to a powerful close, and the faster and livelier "Nobody's Sweetheart," with McPartland outstanding and Teschmaker's playing exciting in its drive rather than its musical ideas. And on 35953 we get the finest performance of the album, the Miff Mole "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble," with, among other things, a superb extended solo by Teschmaker. But on the reverse side is the same group's "One Step to Heaven," offered with the usual excitement as something previously unissued, and turning out as usual to be something which the company showed good judgment in not issuing. Also, on 35951 we get the mediocre Charles Pierce "Sister Kate" and "Nobody's Sweetheart." And the inclusion of these things leaves no room for two outstanding performances—the Chicago Rhythm Kings "I've Found a New Baby" and "There'll Be Some Changes Made" with superb playing by Spanier on cornet, and with Teschmaker's most disciplined, integrated, and perfectly formed solo in the first piece, his characteristic rhythmic intricacy in the second (they can be had on Commodore 7-8).

All this volume needs is a "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble" offered excitedly as a previously unissued pressing from the second master, with a solo by Teschmaker inferior to the one on the originally issued pressing from the first master; then the volume would be a perfect example of the ways in which this project of reissuing the classics of hot jazz has been mishandled. It isn't only a critic who needs a clear head and an eye kept rigorously on his object; and it isn't only the writing on jazz that has suffered from the people with muddled heads and with eyes on their own performances and on the audiences they have performed for. What has caused them to write as loud champions of small-group hot improvisation and then to use this championship in loud propaganda for some of the commercial large bands, has also caused them to start with the objective of reissuing the original classics of recorded hot jazz performance and then to get this objective cluttered up with previously unissued first and second masters and other things that should have been issued, if at all, after the original classics had been reissued, not before. Last summer I heard for the first time the old Okeh record of two classics—the Bertha Hill-Louis Armstrong "Pratt City Blues" and "Pleading for the Blues"; and tremen-

dously excited by them I inquired whether they would be included among the projected reissues. Yes indeed—in an album of blues singers that would appear in November. That month is long past; the reissues have included everything from the best of Armstrong, Bessie Smith, Beiderbecke, to unimportant things by these musicians theatrically discovered in the dim Columbia archives at 5:23 in the morning, and even to an albumful of Dorsey Brothers (C-51, \$2.50); but they haven't included the Bertha Hill-Armstrong classics; and there must be other things of the sort. These, I dare say, will come out eventually, and all the Dorsey Brothers album does is to delay them; but issuing the second master of, say, Ellington's "Lazy Rhapsody" means that the original classic, with its finer vocal passage, will not be reissued at all.

In the volume *Hot Trombones* (C-46, \$2.50) we get on 36008 the late Jimmy Harrison's beautiful twelve-measure contribution to the 1930 *Chocolate Dandies*' excellent "Dee Blues," and the less interesting "Bugle Call Rag"; on 36009 the same group's "Got Another Sweetie Now," originally issued only in England, in which Harrison has only a vocal that is quite undistinguished, and the 1933 Eddie Condon "Tennessee Twilight"—"originally issued in England and France, second master"—with three lovely solos by Russell on clarinet, Kaminsky on cornet, and O'Brien on trombone; on 36010 a good solo by Miff Mole in his 1927 "Original Dixieland One Step," and the fine work of Teagarden in his 1929 "Makin' Friends" (a quite different and even finer version is on Commodore 28); on 36011 the powerful playing of Higginbotham in his 1930 "Higginbotham Blues," and the undistinguished Benny Morton 1934 "Gold Diggers' Song."

As for single discs, there is simply but beautifully phrased playing by Louis Armstrong in the 1924 Clarence Williams Blue Five's "Mandy, Make Up Your Mind" and "I'm a Little Blackbird" (35957); but the "Crying All Day" and "A Good Man Is Hard to Find" of the Trumbauer Orchestra with Beiderbecke (35956) are unexciting.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Reviewed by Edgar Ansel Mowrer

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Letters to the Editors

The Way to Help Europe

Dear Sirs: The editorial *How to Invade Europe* (issue of May 31), with its insistence on revolution as the only way to overcome Hitler, is refreshing; you have at last come to realize that only Europe, and especially Germany, can settle European and German problems. Can you not carry the thinking to its conclusions? Can you not see that the only real help America can give is through the example of its own triumphant democratic, socialized development?

The political education of Europeans can come much more quickly and efficiently in time of peace than in time of war; by entering the conflict America would be merely erecting one more barrier against the spread of its own idealism through the world. You note that "the men who run our country and run our defense program are unprepared to make a revolution." Of course they are, both here and in England. The war, and war emotions, is supported by "the best people" in the wild hope of avoiding revolutionary issues. Imperialism and revolution do not run together. The fact that we, who so recently were boiling with holy rage against Russia for seizing the Finnish shores of the Gulf of Cronstadt, are now clamoring, with an equal holy rage, for the seizure of Dakar and Martinique, with a much less valid excuse than Russia's, reveals the depths of moral obliquity to which war thinking leads.

Every step on the part of this country toward war is a step away from every decency, every ideal, every kind of progress for which *The Nation* has for so many years campaigned. Every step toward war makes the example America could give to Europe less worthy, every achievement of social progress here less possible.

The best way to fight the war against National Socialism is to fight its causes here—race prejudice, stupid and unnecessary poverty, technological unemployment, evil concentrations of power in the hands of finance capitalism, outworn distribution systems, greed deified as "drive," and so on—you can make your own list.

We have nearly a continent of our own to make truly democratic before we crusade in other continents. Our

masses, who do not seem to want to enter the war, in this seem wiser than some of our leaders, who do.

TALBOT HAMLIN

New York, June 12

Professor Mamlock Silenced

Dear Sirs: It now becomes evident that in their friendship pact of August 23, 1939, Stalin promised Hitler that he would never again produce or allow to be released by his representatives abroad any anti-Nazi film. In conformance with this policy the various "Amkinos" folded up about a year ago. However, an "Artkino" has recently been formed to resume releasing Soviet films. If you phone this Artkino office, where the staff is the same as that which managed the Amkino, to inquire whether you may ever again see the anti-Nazi films "Professor Mamlock" and "The Oppenheim Family," you will get the reply: "Sorry, but we do not distribute the old pictures any more." If you persist and ask why such films as "Chapayev" and "Potemkin" are available in New York but not the more recent "Professor Mamlock," you will get no satisfactory explanation. The conclusion to be drawn is clear.

ANDY ROBIN

New York, June 16

Mr. Eden's War Aims

Dear Sirs: Those of us seeking to rally America behind the President's stirring call to take an effective part in the British struggle will find it hard to swallow some of Foreign Secretary Eden's words in his speech on war aims.

Almost in the same breath in which he assured us that "the lasting settlement and internal peace of the Continent as a whole is our only aim," he shocked us with an incredible repetition of the vicious propaganda of the last war, saying of Germany that "five times in the last century she has violated peace." In a speech broadcast to this country on September 11, 1939, he expressed the same idea more fully, referring to the wars in Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866, and France in 1870, 1914, and 1939.

The origins of the wars of the past eighty years are not as simple as Mr. Eden apparently believes. The Prussian-Austrian civil war within Germany was

a disturbance of peace far smaller than the Boer War or our own Civil War. Mr. Eden would do well to read Lord's "Origins of the Franco-Prussian War," Fay's "The Origins of the World War," and the first few chapters of Ponsonby's "Falsehood in War Time."

We seek, in the words of our President, no "world like the post-war world of the 1920's, in which the seeds of Hitlerism can again be planted and allowed to grow." In other words, we seek a chance to make good our mistakes of 1919. It is a rude awakening to hear the spirit of Versailles proclaimed in bold language by the British Foreign Secretary.

It is discouraging to historians that historical truths command so little respect in a world which sorely needs the light they alone can give. It is not helpful to advocates of aid to Britain when such ignorance and international ill-will are revealed by an official British spokesman. And it must be profoundly embarrassing to peace-loving Britons fighting against international hatred and organized contempt for the truth to find these evils appearing in their own ranks.

I hope the liberal press and the liberal letter-writers of this country will make it clear to the British embassy that Mr. Eden's war aims are not the kind America is willing to underwrite.

EDWARD T. LADD

New Haven, Conn., June 13

The Leviton Strike

Dear Sirs: The 1,700 workers of the Leviton Manufacturing Company, whose New York plant is in the slum-factory Greenpoint section of Brooklyn, have been on strike since last August 27. The company manufactures small electrical equipment—sockets, plugs, switches—is the largest in its field, and has no defense contracts. Most of the employees are young girls and women. About two years ago it was found guilty of unfair labor practices by the National Labor Relations Board; the board's action was affirmed by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals on April 29, 1940. Last November Local 3 was overwhelmingly chosen as the exclusive bargaining agent for the workers in an NLRB election in which the vote was 1,299 for the union and 70 against.

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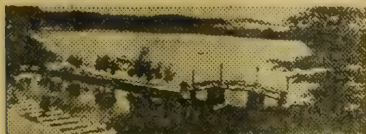
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the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 3, the union which is now leading the strike, makes against the company: (1) The plant operates under an intense speed-up system, and as soon as production is increased, rates on piece work are cut. (2) Employees often have lost wages because of the breakdown of machinery. They have been kept in the factory during the period of repair but not paid for the time thus spent. This is in violation of the wage-and-hour law. (3) The average pay of girl and women workers is \$16.35 a week. The average pay of male workers, skilled and unskilled, is \$23.49 a week. The company has no pension plan, no group insurance, no bonuses, and no profit-sharing plan. (4) Girls have often been injured at machines because safety devices were removed in order to speed up production. (5) Sanitary conditions are deplorable. The law provides that there shall be one toilet for every fifteen persons, but on one floor of the Leviton factory there was one toilet for over 200 workers.

The union's demands are simple: a \$16 minimum wage, a 10 per cent increase for all those earning more than the minimum at the time the strike was called, one week's vacation with pay, improved sanitary conditions, and a union shop.

The strike is now in its tenth month, and despite the fact that the union has paid each striker \$8 a week for strike benefits from the beginning, the misery and privation in Greenpoint are very great. Families have been dispossessed and malnutrition is taking its toll. Yet only 25 of the 1,700 original strikers have gone back to work.

Early in February Mrs. Roosevelt addressed the workers and, after listening to their demands, said: "I'm afraid I agree with you." Her appearance before the strikers was bitterly attacked by Westbrook Pegler, who referred to the leaders of this union as "labor coercionists."

The press of New York has been exceedingly friendly to the strikers; *PM* has made a splendid campaign for them and exposed the shameful working conditions and low wages. Yet despite an almost unanimously hostile public opinion, Mr. Leviton has refused to submit his case to arbitration and has boasted that he will starve his employees back to work.

The strike is the longest strike of its magnitude in New York and, to my way of thinking, reveals two things: (1) the inadequacies of the existing

labor laws, under which a recalcitrant employer can evade the spirit of the Wagner Act, and (2) the necessity for carrying on a struggle here in America against our own economic dictators.

CHARLES YALE HARRISON
 New York, June 10

We Hope Few Missed It

Dear Sirs: If any of your readers missed the article *Fate or Freedom?* by Aure Kolnai in the May 31 issue, I fervently hope that they will take the article to a quiet place and give it the careful attention it deserves. What Kolnai calls "the narrow superstitions of pacifist ethics" has not, to my knowledge, been anywhere else so brilliantly exposed.

HERMAN F. REISSIG
 Upper Montclair, N. J., June 10

CONTRIBUTORS

ROSE M. STEIN, a regular contributor to *The Nation*, is now doing labor research in Washington.

JOACHIM JOESTEN is a German journalist who lived in Scandinavia for many years. He prophesied the invasion of Denmark in his "Rats in the Larder."

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, Librarian of Congress, is well known as poet and critic.

CARLO A PRATO is an Italian journalist who went into exile when Mussolini came to power. He has just come to this country from France.

ROLAND YOUNG, a former resident of Texas, is now instructor in government at Harvard.

CHARLES CURTIS MUNZ, author of "Land Without Moses," has made a close study of the political and economic problems of the South.

GAETANO SALVEMINI is Lauro de Bosis lecturer on the history of Italian civilization at Harvard University.

CLEMENT GREENBERG contributes critical articles on literature and art to the *Partisan Review*.

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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The Shape of Things

THE NAZI ONSLAUGHT ON RUSSIA IS ONLY three days old as we write, and it is much too early to assess its prospects. Moreover, we must expect even less reliable information about the course of this campaign than we have received from other battlefields of World War II. Both sides are in a position to control completely the flow of information to the outside world, both have long experience in the arts of censorship, and both habitually subordinate truth to propaganda. Up to date it appears that the Germans have penetrated the Russian border at a number of points but not to any great depth. They are still a long way from the main Soviet defense lines, which cover the border as it existed prior to 1939. But the chief Nazi effort at the opening of the campaign is, as in Poland, directed against the air force and communications system of the enemy. The Luftwaffe is roaming over wide areas of western Russia, smashing at railroads and bridges in an effort to hinder Russian mobilization but concentrating its heaviest attacks on airports. It claims to have destroyed huge numbers of Soviet planes and is obviously seeking to establish undisputed mastery of the air so as to pave the way for the mechanized ground forces. It is generally agreed that Hitler cannot afford a lengthy campaign in Russia. Within three months at the most he must achieve his main objectives, the Ukraine—which is not only Russia's granary but its greatest industrial area—and the Caucasus, which besides its importance as a source of oil supplies offers enormous strategic possibilities for a gigantic flanking movement against the whole British position in the Middle East.

✱

THE FIGHTING QUALITY OF THE RED ARMY is the great *x* in this new extension of the war. Hitler clearly is gambling on the belief that it is formidable only in numbers, and there is all too much reason to fear that this supposition is correct. Most, though not all, independent experts rate Russia's military power as far inferior to Germany's. Its planes and mechanized equipment are generally thought to be of comparatively poor quality, and it is not believed to possess the kind of repair organization which is essential for modern mechanized

Editor and Publisher

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor

HERBERT BENDINER

Washington Editor

I. F. STONE

Literary Editor

MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors

KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART

Dramatic Critic

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager and Director of Circulation

HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager

MARY HOWARD ELLISON

warfare. Russia is also likely to suffer from its inferior and inadequate transport system, which may prove as much the Achilles heel of its defense as it has of its economic development. Finally, there is the question of how far the purges of the past few years have affected the morale of the Red Army. In the face of invasion by a hated enemy this may prove higher than foreign observers have estimated, and it must be remembered that in many ways the Russian soldier has been the most favored member of the Soviet community.

★

RUSSIA HAS ACCEPTED BRITAIN'S PROMPT offer of assistance, but in view of the difficulty of communications the rendering of direct aid is hardly possible. However, the smashing aerial offensive which the R. A. F. has developed against western Germany and the invasion coast is likely to prove invaluable as a check on Hitler's drive east. If the present pace is maintained, Göring may be compelled before very long to pull part of his air fleet away from the eastern frontier. The fact that the Luftwaffe is not capable of sustaining full operation on both fronts provides the British with a grand opportunity. We can help them make the best of it by sending them immediately every available bomber.

★

THE NAZI-SOVIET WAR PLACES JAPAN IN AN awkward position. Last week the Japanese government was forced to acknowledge failure in its effort to extend the New Order in Asia to the Dutch East Indies by process of intimidation. This presumably led to a temporary shelving of the military's grandiose plans for expansion into the South Seas. Now Japan is forced to decide whether to live up to its obligations to the Axis in a war, not with the United States as it had expected, but with the Soviet Union, with which it has recently signed a neutrality pact. At first sight, the German attack on Russia might seem to give Japan a golden opportunity to invade Siberia—an opportunity its militarists have long awaited. But the immediate risks of such an adventure appear to be even greater than those of a war with the United States. For despite the war in Europe, the Soviet Union is known to have a strong force in eastern Siberia. And Japan's chief cities lie only a few hundred miles from the Soviet air bases near Vladivostok. Furthermore, there is more than a little chance that the United States may yet come into the war, and thereby force Japan to fight simultaneously on two fronts.

★

IT IS STILL NOT CLEAR WHAT ACTION, IF any, Japan will take. The special conference called by the Emperor to consider Japanese policy in the new crisis has been twice postponed. Judging by Japan's record in the last few months, we may expect a policy of extreme

caution. A shattering Soviet defeat would, of course, be followed by an attack on Siberia, just as an invasion of Britain would be followed by a general Japanese attack on British and Dutch possessions in the South Seas. But barring a sudden overwhelming Nazi victory, Japan will probably ignore its commitment to the Axis. The chief danger is that it may interpret the recent swing toward appeasement in Washington as an indication that the way is now clear for a drive to the south. The Administration has laid itself open to such misinterpretation by passing over Japan in its recent orders against Axis consulates. It seems more likely, however, that Japan will take advantage of the world's preoccupation to push its lagging campaign in China. The Chinese Quisling, Wan Ching-wei, has just made a visit to Tokyo, where he spoke of his hope of aligning China with the Axis. This, of course, presupposes a victory over Chiang Kai-shek which cannot be achieved if the United States does its part.

★

CHINA IS IN DANGER OF FALLING VICTIM TO the Nazi-Soviet war. While no country is likely to change its policy toward Chungking because of this new war, the Soviet Union will hardly be able to keep up its aid on anything like the scale of the last four years. The prospect is particularly alarming since American shipments also have been running behind those of last year. Moreover, the overland route from the Soviet Union to China, although difficult, is much the best one for getting supplies into China. Recent reports indicate that traffic on the Burma road has seriously bogged down despite the appointment of an American to supervise it. Although alternative routes are being built, none are yet completed. Since Japan is likely to take advantage of the Nazi-Soviet conflict to push its invasion of China, it is up to the United States to take exceptional measures to give China substantial military assistance of the type formerly provided by the Soviets. This means supplying not only planes but pilots and technicians. And since the amount of aid that it is possible to send to China is limited by transport difficulties, the necessity for stopping aid to Japan has become greater than ever. In addition to stopping shipments of war materials, immediate action should be taken to freeze Japanese funds in this country.

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THE RESPONSE OF BOTH CONGRESS AND THE country to the President's message on the Robin Moor sinking was somewhat apathetic. Perhaps this was partly due to the fact that the message contained no program of positive action. It served a useful purpose, however, by placing the question of the Robin Moor in its true perspective. The torpedoing of this American vessel without any provision being made for the safety of its passengers and crew is far more than a mere incident which can be settled by apology and indemnity. As M.

Roosevelt said, "We must take it that notice has now been served upon us that no American ship or cargo on any of the seven seas can consider itself safe from acts of piracy." Unable to prevent the passage of the Lend-Lease Act, Germany is now resorting to violence and intimidation in an attempt to render that measured decision of the American people ineffective. The sinking of the Robin Moor underlined threats previously uttered by Admiral Räder and by Hitler himself. To yield to these threats would mean recognizing the waters of the whole world as a combat zone and withdrawing our merchant marine from commerce with every land controlled by Britain and its allies. To take a concrete example, we should have to send out in ballast the ships employed to carry rubber and tin from the East Indies. But as the President said: "We are not yielding and we do not propose to yield." What then? Are we to continue to risk our ships and our sailors' lives by sending them to sea unprotected, or are we to take positive action against the pirates who endanger them? The Administration's next step will undoubtedly be to dispatch a stiff note to Berlin, where its complete rejection is already foreshadowed. In this event there does not seem to be any alternative to providing armed protection for our ships.

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THE UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS, WHO have just won a contract with the Ford Motor Company covering 130,000 employees in plants all over the country and including the check-off, must feel a little like Joshua when the walls came tumbling down. To be sure, they had won the election in River Rouge by a large majority, but it was generally felt that this was only the first step on a long road toward genuine collective bargaining, which would be obstructed at every turn by Harry Bennett and the Ford lawyers. Instead, Harry Bennett himself signed the momentous document. There are those who see in Ford's all-out gesture in giving the union more than it asked for an attempt to embarrass it by presenting it with what is truly a huge responsibility; and certainly the contract will require careful and intelligent handling. It is suggested also that the agreement to pay a wage equal to the highest in the industry may be a source of confusion and difficulty for the union. But the U. A. W. has gone through its growing pains. What is more, it has pretty well eliminated Communist Party influence, which might be a source of dangerous wild-cat moves, and the contract will greatly strengthen the anti-Communist forces at the forthcoming U. A. W. convention, where the Stalinists are expected to stage an attempt at a comeback. Ford may have been motivated by a desire to give the union more than it could handle; on the other hand, his gesture is not uncharacteristic of a man who does nothing by halves, whether it be fighting a union or accepting it. Moreover, he has gained an end of the hearings of the National Labor Relations Board,

with their devastating evidence of the Ford Company's brutal ways with labor, and the settlement of a number of court cases which would have been equally damaging. This serves to remind us that the peaceful solution represents a triumph not only for the U. A. W. but for the NLRB. The very statistical record of the claims, hearings, testimony, and decisions bears eloquent testimony that if the fight for union recognition by the Ford Company had been conducted without benefit of the Labor Board, it would have left in its wake a trail of disturbance, production delays, and even bloodshed.

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THE GOVERNMENT OF PETAIN HAS BEATEN its own record of submission to its Nazi masters by agreeing to hand over to Hitler the 100,000 Spanish refugees who found asylum in France after the fascist victory in Spain. Until now the Vichy administration had limited itself to the delivery of such prominent individual Loyalists as Companys and Zugazagoitia, who were arrested in France by the Gestapo, sent back to Spain, and executed by Franco. Now the Pétain government has changed its tactics, and instead of making Franco the present of a few Loyalist lives, it performs the far greater service to the Axis of handing over an army of 100,000 Spanish workers. These men, according to press dispatches, are to be transported to North Africa "to join the huge conscript labor force being marshaled there *under Nazi direction* for work on the strategic Trans-Sahara Railway to Dakar." The first contingent, numbering 7,000, has already sailed for Algeria. In the last four months Hitler has poured into French North Africa great numbers of technicians and engineers. Now he needs a mass of slave labor to accomplish the task of building the strategic road for the next Nazi drive in the Mediterranean. The Spanish refugees serve his needs exactly, at the same time relieving Vichy of an unwelcome body of irreconcilable anti-fascists. In last week's *Nation* Carlo a Prato exposed in detail the subordination of the Vichy police to the Gestapo. The delivery of 100,000 Spanish Republicans offers impressive documentation of the total subservience of Vichy.

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SENATOR PAT HARRISON WAS ONE OF THE vivid personalities of the Senate. No one who ever met him will forget his humor and unfailing good nature, or underrate his political ability. Although he was by no means a liberal, his record was well above the average. In his labor policies he was usually reactionary, as a Senator from Mississippi might be expected to be, but he worked closely with the Administration in steering the NRA, the AAA, the Social Security Act, and other reform legislation through Congress. As head of the Finance Committee he was instrumental in getting the undistributed-profits tax on the statute book, but he later worked for its repeal. As a member of the Foreign Re-

lations Committee he strongly supported the President's foreign policy. In recent years Pat Harrison had lost much of his buoyancy and had become increasingly conservative, particularly in fiscal policies. But he will be remembered not so much for his recent lapses as for his years of useful service.

We Have But One Aim

BY FRED A KIRCHWEY

HITLER wants oil and wheat and minerals. But he has other desires, too, as Louis Fischer and Norman Angell point out. Some are military; others are political, and his political desires extend far beyond the line of men and equipment stretched from Petsamo to Odessa. They extend to Tokyo and Madrid and Washington and Buenos Aires. They reach into country homes in England and farm houses in Wisconsin. Hitler wants Russia's rich stores of food and materials; he wants them quickly and surely before American aid to Britain robs him of his last hope of early victory, before British bombs further damage Germany's embarkation ports and its morale. But, just as seriously, he wants confusion of mind and conflict of interest among his adversaries and the remaining neutrals. The attack on the Soviet Union is a straight military campaign waged for great stakes. It is also a battle in the world war of nerves.

The United States is the most important objective in this battle, because it is our growing intervention which has informed Hitler that the war will be a long one, longer perhaps than he can afford. His mechanized legions are hurled at American opinion as much as at the Red Army. They carry a variety of suggestions and warnings. They hint to the isolationists that the war is less than ever "our war." They tell the appeasers that further aid to Britain means support of Stalin—and Communist revolution in Europe. They offer hope of a "respite" for England, during which, no doubt, the right people can promote the idea of the right sort of peace. They threaten the independent, anti-fascist left of all countries with the unhappy prospect of a new alliance with the Communists as the price of continued anti-Nazi action. By all these means the Germans hope to build up the opposition to our government's policy of resistance and throw confusion into the ranks of its supporters.

But this strategy will fail. Surely if slowly the American people are coming to understand the one actual issue in this war. It is not an issue which can be blurred by the ideological backtracking of the Communists or the past mistakes and treacheries of the Soviet government. Hitler must be defeated and destroyed, not because yesterday he was in league with Stalin or because he is fighting Stalin today, but because he represents the one overwhelming menace to the Western democracies and to freedom

throughout the world. This most Americans realize. They can be confused by Hitler's march on Moscow only if the nation's leaders allow the policy of the United States to falter or shift.

The answer of Washington to Berlin must be unequivocal. It must echo Winston Churchill's magnificent pledge in his address on the day the invasion of Russia began:

We have but one aim, and one single irrevocable purpose. We are resolved to destroy Hitler and every vestige of his Nazi regime; from this nothing will turn us—nothing. We will never parley, we will never negotiate with Hitler or any of his men. We shall fight him by land, we shall fight him by sea, we shall fight him in the air, until, with God's help, we have rid the earth of his shadow and liberated his peoples from the yoke.

Any man or state who fights against Nazidom will have our aid. Any man or state who marches with Hitler is our foe. This applies not only to organized states but to all representatives of that vile race of Quislings who make themselves the tools and agents of the Nazi regime against their fellow-countrymen and against the land of their birth. These Quislings, like the Nazi leaders themselves, if not disposed of by their fellow-countrymen, which would save trouble, will be delivered by us on the morrow of victory to the justice of the Allied tribunals.

That is our policy and that is our declaration. It follows, therefore, that we shall give whatever help we can to Russia and to the Russian people.

The President need only translate those words into terms of American action and he will wash the minds of the people clear of any Nazi-made distortions. The statement of Sumner Welles was an encouraging, if not an inspired, formulation of the Administration's position.

But a policy is easier to proclaim than to carry out. So far the United States has neither produced nor delivered more than a fraction of the war material Britain urgently needs. Transportation facilities to Russia and within that country are inadequate. Even if the Lease-Lend Act is applied to the Soviet Union, the existence of a declared war means that goods cannot be shipped in American bottoms; and what ships of any registry are available for a greatly increased flow of war supplies? Planes can doubtless be flown to western Russia via Alaska and Siberia, but it is a long and hazardous route. The total amount of help that can be safely delivered on the vast front facing Hitler's mechanized legions is clearly limited. But what can be sent should be sent quickly.

It is equally clear that aid to Britain must be multiplied. No momentary slackening in Hitler's attack should be used as an excuse to slow down American production or divert supplies even to our own defense needs. This is Britain's hour to strike. If Russia holds firm or falls back slowly and at serious cost to the Nazis, Britain may be able to wreck Hitler's last hope of an invasion. The

R. A. F. attacks on Germany's bases and industrial centers, already intensified in the weeks of Hitler's preparation for his drive to the East, can be carried on with even greater effect while the German invasion of Russia continues.

Whatever the outcome of the invasion, Britain's labor of destruction will not be lost. This is the crucial hour, and not one second of it should be wasted. The need of decisive action is so pressing that the United States should send over more than its quota of new planes. We should defer our own needs and transfer our bombers and fighters to the very limits of military safety. We can build more planes; we can never bring back this opportunity for decisive action.

But more important, even, than a defensive support of Britain's position is a strong offensive, in which the United States must also play a major role.

In this offensive every weapon, military and political, should be used. For the moment at least, not only England but the whole non-Nazi world outside of Russia is relatively secure. This is the time for the anti-Nazi forces to seize the initiative, to take aggressive action in North Africa and throughout the Middle East. This is the time to rally anti-Vichy sentiment in France, to crystallize anti-Nazi sentiment in the Mediterranean countries. The fact that Russia is at last in the war and on the side of Britain will have good, as well as troublesome, moral effects. Many reluctant, semi-pacifist elements of the left have watched the struggle with suspicion. These elements are important in France, occupied and unoccupied. They helped France lose its own war with Hitler; given hope of a democratic victory, they may help win the larger war which Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union has initiated.

A powerful offensive launched by Britain in Libya, a final victory in Syria, a strong defense of the other chief strategic positions in the eastern Mediterranean, would stimulate the hopes of millions of workers in France and every captive country. To this mighty effort the United States must contribute all possible aid through speeding up production and extending the range and activity of our sea patrol. And surely we should delay no longer in removing the obstacles provided by the obsolete Neutrality Law.

The war between Russia and Germany will be a source of confusion only if the leaders of opinion in the democracies allow it to be. Winston Churchill has indicated that he understands the full meaning of the issues involved. Sumner Welles, with less vigor and inspiration, has formulated clearly the American position. The danger in this country is that our leaders, too sensitive to the general distrust of communism and of the Soviet Union, will move slowly, waiting for the popular reaction. But this is no time to sit holding the public pulse. Russia's war is democracy's opportunity, perhaps its last one for a long time to come.

The Tax Fiasco

THE chance that an adequate tax program will emerge from the House Ways and Means Committee has now largely vanished. After more than two months of hearings and discussion, the committee has chosen to throw most of the constructive features of the Treasury plan out the window and has adopted few of the improvements suggested by the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation or Chairman Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board. The results are far from satisfactory. There is no longer any hope of attaining the Treasury's original objective of defraying two-thirds of the government's expenditures for 1941-42 by taxation and restricting borrowing to cover the remaining third. The best that is anticipated is that about 12 or 13 billion dollars will be raised in taxes and borrowing held to 10 or 12 billion. The final outcome is much more likely to be a fifty-fifty distribution between taxes and loans rather than the hoped-for distribution of two to one.

But this is not the worst of it. By adopting an increase in the tax rate on moderate incomes only about one-half as steep as the Treasury proposal, the House committee will have to fall back on excise taxes for a large part of the needed revenue. These taxes, which will be paid mainly by low-income groups, will be put into effect immediately, whereas the boost in personal and corporation income taxes will not actually become payable until next March 15. Elimination of separate income-tax returns by husband and wife is the only constructive action taken by the committee thus far.

Especially unfortunate was the House Ways and Means Committee's rejection of the Treasury's proposal for strengthening the excess-profits tax. The present tax, as the Treasury points out, is not really a levy on excess profits but on war profits. It allows a corporation to earn as much as 50 or 60 per cent on its invested capital without paying this tax provided it made such earnings in the four-year base period. The invested-capital formula offers the only way in which the principle of ability to pay can be applied to corporations. The present policy, retained by the committee, of allowing corporations to choose between the invested-capital and the average-earnings principle has been found in practice to leave altogether too many loopholes for companies with huge earnings. The tax hearings showed big business almost unanimously opposed to the Treasury proposals. That should have given the committee a hint of their relative effectiveness.

It should be frankly recognized that the greater part of the testimony before the committee, except that by government officials, represented efforts on the part of the "haves" to shift the burden of defense taxation to the "have-nots." The "haves" are highly organized. They can afford expensive legal talent to explain the injustice

of any tax which falls on the well-to-do. But the President has announced that it is the Administration's policy to see that the emergency taxes are imposed, as far as possible, on the basis of ability to pay. So far the Ways and Means Committee has yielded to the pressure of entrenched interests on every important issue. In so doing it has virtually repudiated the President's leadership. We believe, however, that the President has the prestige and the power to gain the support of a majority of members of Congress if he chooses to make a fight on this issue. And since the nature of our post-war society depends largely on how the defense program is financed, it is an issue on which he must take a stand. This is no time to allow corporation spokesmen to write our tax laws.

The Guild—a Case Study

THE general assembly of the Newspaper Guild of New York of June 19 was notable for two things. It reversed, by a vote of 365 to 362, the action of the previous meeting supporting the Inglewood strike, although that strike had been disavowed by the national leadership of both the United Automobile Workers and the C. I. O. And it showed pretty clearly the actual numerical strength of the Stalinist minority, which at present dominates the New York local, to be less than 400 out of a total membership of a little more than 4,000. To be sure, the administration slate of delegates for the Guild's national convention won in the recent election by a ratio of seven to five, with 1,600 not voting. But that contest involved various issues, factional and other, whereas the Inglewood strike posed only one question: whether or not the Guild should support a stoppage which Philip Murray himself had labeled an outlaw strike precipitated by Communists in the automobile workers' union and designed to hinder the defense program. There is no question that the Guild administration mustered every bit of its membership strength in order to prevent a reversal of the stand taken a week before at a meeting attended by some 200 people. That strength turned out to be 362. The opposition likewise tried to muster its strength. Its "meeting" force totaled 365 votes, but in the week between the two meetings 800 members had individually repudiated the support of the wild-cat strike at Inglewood by signing statements circulated in the various units.

This is a typical case study of a union under Stalinist control. That control is based on the ability to command the regular attendance at union meetings of a disciplined one-way minority which is large enough to constitute a majority at most meetings.

The ostensible and easy answer to the question of how this control can be broken is that the majority, if they would fulfil their duty as members as faithfully as the Stalinists do, could very soon, by regular attendance at

meetings, dislodge the minority. And even an oppositionist is likely to argue sadly that since the Stalinists are so assiduous they have a right to set the Guild's policies even though those policies run counter to the actual sentiments of the great majority of its members. But this is a fallacious argument which the Stalinists have exploited.

Certainly the inertia of the majority is reprehensible. But this is not the only factor. Even a good union member, particularly if he is subject to eccentric newspaper hours, cannot always attend meetings; and he cannot always stay until the small hours of the morning, when the Stalinists, who control the machinery, deliberately choose to discuss really important issues, since they know that by then the field has been left to members under their orders. In any case, the failure to attend meetings hardly justifies the penalty of having the union run by a machine of which the driving power is not primarily the desire to build a strong union but to use it as a political tool.

Certainly also, those who do the work in unions should have the honor of being recognized and given official positions. But the fact that they do the work does not entitle them to flout the known will of the membership, as the Guild administration has repeatedly done—especially when their zeal springs from extra-union motives which are fundamentally inimical to its welfare.

The ideal way out of a serious dilemma would be to bring about somehow the constant and overwhelming attendance at every meeting of a majority aware of the issues and determined to have the union run in the interest of the membership, not of an outside political party.

But democratic bodies being what they are, it is difficult to weld the majority, which, unlike the Stalinist minority, has no desire to rule for an outside party's sake, into a disciplined unit. Its members are much more likely to lapse into disgust and indifference. Practically speaking, the only immediate solution probably lies in the building of a counter minority machine, which is not in itself desirable. There is one other hope. The national convention of the Guild, now in session, may oust its present Stalinist leadership. An executive council representing the definitely anti-Communist views of the membership could bring pressure on the New York regime; it might even cite the example of the Teachers' Union in expelling locals under Communist control.

It would be unfortunate if such measures became necessary, but the Inglewood episode demonstrated that the situation in the New York local cannot continue except at the price of serious disruption. It also indicated that the Stalinists are ready to risk even that rather than lose their control. They not only tried to throw out the vote that reversed the Guild's stand on the Inglewood strike by charging fraud, but the leadership attempted later, with surpassing impudence, to construe this reversal into a reaffirmation. Obviously the Communist Party's trade-union policy is "rule or ruin."

Hitler Marches East

BY LOUIS FISCHER

SO THE Nazis have launched a declared war on the Soviet Union. Another negotiated peace has been disrupted by Adolf Hitler. In September, 1938, Chamberlain and Daladier, appeasers and non-interventionists, signed a negotiated peace with Hitler. Eleven months later their countries were at war with Germany. August 23, 1939, was Stalin's Munich; he negotiated a peace with Hitler at the expense of Poland and the Baltic states. Now Stalin is reaping the fruits of that appeasement. It was inevitable; critics of the post-Litvinov policy always predicted it. There is no safety with Hitler. The only way is to destroy him.

I think America's part in the war shaped Russia's fate. The more aid America sent to England the more Hitler had to extract from Russia. That helps to explain why the Communists opposed aid to England. America's jerky progress toward belligerency convinced the Nazis that they could not win the war quickly. They had to prepare, instead, for a long contest with Britain and America. But the territory under Nazi control has never fed itself and cannot support a protracted war. Only the Soviet Union can furnish the required supplies. Hitler, however, wanted more than Russian materials. He wanted to be sure that Moscow would not cut him off in an hour of dire need. He wanted to be sure that if the war lasted a long time, and if Germany were weakened by it, Russia would not stab Germany in the back. To prevent this, Hitler has to break the Soviets militarily and deprive them of their key munitions and raw materials. Hitler's aim today is a Vichified Russia, part occupied, part "free," working for him and maybe even fighting for him.

It is very likely that Hitler decided to attack irrespective of Moscow's attitude. He wished to clean up his Russian problem once and for all and thus consolidate the entire European continent behind him in anticipation of the Anglo-American siege. But if Berlin did make far-reaching demands for goods deliveries and for control inside Russia, it was certainly obvious to Stalin that these demands were merely the beginning of a series, and that today's yielding would leave Russia less capable of resisting tomorrow's pressure.

Hitler was forced to fight the Bolsheviks, however much he might have preferred to concentrate on England. And thus Stalin had to go to war, however much he fears the results of hostilities.

The fate of the Soviet regime is at stake. The outbreak of war between Germany and Russia makes Communist Russia, in effect, the ally of anti-Communist Brit-

ain and America. But Czarist Russia was also the ally of the democracies, and then Czarist Russia collapsed. Russia's history since 1936—which I analyzed in detail in my "Men and Politics"—will now avenge itself upon Bolshevism.

The Soviet-Nazi war is a great stroke of luck for England and America. The British probably intensified their bombing of the Ruhr, western Germany, and occupied France from June 11 on in order to encourage Moscow to stand firm, and President Roosevelt may have had in mind Soviet psychology, among other things, when he sent his stiff anti-Nazi message to Congress on the Robin Moor. If the Baltic states, White Russia, and the Ukraine are quickly overrun, if the Soviet government is forced to capitulate and vast Bolshevik territories are subjected to methodical German economic exploitation, the democracies will have suffered a serious setback, for Hitler will then turn west with augmented confidence and power. But by immediately stepping up their efforts the British and Americans can involve Hitler in a violent two-front war which is the best road to an Allied victory.

In one way, so far as Hitler is concerned, his attack on Russia is late. Earlier, Germany would have been less tormented by British raids. Now, the R. A. F., using new American-made planes, can handicap his *Blitzkrieg* against the Soviets. But Hitler had to delay until he had conquered the Balkans, "coordinated" Vichy, and converted Turkey's alliance with Russia into Turkish neutrality. The advantage for Hitler, however, is that the fields and dirt roads in the Soviet area of combat are now dry, and since there are not even any stone walls, wire fences, or stout houses in the Ukraine or White Russia, Nazi tanks and trucks can move cross-country in straight lines. The Ukraine is as flat as a table. The Ukrainian harvest is still green in the fields. Harvesting takes place at the end of July. If the Ukrainian crop is partially destroyed by incendiary bombs or ground fighting or as a result of inadequate labor and insufficient oil for tractors, combines, and motor transport, Hitler will not care; Germany has enough bread for 1941, and the Nazis are thinking of the Ukrainian rye and wheat of 1942; but it would be a blow to Russia, which without Ukrainian surpluses must go short or immediately begin dipping into meager reserves. In July the population of the city of Moscow depends for bread on the Crimea, which reaps before the Ukraine. But if railway lines are overburdened by the military, the effect will be felt forthwith.

To take Leningrad, the Baltic states, White Russia, the Ukraine, the granary of the northern Caucasus, and the Caucasus proper, Hitler has probably given himself three full months, until the beginning of October, when weather becomes an obstacle. If he succeeds, he will have deprived the Soviet regime of its richest food sources and its most valuable industries. He could thereupon ram a Brest-Litovsk peace down the throat of the Soviet government and direct his fury against Britain once more. As between the German and Soviet armed forces, the German are stronger. How long Russia can hold out will therefore depend on the amount of damage the R. A. F. can inflict on Germany and on how much Nazi air power Churchill compels Hitler to divert westward.

Unfortunately for Stalin, the Finns and Rumanians can say that they are fighting to regain territory he recently stole from them. This will win them sympathy among the other robbed nations of Europe. The Nazis will benefit from that sympathy.

Many allegiances will be divided. Americans have

been friendly to Finland. Now Finland is an ally of our enemy, Hitler. The Communists should, logically, go pro-British and forget the faults of Winston Churchill, who has promised aid to Stalin. Will Japan jump on Siberia? Will America try to stop Japan from doing so? Will Lindbergh, who should now have some doubts about a Nazi victory, therefore intensify agitation which favors the Nazis?

Whatever the answers to these riddles, most Americans will rejoice that Hitler has another enemy. As preliminary to any consideration of American aid to Russia under the Lease-Lend Act, Washington should informally demand that Russia and Britain sign an agreement not to conclude a separate peace with Germany. Russia is a tremendous country, and should the *Blitzkrieg* succeed, the Soviet government could retreat endlessly eastward. It would also make a good impression in this country and England if Maxim Litvinov and Troyanovsky were restored to office and if purged Bolsheviks who are still alive, like Radek, Rakovsky, and some others, were released.

The Chance of the West

BY NORMAN ANGELL

THE Nazi turn against Russia belongs clearly to the order of events which are at once a great peril and a great opportunity. The peril lies in the fact that Hitler may find in this new move one more opportunity for dividing morally those whom he must overcome if his victories so far are to profit him at all. The opportunity lies in the fact that, properly employed, the move may marshal against him the very forces he proposes to use against the rest of the world, or at the very least give time to rally and mobilize the forces potentially so very much greater than his own, and still unconquered by him—the forces of America and the British Empire.

The military strategists point out that in any case there is very little material aid that America could quickly give to Russia, even if it went as part of the aid sent to Britain. But if during the next few weeks Hitler can manage seriously to divide American and British opinion, then certain vital strategic decisions may be so delayed while "waiting for public opinion to develop" that he will be able once more to seize and keep the initiative. It is almost certain that the Hess visit was part of this maneuver.

We—the British and American public—have still inadequately digested the fact that the ultimate explanation of Hitler's victories has been his employment of the "moral" weapon—his capacity to divide the non-Nazi world so that it can be brought under the domination of

a Nazi minority; if the non-Nazi majority had only learned the trick of hanging together as the sole alternative to being hanged separately, this evil menace would not now hang over us.

It is particularly on this matter of Bolshevism versus Nazism that the confusion has from the beginning arisen. Western Europe could not, in fact, make up its mind which of the two evils was the greater; and failed to see that that was never the question. The real question was, not which was the greater evil, but which was the greater danger. "Communist unrest" was something for Western states to meet in part by education, in part by constructive social reform. It was never anywhere in itself a military danger. It was a danger to defense only in so far as it played the game of Nazism by contributing to the divisions from which Nazism, not communism, profited.

The events of the last two years have shown beyond dispute that Nazism was in a position to profit greatly from the weaknesses of Western society—particularly the disruptive nationalism which rendered that society incapable of mutual aid in defense against the domination of a violent and ruthless but competent and cohesive minority. It was this weakness which enabled the Nazi minority to sweep over the world in a devastating wave that threatens to carry away the freedoms built up in a thousand years of toil.

A day or two ago I sat in a gathering of religious,

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well-intentioned folk. A man of education and knowledge expressed the view that Britain should have avoided this war at the time of Munich by striking a bargain with Germany which would have allowed Hitler a free hand to attack Russia in return for peace in the West. Very few of the earnest folk present seemed at all shocked by his suggestion. Very few seemed to recall that the proposal represented precisely the intention which those of us who were left everywhere believed to animate the more sinister elements of the right; and that for governments in Western Europe to have lent themselves to such a maneuver would have split Western nations from top to bottom, would not have preserved peace, and would have delivered the situation into the hands of the Nazis even more completely than events have done so far.

To forestall the confusions which are likely to bedevil counsel and policy in the coming months we must keep constantly before us the first and last purpose of this war against Germany. That purpose, as it affects America, is the defense of the people of this country, as of others, against the oppressions of a counter-revolution similar to that which the people of France now face, a counter-revolution which has resulted in part from internal division, in part from external pressure.

Russian communism as we now know it represents an evil form of society. So be it. Are we therefore indiffer-

ent whether Russia is overrun and brought under the domination of the Nazi power? We know that if that takes place Nazi Germany will stretch from the shores of the Bay of Biscay and the North Sea to the shores of the Pacific. Germany, in fact, will in that event be brought to within a dozen miles of American territory. And that conquest, as Churchill reminds us, would be merely the prelude to an all-out assault upon the British fortress. If Britain fell, then the whole world outside of North America would be under the command of Hitler; and no one who can face facts at all would pretend that in such circumstances the United States would be defensible for very long.

Russia, we are told, is not a Christian state. Neither is China. Neither is India. Most of the world is non-Christian. The conquest of Russia by Germany would not make Russia more Christian. It would only make it more dangerous.

To show that the West is prepared to give Russia the same rights of protection against external violence, the same rights to life as a nation and a state, which Western nations demand, will be to increase the chances that ultimately it will, with others, take its part in common resistance to war. The alternative—some form of appeasement which would throw the Soviets to the Nazi wolves—would in the end condemn us all to a like fate.

The Worker and Defense

BY PHILIP MURRAY

THE C. I. O. rejects the view that it is now necessary to curtail consumption drastically in order to carry out our defense program and provide aid to Britain. I am not unmindful of the expanding character of the defense effort or of the now discernible actual and potential shortages in strategic materials, especially certain metals. But I know that there are still in this country several million jobless men and women who could and should be employed to build additional capacity for the production of armaments as well as consumer goods. I know, too, that our present productive facilities are not being utilized to the full.

Those who advocate lowered living standards at this time cling to the discredited notion that our economic welfare requires an economy of scarcity and overlook the fact that the greatest asset of a nation seeking to defend its democratic way of life is a healthy and satisfied people. If all our people are to put forth the energy and give the devotion for which the times call, those on the lower rungs of the economic ladder must have their living standard raised, not lowered; and it is my considered

judgment that this can be done without harm or delay to the defense program. It cannot, however, be done under a "business as usual" arrangement. It calls rather for careful and intelligent planning far beyond anything we have so far undertaken.

Some months ago I proposed a plan for Industry Councils, the fundamental purpose of which was to obtain full and efficient use of all our productive resources. These resources include not only plant facilities and manpower but labor's ability to lend practical aid in production problems, as illustrated by the Reuther and steel-expansion plans submitted by the C. I. O. Management has no monopoly of brains, and the extensive experience of labor could be used most advantageously to advance the defense program and the nation's well-being. Unfortunately, none of these proposals have received the serious consideration which many industrialists and economists, as well as labor men, believe they merit.

Current discussion of the need to reduce outlay on consumer goods rests upon the assumption that increased employment, plus increased wage rates, has already cre-

ated or will soon create purchasing power in excess of available commodities, and that a commodity shortage leads to high prices and consequent inflation. Suggestions for avoiding this unpleasant prospect are running rife, most of them aiming in one way or another to reduce the worker's purchasing power and living standards. The devices proposed range all the way from frozen wage rates to increased taxes and a variety of complex deferred-spending plans.

I am fully cognizant of the dangers inherent in inflation. No group has more to suffer from runaway prices than the working people of America, a very large proportion of whom, even when they are fully employed, receive an income which, despite recent wage boosts, is barely up to a level of health and efficiency. I do not subscribe, however, to the premise that we face now or in the near future a serious shortage of consumer goods. Some goods are going to be scarcer, to be sure. We are going to have fewer automobiles, and a reduced supply of many other mechanical gadgets. But these reductions will not materially lower living standards, nor need they be allowed to become the pivot for a spiral of rising prices. If our price-control agencies function effectively, there is no reason why prices should get out of hand.

The worker will have ample opportunity to spend his wages on commodities which are far more essential to his own and his family's well-being than articles made of steel, aluminum, or nickel, many of which he buys because he is unable to resist high-pressure salesmanship and attractive instalment-plan offers. There are ample reservoirs of consumer goods on which our population can spend its income without interfering with armament production. First of all, it can buy more and better food. Facts brought out at the Nutrition Conference recently held in Washington, the high rate of rejections among draftees because of physical defects, and various health studies made in recent years attest eloquently to the inadequate diet of a large segment of our population. Department of Agriculture experts estimate that if American families had "good" diets, they would consume 15 to 20 per cent more dairy products, 35 per cent more eggs, and from 70 to 100 per cent more fruits and vegetables. We have all these commodities in abundance, and, given sufficient income, our people will buy them. The value of such spending to both consumers and producers hardly needs to be argued.

The inadequacy of medical and dental care among our people, especially in small industrial towns and rural areas, is a disgrace of long standing. We may run short of facilities for building much-needed hospitals and clinics, but there is as yet no shortage of doctors and dentists. Some small effort directed toward organizing health cooperatives would help to divert some of the national income to keeping the nation's health intact, and incidentally help some of the less prosperous members

of the medical and dental professions to earn a livelihood commensurate with their long preparation for these important and socially useful careers.

There is need for wholesome recreation. A population hard at work needs adequate facilities for spending its leisure time to the best advantage. Too great strain and fatigue, and the hazards of accident and ill health attendant upon them, must be avoided. Periodic vacations open up a channel for spending which instead of interfering with defense production would make it more efficient.

The point I wish to make is that we do not need to curtail consumption; we need only to *redirect* it. This calls for intelligent community planning, in which organized labor is always ready and willing to lend a hand. Much of the redirection will take place automatically. On the basis of usual spending patterns, our economists estimate that nearly 80 per cent of the \$500,000,000 annual wage increase recently obtained by the C. I. O. for its members will be spent on food, clothing, housing, medical care, and general household operations. With a reasonable amount of redirected consumption, there will be no need for deferred spending schemes. I know the American workers. They are loyal and thrifty. Those whose income is above the level essential for modest but decent living will save without compulsion. And they will gladly invest in securities offered by Uncle Sam.

I know, of course, that proposed taxation and deferred-spending plans have at least two other objectives in view—to pay for the defense program and to provide a backlog of purchasing power against a possible post-war depression. As to the first, the only just and democratic principle of taxation is that based on ability to pay. I have no objection to workers paying an income tax, provided their incomes are high enough to enable them to maintain a living standard commensurate with our national resources. But no tax structure is adequate or fair which, as the President said, allows the rich to get richer and the poor to get poorer. I am most emphatically opposed to a sales tax.

The kind of backlog for post-war buying which can be built up through deferred spending will be insufficient to save us from depression if we revert to the anarchy which ruled at the close of the last war, and will be unnecessary if we plan for comprehensive economic adjustments. Assuming we can force our people to deprive themselves of the necessities of life to the extent of, say, \$4 billion a year, assuming further that the emergency will be over by 1945, between \$16 billion and \$20 billion will have been accumulated. Repayment of these savings will depend upon Congressional action. Congress may decide not to pay them at all, in which case the whole scheme will topple like a house of cards. If it chooses to pay them back over a period of years, the net effect of the annual payments will be too small to check deflation and depression. If, however, Congress

decides to pay them back in a lump sum, at a time when our national debt will already be the highest in history, it can do so only by levying new taxes. If these are levied on the poor, money taken out of one pocket will be put into another. If the taxes are to be levied on those able to pay, why not do it now, when profits are at their peak?

We shall find ample use for our expanded productive capacity at the end of the emergency in building homes and roads, replenishing the supply of automobiles and other heavy consumer goods, helping feed and rebuild war-torn Europe, and aiding in the development of Latin America. A vast market for goods and services will exist among our own people if only they are allowed a fair share of the wealth they produce. This depends, of course, on a more equitable distribution of the national income, which can be brought about through collective bargaining, an intelligent tax structure, and enforcement of the anti-monopoly laws. Beside these potential outlets the demand created by currently deferred spending would be practically nil.

We must never lose sight of the fact that the "four freedoms" we are all determined to preserve include economic freedom. This freedom is limited as long as millions remain unemployed. It will be in grave jeopardy if we show any readiness to surrender without a struggle the minimum living standards of our people. I am convinced that such surrender is not necessary and that it would offer a greater threat to the democratic cause than any other possible development within or without. No mental gymnastics can build a sound case for cutting down consumption as long as there is an unused labor supply to produce more goods. With full utilization of available labor, with proper redirection of consumer demand, with the application to constructive ends of the intelligence God gave us, we can keep our people well fed, well clad, in time well housed, and at the same time produce the arms we need to defend ourselves and those who, like ourselves, seek to retain the decencies and freedoms which the human race has striven for through the centuries.

Geopolitics, East and West

BY PETER STEVENS

TO AN American just returned from the war and near-war zones of Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia the pattern of talk and events here is deeply shocking. It is shocking because it is so reminiscent of what went on in all the European countries now occupied by the Germans and in the countries of the Middle East which are awaiting Nazi "deliverance" from imperialistic, plutocratic British "tyranny."

I have watched the plans of the German Geopolitical Institute* executed step by step by Himmler's Gestapo and Goebbels's propaganda machine in eight countries—Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, Syria, Palestine, and Iraq. Only in Turkey have I seen them thwarted by a vigilant and shrewd government which has dealt ruthlessly with every attempt to set the geopolitical machinery running. Other eyewitnesses have described how Western European states were paralyzed by the softening-up process used by the Nazis prior to actual occupation. In all, seventeen countries have succumbed to the Nazi "strategy of terror," discovering too late that Hitler's methods of political warfare cannot be countered with orthodox kid gloves. Yet so cleverly and gradually is the Nazi virus injected that we have not yet fully recognized the unmistakable infection in our own body politic. It may be useful, therefore, to sketch the general

pattern of the German technique as I have observed it in action and to illustrate its effects with incidents from my own experience in the conquered countries. To this pattern and these examples the parallels here are all too obvious.

The spearhead of the Nazi method is the construction of what may be called a front of malcontents. This must be led by a respectable group who can be put on display to reassure the public. Confused idealists, uninformed pacifists, ex-heroes, sincere leaders of dead causes are required to provide an innocent window-dressing. The rank and file of the malcontents' front is made up of Russo-ophile Communists, Jew-baiters, anti-Catholic bigots, reactionary bankers and manufacturers, discredited political groups, personally ambitious rabble-rousers, irredentists, and the diehard flotsam of lost causes which litters the political sea of every democratic country. For ammunition old grudges, blind prejudices, and long-abandoned issues are exhumed and polished up. Each group in this front is promised everything it has ever wanted; each group is assured separately and confidentially that they will be "top men" and that their cause will prevail when the wave of the future rolls in.

Certain key men not in any of these groups are often bought outright. There is good reason to believe that Horia Sima in Rumania, Mihailov in Bulgaria, the Koualty leaders in Syria, and Rashid Ali in Iraq were

* The Institute is described by Frederick Sondern in the June issue of *Current History* in an article entitled *The Thousand Scientists Behind Hitler*.

won over in this way. In Bagdad in April I was told that Rashid Ali's price was \$100,000 in a Swiss bank, also available at the Imperial Bank of Iran, plus a European mistress and a new Mercedes-Benz, both carrying a trade-in guaranty.

Though it may be hard for our well-meaning fellow-travelers who consider themselves merely liberals to believe it, the Communists in every Balkan country cooperated fully with the German organizations and the local malcontents' front in preparing for the capitulation. A former Prime Minister of Bulgaria, the leader of the largest liberal leftist party in the country, said to me in January, "Any hope of a popular-front, left-of-center opposition to German occupation is gone, since our strongest and best-organized group, the Communists, are firmly in the camp of the Germans in the spirit of the Berlin-Moscow agreement." A few self-respecting Communists did form an anti-Russian Communist group, but it was pitifully small.

As soon as the German diplomatic corps and the advance Gestapo men report this front of malcontents as an established fact, the Goebbels machinery goes into high gear. One or more newspapers are bought outright or subsidized. Illustrated magazines somewhat like *Life* are printed in Berlin and distributed free in great quantities. The D. N. B., on the German radio, appeals to the population through every receiving set, and the propaganda power of the German radio is incomparably greater than that of any other country. Its influence in Iraq may be taken as typical. Every Arab, at least every town or village Arab, spends part of his day in a coffee house. And every coffee house has a powerful outdoor radio which can be heard blocks away. From Tel-Kochek in the north to Basra in the south, one is seldom out of range of their weird music and loud speech. The Germans hired a brilliant rabble-rouser named Younis Bahri at a huge salary and took him to Berlin. He speaks the language of the average Iraqi of the coffee house and has rubbed salt into every old sore disturbing British-Iraqi relations. The B. B. C. from London and Jerusalem counters this with Arabic programs given in the stiff and pedantic classical Arabic, which is almost unintelligible to the common people. An Englishman who has lived in Iraq since the last war told me he believed that 90 per cent of the people who had access to a radio heard Younis Bahri daily, while 15 per cent at the most heard the B. B. C.

Some time before the occupation the Germans had gained control of almost all moving-picture theaters in the Balkans, and pacifist groups were strengthened by the constant stream of German films showing *Blitzkrieg* scenes. These were usually followed on the screen by views of young German Apollos in field-gray tending Polish babies or dressing the wounds of frightening-looking thugs in French or Dutch or Norwegian uni-

forms. Deputies, hesitating politicians, and lukewarm army officers of high rank were wined, dined, and shown these pictures. The obvious implication was, why make these wholesome German boys destroy you when you can have them here as friends simply by a little cooperation?

I heard much whispering about the way the Nazis blackmailed factory owners and other rich men and I finally ran across one case which is probably fairly typical. One would expect that the rich, after listening to what the D. N. B. had to say about plutocrats, would be strongly against the New Order, but a great proportion of them turned up, at least apparently, in the Nazi camp. Since he is alive and still in Sofia, we will call my man Gregor Stanev, a name which bears no relation to his own. Likewise we will say he owns a shoe factory. Several times during 1940 a German purchasing agent came to his factory and ordered moderate quantities of shoes at very good prices. In December the agent came again and offered a contract for the entire output of the factory, at good prices, for a period of five years. Stanev was delighted until the agent added with studied casualness, "We expect that your contributions to the Agrarian Party will cease. We further expect that your not inconsiderable influence will be used to facilitate an orderly and peaceful installation of the New Order in Bulgaria. From time to time we may have other small favors to ask along this line which we are sure you will be glad to grant."

Stanev refused to be bought and asked for the contract. It was returned to him, and the agent left, apologetically and with a great show of courtesy. Within a very few days Stanev's eldest son, a young army officer, came home upset and excited. He urged his father to change his mind. He had been approached by a senior officer on behalf of the New Order. This officer had assured him that the factories of those who cooperated would not be confiscated or molested in any way. If Stanev refused, he faced possible loss by confiscation, certain ruin through loss of orders, and in all probability the breakup of his family and a concentration camp. Stanev has a wife and several children in addition to the son who is an army officer. He could not be bought, but this threat to his family and their safety was too much; he signed.

I do not know the end of this particular case. But if other incidents are indicative, the "purchasing agent" probably came back when the German army entered Bulgaria on March 1 in the neat dark gray of the Elite Guard. He is probably now Stanev's partner in the shoe business.

The success of this kind of campaign, based on unrest, disorganization, and threats, depends on the German agility in carrying water on both shoulders—making incompatible promises to incompatible groups—until the Nazis' complete domination makes it no longer necessary

June 28, 1941

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for them to keep any promises. Last winter and fall the Nazis were financing and directing diametrically opposed irredentist groups in Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania. Persons opposed to the New Order in these countries begged the English to flood the air waves and propaganda routes with the simple statement that Dobrudja, Macedonia, Bessarabia, Transylvania, Croatia, and other territories were being promised by the Germans to two countries at once. In fact, certain portions of Transylvania were actually being promised to Russia, Hungary, and the Rumanian Iron Guardists at one and the same time. They are now occupied by German troops. The English refused on the ground that such propaganda would be interfering in the internal affairs of a friendly country. They were content to bring the matter to the attention of the governments concerned through regular diplomatic channels, ignoring the fact that these governments were in many cases carefully keeping the facts from their people in order to aid the Germans.

Thwarted nationalism provides the happiest hunting ground for the Nazis. This approach has been used very successfully in Croatia, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and even in India and South Africa. Imperialism and plutocracy are the most successful bogies of propaganda. And the British, whose history has been gone over with a fine-toothed comb for examples of their villainies, are presented as preeminently plutocratic and imperialistic. We fill the next spot of honor as their dupes and assistants. Boer War concentration camps, America's refusal to sell

the Boers guns, and eighteenth-century British atrocities are refurbished and broadcast in sanctimonious terms by the operators of Dachau and the authors of the crimes in Poland.

We are told as the Balkans were told, and as each victim has been told, that we are the exception; that against us there is no claim and no conspiracy. And we, like those helpless millions in Europe, show signs of believing it. Many of us, like many of them, are willing to forget or explain away the very words of the official interpreter and formulator of Nazi ideals and aims, Dr. Rosenberg: "A new peace shall make Germany mistress of the globe, a peace not hanging on the palm fronds of lachrymose pacifist women-folk, but established by the victorious sword of a master-race that takes over the world in the service of a higher civilization."

I do not know whether the forces that march behind the respectable front of Lindbergh and Wheeler and Nye were marshaled by Haushofer's Geopolitical Institute. But they have an amazing similarity to groups used by the Nazis in other countries. There walk the fellow-traveling labor leaders, the Christian Front and the Jew-baiters, Protestant Veterans and Catholic-haters, and an amazing array of professional rabble-rousers and adherents of lost causes. The week that I returned from Europe, the Christian Front held an America First rally in Boston. The entertainment was blitz-horror movies, supplied by the German consul. How familiar it all seemed! To me it was plainly the repetition on a colossal scale, as befits America, of the first figures in the pattern



CRIME MARCHES ON

which in seventeen nations in the last few years has led finally to capitulation and the New Order.

Some say that the Bill of Rights gives this movement the "right" to proceed on its fatal course; others that we are so strong and so rich that we need not be troubled by Communist interference with our plans for arming,

that we can afford to ignore the defeatism and pacifism of Lindbergh and Wheeler, and the racial, social, and religious hates of Coughlin and the Christian Front. But let us not forget the similarity of our malcontents' front to the Nazi tools in each and every one of the nations already engulfed by the Wave of the Future.

What's Wrong with Our Army?

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE army has aptly been called the stepchild of American defense. More than any other agency of government it has been the victim of circumstances. During the two decades of peace, military training in the schools and the fascism, real or alleged, of some officers have been favorite targets of pacifists and liberals. Economy-minded Congresses have so reduced the army's appropriations that it has, at times, nearly perished from financial malnutrition. Its personnel, both commissioned and enlisted, has too frequently consisted of the ne'er-do-wells and misfits of civil life, to whom the prospect of a secure if poorly paid existence has beckoned more alluringly than the competition of civilian life.

Today the army suffers from a very different set of circumstances. It has been given more money than it ever expected to receive and masses of recruits whom it was unprepared to assimilate, though the General Staff, without too great an inner struggle, allowed itself to be persuaded to favor conscription. Supplied with unlimited quantities of both money and men, the army has been expected to do only one thing—show results. In some respects its response has been very creditable. Many of the useless activities of military life, such as excessive fatigue duty, overemphasis on the manual of arms, and antiquated forms of etiquette, have been dropped. Rookies clad in sensible uniforms have been given as much instruction as they could possibly absorb in the time allowed. All things considered, the construction of cantonments has progressed satisfactorily. Much necessary new equipment has been provided. In short, the army has shown more energy than many of its critics would formerly have believed possible.

But these isolated accomplishments do not mean that the army has become a powerful modern force capable of meeting German troops and defeating them. The training of a mass of raw recruits results in the temporary weakening of an army, for veteran divisions have to be broken up to form the cadres for the new material. The development of new weapons, particularly anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns, has left the army short of implements for fighting a modern war. No less an authority

than General Marshall has testified to the army's fine spirit, but virtually nothing has been done deliberately to build morale and esprit de corps among the new troops. The Army Air Corps, partly because of the necessity of providing air aid to England, is in a state of bad disorganization, with too few modern planes.

Much more serious is the fact that the basic plan for the army's expansion is defective. As in the First World War we are developing a slow, cumbersome mass army. Yet according to the testimony of German, French, and neutral observers the German troops which actually conquered the Low Countries and France consisted of only some twelve divisions, about 120,000 men. The bulk of the German army followed at the heels of the dive-bombers and armored units and played the part of policemen, consolidating and holding gains. The armored divisions, possessing great mobility and speed and from three to seven times the fire power of the older infantry units, were the effective striking force. Other troops had a purely secondary function. And despite the contrary claims of Allied propagandists, the losses of the attackers were remarkable small.

This revolution in warfare has been almost completely ignored by our army leaders. We now have two armored divisions, with two others planned, for an army which has been increased 600 per cent within a year. An army of four million men even is being discussed. If it is built up to this size without an increase in the armored branch, the American army will present the interesting spectacle of a force 1 per cent modern and 99 per cent obsolete. When a man in a tank or plane has been demonstrated to be worth ten or fifty or a hundred ordinary infantrymen armed with rifles, it is obviously foolish to multiply the number of infantrymen instead of the number of armored troops. Germany today probably has at least twenty *Panzer* divisions. Between twenty and forty are the indispensable minimum for us.

In a recent issue of the *Infantry Journal*, a progressive service publication, the view was expressed that the United States "might do worse than to duplicate the work of the Germans but probably could, and should,

do much better." Both parts of the statement are correct. Many of our army officers, for example, General Hugh A. Drum of the First Army, foresaw the armored division, parachute troops, dive-bombing in conjunction with infantry attacks, and other recent developments before these things had been tried out by any modern army. Under their leadership we could ultimately evolve a system of warfare as much better than that of the German army as German methods today are in advance of those of 1918. Unfortunately these are not the men who are in positions of leadership. Until recent months they have been the unhonored prophets or the suppressed rebels of American military life. Our typical army leaders obtained their positions after long years of competent but undistinguished service, with promotion on a basis of straight seniority. They are men who have resolutely closed their minds to new ideas; for the past hundred years the American army has rejected virtually every suggested improvement or invention until years after it had become an established success elsewhere. If we wish to make an army as good as the German army, the closed minds in the higher ranks must be eliminated—by arbitrary executive action if necessary. Advancement by seniority must be replaced by selection for merit. And the officers selected must be promoted to high command at an age when they are still at the height of their physical and mental powers.

The lack of vision of American military men is due partly to the cumbersome organization of both the army and the War Department. The functioning of the transport and supply services of the army has been a particular cause for complaint among field officers. The outstanding authority on military organization in the United States, General Johnson Hagood, has written: "The present organization of the Department of War is so involved that no Secretary of War has been able to understand it. . . . No archangel of heaven could operate a machine so badly constructed and so complicated as the War Department is under existing law . . . it would fall down immediately upon the outbreak of war."

The problem created by the presence of incompetent and reactionary officers in the higher ranks is not, of course, peculiar to the United States. The French army had its full share of backwardness. So did the British army—until recently. So did the German army—until Hitler ruthlessly weeded out the dead wood in the German High Command. One of the most striking features of the Nazi forces is the large proportion of young men in high positions. Men in their forties occupy posts as high as those held by American officers of sixty. And unlike the United States, Germany has made a systematic effort, through high pay and generous treatment, through entertainment and propaganda and obvious marks of national esteem, to create and maintain a magnificent morale among its soldiers. Thorough training of troops

in the field of their activity is another mark of the German system.

Our present selective-service law gives too many men too little training. For the less vital components of the modern army a year may suffice, but for the armored divisions and air force a lengthening of the period of service or the use of long-term volunteers is needed in order to do away with the rapid turnover of personnel.

One of the greatest defects of American defense has long been lack of coordination. Aside from the President, whom pressure of business normally makes unavailable, there is no person or group in Washington to coordinate the needs and plans of the various defense services



General George Marshall

with those of the United States as a whole. Congress is not in a position to offer help, for each of eight defense committees deals with only a certain part of the entire field and cannot see defense policies as a whole. There is a definite need for a national general staff composed of informed civilians and representatives of the air, sea, and land forces. At the same time heroic efforts must be made to break down the jealousies which have long inhibited the smooth cooperation of the navy with the army and the army with the air force.

Our naval air force is an integral part of the navy; it has no sense of separatism and gives intense loyalty to naval traditions. But there is little friendship or cooperation between the army air force and the army proper. Efforts to coordinate bombing with infantry attacks, for example, were made only during the last maneuvers and then rather clumsily, according to observers. Rightly or wrongly, many aviation men feel that their interests have been sacrificed by a reactionary High Command, which has been very jealous of its prestige and knows little of aviation. A formula for cooperation should be found which includes a frank recognition on the part of both defense branches of the utility of the other in winning modern wars.

All these improvements, however, will not guarantee an army capable of defeating German troops in the field. In war, superiority, not equality, must always be sought. The brilliant American officers whose theories of the art of war were first practiced by the more alert Germans must be given an opportunity to evolve means to surpass the Germans.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The New Economic Order

ADDRESSING the general assembly of the German Reichsbank recently, Dr. Funk, its president and also Nazi Minister of Economics, boasted: "Despite the British blockade, the volume of Germany's foreign trade has again almost reached its pre-war level." In view of the fact that Germany obtained some 50 per cent of its pre-war imports from countries to which access is now completely blocked, this statement at first sight naturally arouses skepticism. But Dr. Funk himself has an explanation of the seeming miracle. "Germany's exchange of goods with European countries," he tells us, "has risen by a round 65 per cent in the course of the past year.

It is perfectly possible that the Reichsbank president is, on this occasion, actually telling the truth, apart from his decidedly euphemistic use of the word "exchange." For there is no doubt that Germany has obtained during the past year enormous quantities of goods from the European countries which by force or "persuasion" have been brought within its orbit. To some extent these imports are the fruits of outright seizure, but a considerable part of the flow is the result of transactions which have at least a surface appearance of normal business deals.

The Nazi agent approaches the Danish farmer or French manufacturer offering the current market price, or even better, for the goods he requires. Commercial morality is thus far appeased and the farmer or manufacturer encouraged to sell without the use of coercion. But the question arises: Where does the Nazi agent get the kroner or francs which he flourishes temptingly under the seller's nose? The answer is that he gets them from the Danish National Bank and the Bank of France, both of which have been forced to open unlimited credits for German account. Alternatively they may have been obtained from the governments of those countries as "occupation costs," charged on a scale which leaves large free balances after actual expenses for the German forces within the conquered countries are met. In either case the Reich evades the necessity of exchanging goods against goods.

According to the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of March 14, the credit which the Danish National Bank had been forced to grant to Germany had risen to 488,000,000 crowns by the end of February, 1941. But Danes went cold last winter, for although they exported their butter and bacon to the Reich, which commanded practically the entire coal supply of Europe, they were only permitted to buy extremely meager quantities of fuel. The other occupied countries are in a similar plight. Germany buys from them everything it can lay hands on, even badly needed food stocks, but sells only minimum quantities of the goods they desperately need. This is what Dr. Funk chooses to describe as "exchange."

The conditions of this one-sided commerce are, however, now changing. The occupied countries of the West have by this time been almost drained of existing stocks of commodities, and they can go on feeding the German war machine

only if their industries are put to work. This means they must be supplied with raw materials, and since raw materials throughout the Continent are under German control, the Nazi High Command is able to bend production in accordance with its own needs. Thus the *Agence Economique et Financière*, published in Paris, has stated that Germany is compelled to regard all raw materials, both within its own borders and in the occupied areas, as part of "a joint reserve, to be used primarily for the German war machine and only secondarily for civilian consumption."

Early this year negotiations started in Paris between German and Vichy officials to discuss the technique of economic collaboration, or in other words the utilization of French industry in accordance with German needs. In February a Salon Technique et Industriel Allemand was opened in Paris as a permanent institution, not, as might be thought, to attract buyers of German goods, but to encourage and educate potential French purveyors to Germany. On display are machinery, machine parts, and other metal products for which German industry is willing to sign subcontracts with French concerns. There are also sections devoted to the chemical and textile industries, and special offices where business can be transacted on the spot are available. If necessary, the Ger-



Drawing by Harry Roth

The Customer Is Always Right

man purchaser agrees to supply the needed raw materials.

German control over the industries of France and other occupied countries is being further tightened by the systematic buying up of their share capital. The "occupation costs" racket provides a steady flow of funds for this purpose, and many methods of making recalcitrant stockholders see the wisdom of selling have been reported. Among recent deals of this kind are the purchase of some \$5,000,000 worth of shares of the Algemeene Kunstzijde Unie, a large Dutch rayon company, by a German group and the acquisition by the Ruhr steel trust, Vereinigte Stahlwerke, of \$10,000,000 worth of shares in the Koninklijke Nederlandsche Hoogovens, one of the leading units in Dutch heavy industry. In the second of these cases the almost certainly unwilling seller was the City of Amsterdam.

In Holland the extraordinary export balance reported during the early months of the occupation has fallen off since the beginning of the year, and now, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* reports, trade with Germany shows a considerable import balance. But, it should be noted, these imports are mainly raw materials destined to be worked up in Dutch factories and later returned to Germany as finished products. Altogether, according to the same source, Germany placed orders in Holland valued at over one billion guilders during the first quarter of this year. This expenditure will provide work and wages in Holland, but unless payment takes the form of imported consumers' goods it will do nothing to halt the rapid decline in the Dutch standard of living.

In France the German artificial-fibers cartel has obtained a 30 per cent participation in France Rayonne, a combination of twenty factories with a capital of half a billion francs. Because of the shortage of raw wool and cotton, synthetic-textile manufacture has become a key industry. The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, in an article describing Franco-German collaboration, in this field states: "Germany is placing the necessary quantities of cellulose at the disposal of France, since French raw-material resources, even if fully exploited, would be insufficient. The significance of Franco-German cooperation in the textile industry lies in the fact that the productive capacity of the French rayon plants will be used to a large extent to supply the German market, while the expanded German cellulose industry will have to supply the French market with patents, raw materials, and probably with limited quantities of artificial wool."

Similar measures to reorganize French industry in accordance with the economic needs of the German *Wehrmacht* are being adopted in many other fields, notably in aluminum and steel production. As British bombings of German industrial areas increase in intensity, the Nazis are likely to rely more and more on the productive facilities of the occupied territories. But while the resulting diffusion of targets will add to the difficulties of the R. A. F., it must also swell the German transport problem by necessitating long additional hauls for raw materials and finished goods. Moreover, it will compel the Nazis to make available greater food supplies to their victims, for the factories cannot be kept running by starving workers.

[Correction. In the article on railroads in the June 14 issue, carloadings for the week ending October 26, 1940, were given as 637,651. The figure should have been 837,651.]

In the Wind

NEW YORK's coming mayoralty campaign will be the liveliest and most uncertain in years, and because almost every political group now operating in the country will be represented, it will be a national campaign in microcosm. Mayor LaGuardia is odds-on favorite for the Republican nomination. An attempt will be made to have the Democrats indorse LaGuardia, but Brooklyn's District Attorney William O'Dwyer is favored by the machine, and it is believed that nothing short of intervention by Roosevelt would win the nomination for the "little flower." Various fascist and Christian Front groups are backing George U. Harvey and Judge Herbert A. O'Brien inside the Democratic Party, but if O'Dwyer wins, the Coughlinites will support him despite his excellent liberal record. The right wing of the American Labor Party will support LaGuardia; the pro-Communist wing has considered backing Vito Marcantonio, but its plans will doubtless be changed by Russia's entry into the war.

THE REGENTS of the University of Georgia recently voted to retain Walter D. Cocking, Dean of Education, after Governor Talmadge sought to remove him from office because of his advocacy of a teachers' training school at which the pupils would be "both blacks and whites—in order to uplift the state of Georgia." As quoted by the *Chicago Tribune*, Talmadge said: "I'm not going to put up with any social equality in the university system of the state schools."

PROBABLY the last fellow-traveler to give the old, pre-June 22 Communist line was Rockwell Kent, who spoke over the N. B. C. hook-up at 4:30 p.m. on the day Hitler invaded Russia. Kent attacked the war, the defense program, and the intellectuals who support Britain.

ONCE DURING Elmer Davis's brief stay in England the New York office of the Columbia Broadcasting System invited the news commentator's wife to speak to her husband over the company's transatlantic telephone system. Mr. Davis's voice came over clearly, but he was noticeably reserved and distant for a man talking to his wife. Finally, as the conversation came to a close, Mr. Davis said, "I didn't quite get your name, but will you be sure to give my love to my family."

ANGERED BY *PM*'s exposé of Christian Front propaganda, the New York *Sunday Enquirer*, whose publisher was linked to the Front in several articles, recently made an effort to get back at the crusading tabloid. *PM* received a call from an *Enquirer* representative who said he had heard a rumor that the owners were planning a merger with the *Daily Worker*. The *Enquirer* man was assured that this was not the case. In its next issue the *Enquirer* ran a page 1 story headed, "*PM*, *Daily Worker* Will Not Merge."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Soldiers Need Fun

BY THIS time I hope the United Service Organizations will already have every nickel of the \$10,000,000 they started out to get on June 3 in order to be able to run the recreation houses the government is going to build for the soldiers, sailors, and other essential participants in defense. But before the organizations, all but one of which are of a distinctly religious nature, start out to spend the money, I should like, as a country boy, to join that city slicker, Miss Elsa Maxwell, in saying a few words about this recreation for our defenders.

Miss Maxwell, who for years has been making her living by putting on parties for the city rich which sometimes sounded at least a little wacky to the country poor, has been out partying with the selectees. She went all the way down to Camp Robinson in Arkansas and came back to make a profound announcement to a lady reporter over luncheon at the Louis XIV Cafe. Soldiers, Miss Maxwell reported, are young and human, and they want fun.

There is nothing wacky about that pronouncement. It makes sense. And no other feeling about these young defenders of ours is going to make sense in the defense towns. Miss Maxwell recommends for them blind dates with nice girls and free beer from nice brewers. Such a plan might encounter difficulties. I am specifically not advocating it. But I am hoping that at least as much of this \$10,000,000 is spent on fun as on organized goodness.

I favor providing for the "welfare and spiritual needs" of the young men. I know there are problems of welfare around the defense towns, scandalously neglected ones so far. I know there are times when a boy may want more than anything else the consolation he could get from a priest, preacher, or rabbi, maybe even from a Y. M. C. A. secretary. But I know that what the big mass of the young in defense want is some fun when they get through a week of maneuvering across Tennessee or a day of taking gadgets apart and putting them together again in California. They could take care of their own welfare by staying at the camp. In most posts they could find chaplains for their spiritual needs. But they're going to town. That is why the government is building these recreation centers in the towns to which they go.

A famous architect has designed the recreation houses, but there seems to be some confusion as to the people they are being built for. Depending upon the local or

national view, our young defender seems often to be two things, neither of which, I think, he is: he is the roughneck who has to be watched close at hand, or he is the infant for whom elaborate protective processes are being devised at a distance. Evidence can undoubtedly be arrayed to support both views. There are roughnecks in the army. Young men do need protection from some dangers. But the greater truth is that the soldiers, sailors, and defense workers in America today are young men typical of the boys in our own towns. Most of them are pretty good boys. Indeed, in large measure they are the selected and not merely the drafted. But they are young. They want fun, excitement, girls, and sometimes an amazing amount of noise, which they call music.

Most of them would prefer good girls to bad ones. Most of them would rather have a chance at decent fun than the stinking blatancy of the campside honky-tonks. But our young defender is American youth, 1941 model, and he is going to be pulled away from the dangerous entertainers, who have had at least a year of experience in entertaining him, only if he is offered recreation corresponding to what he wants and not to what the righteous and the protective think he needs.

For that job \$10,000,000 is not much money in this defense spending. If it is wasted in wrong-headed righteousness, not much money will be lost. But a lot might be lost in time and morale if there is continuing loneliness and boredom and dangerous young adventuring after satisfactions in strange, crowded countrysides.

The collection has been taken, and I've put my money in the plate of the rabbis, priests, preachers, laymen, Y. M. C. A. secretaries, welfare workers, and Salvation Army drum-beaters and doughnut dispensers. In with my money I put my hope that they would do a good job. But I'm expecting to get the value of my money—it was not much—for America only if the emphasis in the recreation houses is put on the ideas of the young who are to be entertained rather than on those of the undoubtedly consecrated and devoted men who are to be in charge of the entertaining. This is the soldiers' and sailors' money—this \$10,000,000—and it ought to be spent for their fun. The best way to protect them—to build their morale—is to please them.

You've got to get them and hold them before you can save them.

Please, let's have fun. There is no scarcity even now of solemnity.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

THE *Retail Bookseller* recently printed a statement by the editor of Modern Age Books that is rather discouraging for book lovers whose buying is limited by book prices. Modern Age began by publishing new books, as well as reprints, at 25 cents. The venture seemed to be going well at first, but sales were not sufficient to justify the large printings which were in turn necessary to keep down the unit cost of each book. A new range of prices, from 50 to 95 cents, was tried and for a time seemed to be the right formula. Then the average sale began to drop. Since November, 1939, Modern Age has published new books at "regular" prices of \$2 or above.

The chief difficulty, according to Modern Age, is a lack of widespread distribution facilities. "Book outlets have been too few in number to allow wide display of low-cost titles, and . . . potential buyers were not reached." The *Retail Bookseller*, which is concerned of course with proving that book prices are not too high, expresses doubt that this potential market exists and repeats the old argument that a low price makes people suspect there is something wrong with the product; it does not go on to say what I suspect is far more to the point, that bookstores, which to judge by their relatively small number are not highly profitable enterprises, naturally prefer to display and sell those books which yield a greater unit return.

The arguments of the *Retail Bookseller* seem to me to be weakened by the fact that cheap reprints are sold in large quantities; it was new books that Modern Age was unable to sell successfully at low prices. This does not mean, however, that I subscribe to the theory that books are just another commodity, like toothpaste, and susceptible to the same methods of mass production and sale. The habit of cleaning one's teeth is almost universal; the market for toothpaste need not be created but only competed for. The habit of reading is fairly widespread, to judge by the circulation of cheap magazines—though these magazines are kept going by advertisers, not by readers. The habit of reading books is relatively much less common; and while I think there is a great potential market, the problem of opening it up involves cultural as well as economic factors. The editor of Modern Age thinks that "the more successful Pocket Books, Penguin, and other low-cost ventures become, the wider will be the distribution of reprint titles. And in time, if a successful tradition of sale continues, distribution outlets will spring up around these low-cost books. From that point on it should be possible to issue an occasional new book." However, he thinks "it is bound to be years before the practice of issuing new books at low cost can become general in America. It costs more to manufacture new books, and of course they lack the initial sales advantage possessed by a reprint of a previous best-seller. From every point of view they are a greater economic risk than reprint publications." This sounds sensible, though it seems unlikely that this increased book-

buying public will ever be inclined to pay \$2.50 for an unknown new book when it has got used to buying books of known value for 25 cents.

The *Retail Bookseller* concludes, a little triumphantly, that "books do not cost so much!" As a stubborn consumer I should put it differently. The success of reprints—of which the apparent prosperity of the Readers' Club is another example—and the testimony of my own pocket-book convince me that new books *do* cost too much, but this seems to be a necessary evil which will continue as long as the pattern of their production and sale follows, for whatever reasons, that of Rolls Royces rather than Fords. It will continue, in other words, until the potential large market, which I believe exists, is opened up and the publishing business can be shifted to something like a mass-production basis.

MARGARET MARSHALL

A Call for Action

THE TIME IS NOW! By Pierre van Paassen. The Dial Press. \$1.

MR. VAN PAASSEN has written a brilliant sketch of Hitler's present ambitions, particularly with respect to the United States. Of the many speculations on that subject which have been poured out in recent months no other has seemed to hit the nail so squarely on the head. Despite some wild statements about the alleged influence of the Munich Geopolitical Institute on German foreign policy during the last two generations, which I shall return to, he has succeeded to a truly remarkable degree in penetrating to the inner nerve of Hitler's policy, the logic behind his moves, his subterfuges, and his devices.

Mr. van Paassen rightly recognizes as the pivotal point of Hitler's policy his remarkable attempt to win a war that is essentially a war to control the seas without a navy and on land. Hitler is pitting his armies against the British navy in an attempt to bring the whole of the Old World under his control; he is trying to eliminate Britain as a world power by systematically depriving it of any foothold on the land, while at the same time he seeks to dominate the shipping lanes of the world by means of submarines and planes. His ultimate objective is to encircle, after the defeat of Britain, the last source of resistance to his plans, the United States—in the east from Iceland and Greenland to the Azores, Dakar, and the Cape, and in the west from the Behring Sea to Singapore.

In tracing out this sweeping plan of campaign in more detail Van Paassen scores many hits against the blind optimism that has obscured it. The German drive in the Balkans, far from being an act of desperation to prevent the British from creating an eastern front, "was a carefully executed, perfectly timed detail of the master-plan." "When Hitler loudly blamed British and American diplomacy for Belgrade's final decision to make a stand, we fell into the trap. We

failed to realize that this resistance to his demands was precisely what he desired, and that he had engineered matters to that end." Van Paassen thinks Hitler's plans in the Near East include a drive along the African east coast to Cape Town, where the nationalist Boer opposition would enable him to stage a repetition of the Sudetenland farce, and an advance through Persia and Afghanistan to India.

In the final act of the drama, when the whole of Africa and of the Near and Middle East had fallen into German hands, the United States would face in "splendid isolation" a hostile Old World. With insufficient forces to defend the whole of the Americas' 30,000 miles of coastline, we should be forced to give up the greater part of South America "desperately clamping ourselves to what are, after all, mere secondary positions at Panama and in the Caribbean."

To avert such an encirclement Van Paassen proposes the immediate dispatch of an expeditionary force to Dakar, in order to prevent Hitler from seizing this decisive point in the "world-wide pincer movement of the Axis against the Western Hemisphere" and the Cape Verde, Canary, and Azores Islands; the staging of a naval demonstration at Singapore, to assist Britain in the defense of India against the Germans attacking from the west and the Japanese from the east; and the immediate drafting of a plan of full cooperation between the American and British navies, with the American fleet conveying war material to Britain, in order that the Battle of the Atlantic may not be lost to Hitler.

To see America in the role of a mere sympathetic onlooker to Britain's tragedy is Herr Hitler's fondest desire. For his projects envisage the consecutive, separate, installment-plan conquests of Britain and America modeled on the tactics he has so far pursued, on a miniature scale, in Europe.

Mr. van Paassen's penetrating analysis of Hitler's strategy would be even more admirable if, in his eagerness to enhance the force of his warnings, he had not attempted to bolster them up with a series of grotesque statements about the influence of the Geopolitical Institute, and to present Hitler's plans for world domination merely as the execution of the schemes evolved over almost half a century by that institution. To assert that "the real conflict between the Kaiser and Bismarck was based on Wilhelm's adoption of geopolitical ideas then sponsored by the Institute of Political Oceanography" and that "Kaiser Wilhelm believed in Germany's destiny as a mistress of not only Europe but of the whole world" is as grotesque a falsification of history as the statement that "the Geopolitical Institute has existed since 1897, and its ideology has fermented in the minds of German political thinkers since 1870," and that "the German government—whether a Kaiserreich, republic, or totalitarian state—enthusiastically sponsored a planning academy whose function was to develop a long-range project for the domination of the world." The truth is that German foreign policy has had no such continuity as is here ascribed to it; it did not harbor under the Kaiser, still less under the Weimar Republic, any such worldwide ambitions as have dominated it under the Nazis. As to the Geopolitical Institute and its alleged influence as the "Reich's political and military planning academy," all talk about the institute's existence prior to the World War is nonsense. The geopolitical movement, not the

institute, rose under the influence of the defeat and in opposition to the Weimar Republic; and its influence, or rather that of its head, Professor Haushofer, dates from Hitler's accession to power in 1933.

HERBERT ROSINSKI

Eros and Agape

LOVE IN THE WESTERN WORLD. By Denis de Rougemont. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

THE perfectly handsome and good young man meets the perfectly lovely and good young woman amid the perfectly beautiful and good scenery of nature, and soon they are that way about each other. Of course, there are obstacles—to make the story interesting—but one by one they are overcome. The rivals are honest enough to reveal themselves in their true light, the husbands and wives considerate enough to die and leave a fortune, and the curtain falls to the music of the angels as the divine pair fall into each other's arms forever. All this is not a myth; it really happened; the camera and technicolor cannot lie.

But how are Tom and Mary, for whom the curtain does not fall, to do likewise?

"It isn't easy," Tom reflects, "to be a god. Is any razor blade or hair cream really fool-proof? Is my tailor reliable? What job will bring me ten thousand dollars a year, yet not take up any of my time?" "It isn't easy," Mary also reflects, "to be a goddess, when it's always August underneath the arms. Ought I to change my diet? Is my laundry a tattle-tale gray? Do I serve the right coffee? Will having a child ruin my ankles?"

And of course their fears are justified. They cease to be gods to each other and become unromantic human beings, smelly, aging, selfish, and irritable. But they have been brought up to believe in the myth of passion; that is, that only perfection is worthy to be loved. "Tom never calls me the only girl in the world now," moans Mary, and Tom hums grimly,

I took her for better or worse but she
Was worse than I took her for,

and it is hardly surprising if they seek in a series of "affairs" to rekindle the sacred flame.

"Love in the Western World" is a history of this romantic myth from its inception in the courtly love of Provence down to its latest personal and political forms. Its thesis may be summarized thus: at the root of the romantic conception of ideal sexual passion lies Manichaeism, a dualistic heresy introduced into Europe from the East, which held matter to be the creation of the Evil One and therefore incapable of salvation. From this it follows that all human institutions like marriage are corrupt, and perfection can be reached only by death, in which the limitations of matter are finally transcended and the soul is merged into the infinite nothingness of the Logos. The primary expression of this myth is the Tristan legend which culminates in Wagner's opera. To Tristan and Isolde love is, first, something predestined, for which they have no moral responsibility, and, second, something which can exist in the world of time only so long as there are obstacles to its physical consummation; only after death can they be at last eternally identified in the Infinite.

June 28, 1941



This legend in its turn creates its negative mirror image, the legend that begins with Jean de Meung and culminates in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. Here it is the flesh that is asserted and the spirit that is denied; the present moment is all, the eternal future nothing. Tristan sees time as something evil to be passively endured; Don Juan sees time as something evil to be aggressively destroyed: the former is a suicide, the latter a murderer. But they have three things in common: both are interesting sinners; both lack all knowledge of the beloved as a person; both "appear sword in hand." The two sides of the myth can combine only in a collective form, in warfare, where every individual is at one and the same time the masochistic murderess and the sadistic murderer, or in the political relationship of the impassioned leader and the impassioned masses.

Equally opposed to both isotopes of Eros stands the Christian doctrine of Agape.

The incarnation of the Word in the world is the astounding event whereby we are delivered from the woe of being alive . . . for the Incarnation to have occurred is the radical negation of every kind of religion . . . [which] tends to sublimate man, and leads to the condemning of his "finite" life . . . men can only achieve salvation by ceasing to be, by being "lost" in the bosom of the divine. But in Christianity this process is completely inverted. What the Gospel calls dying to self is the *beginning* of a new life already *here below*. It is an immediate reassertion, not of course of the old life, and not of an ideal life, but of our present life now repossessed by the Spirit. . . . Thereupon to love is no longer to reject the act of love. To Eros individual beings were so many defects of the one and only being and as such none was susceptible of being really loved. . . . Christian love is obedience in the present. For to love God is to *obey God*, who has commanded us to love one another. In reply to the ironical question: "Who is my neighbor?" Jesus answered: "Whoever has need of you."

My only criticism of Mr. de Rougemont's profound and brilliant study is that I find his definition of Eros a little vague. He sometimes speaks as if he meant, which I am sure he does not, that Eros is of sexual origin and that there is a dualistic division between Agape and Eros rather than—what I am sure he believes—a dialectical relation. For Eros, surely, is "*amor sementa in voi d'ogni virtute, e d'ogni operazione che merta pene*," the basic will to self-actualization without which no creature can exist, and Agape is that Eros mutated by Grace, a conversion, not an addition, the Law fulfilled, not the Law destroyed. That is why the symbol of Agape is not the act of sex but the act of nutrition: just because eating is the one primal act common to all living organisms irrespective of species, race, age, sex, or consciousness, the one act in which, since we demand all and give nothing, we are necessarily completely alone, therefore only this act can testify to the utter dependence of all creatures on each other, to the fact that *everyone* is our neighbor.

Non-human nature lives in the world of the actual, and its Eros finds there its natural limits. As a physical organism man lives in the same world, but as a conscious being he also lives in the world of the possible. The task of the human Eros is how to actualize the possible by a series of decisions in which one future possibility is grasped by the present, and the rest thereby rendered impossible. But to be aware that

more than one possibility exists is to be aware that it is possible to make the wrong decision, that self-actualization is only achieved if the right decision is taken, and that if any of the wrong decisions are taken, the result will be self-negation. The human Eros is thus placed in a "catastrophic situation," to avoid the reality of which it tends to flee in two directions. Either it hides from the possible and attempts to live, like the animals, only in the actual. But for man the actual is no longer in fact limiting on his consciousness, so that, unless he goes mad, the result is the opposite of his intention; the conscious world of possibilities invades and destroys the unconscious world of actualities. Don Juan's intelligence tyrannizes over his phallus, and his relations with women are a succession of possible relationships that are never realized.

Or, alternatively, man's Eros can hide from the actual and attempt to live only in the possible; but again, since his physical body in fact is limited by the actual, unless he gets sick, the result is that the physical world invades and destroys his consciousness. Tristan's relation to Isolde has no possibilities because it is tied to a past event—the drinking of the love potion.

How is man to be delivered from "the body of this death," so that his Eros may have the courage to take decisions? His first answer is a collective one, the Myth and the Law, whereby rules are laid down for all specific occasions, and the number of conscious possibilities is reduced to a minimum. But this works only as long as the collective Eros is strong enough to submerge the individual Eros; as soon as a society begins to differentiate, the individual becomes conscious of more possibilities than society officially admits, and realizes that the polytheistic myths are only social conventions. Now, either, like the Chinese, he must accept this fact and sacrifice development to stability or, like the West, he must face the catastrophic situation alone. It is at this point of historical development that the concept of passion appears. Sex as a collective unconscious force had been worshiped before (e. g., sacred prostitution), but now for the first time self-actualization is thought of in terms of a single conscious sexual relationship which gathers to it all the functions which had previously been discharged by the many collective myths; hence its greater intensity. Once again its purpose is the same, to eliminate the possibility of making wrong decisions, to dispense with what the Christian believes to be essential, namely, Faith.

Though the myth of passion has a long history, men's actual sexual relationships continued to be, to a large degree, conditioned by unromantic social conventions, and it is not until the nineteenth century that both religious faith and bourgeois convention become weak enough for the myth to be regarded as a scientific theory of life. It is only in the past hundred years that people have seriously tried to marry their mater-imagos or their lame shadows, and it is only quite recently that, dismayed at the failure of this attempt, they have denied the significance of personal relations altogether and returned to a collective and political myth of Eros.

In the last few chapters of his book Mr. de Rougemont states the Christian doctrine of marriage, which will seem absurdly straightlaced to the hedonist and shockingly coarse to the romantic. But perhaps the unpleasant consequences of

romantic love and romantic politics are making thoughtful people more willing to reconsider it than they were while a bourgeois convention, which professed to be Christian but was nothing of the kind, was still à la mode.

W. H. AUDEN

Norman Thomas's Odyssey

WE HAVE A FUTURE. By Norman Thomas. Princeton University Press. \$2.50.

CANDOR has always been a rare virtue. It is growing rarer in these days of sharp cleavages and neurotic extolment of causes which those who shout loudest often neither understand nor care about. The appearance of a frank and honest examination of vital social problems is therefore an exhilarating experience. "We Have a Future," by Norman Thomas, is just such an examination.

Although it deals with the thesis which has absorbed Norman Thomas all through his long public career, this book differs from most of his other works, and from books written by other Socialists, in that it reveals the author to be no longer paying homage to some of the fetishes in which every good Socialist has heretofore had to profess a belief. He refuses, for instance, to cling to the theory of the class struggle in a world where the effort to create a classless society in a country spreading over one-sixth of the earth's surface produced the Stalin bureaucracy. Even more meaningless, he believes, is this theory in our own country, where workers, farmers, technicians, and professionals think of themselves "to an amazing degree as middle class." The same reasoning leads him to discard the sentimental notion that the wage-earner is destined to become society's messiah. Reduced to the status of "romantic nonsense" is the thought of successful violent revolution in these days of bombers, tanks, and artillery. Instead, "any program of social action must be more or less gradual, however revolutionary its goal." Mr. Thomas has even abandoned hope of a labor party in this country.

He has discovered no infallible or dogmatic guide for achieving a good society. We need wisdom and skill, hope, conviction, and loyalty; and, above all, he says, we must safeguard the democratic channels within which these qualities may be utilized in planning and experiment. Whether the experimentation leads to a greater or lesser degree of collectivism or individualism is not so important. What is impor-

tant is that we have a clear idea of the end to be sought—abundance for all and freedom for the individual.

Most liberals will approve of these ends and means. On one point only does Mr. Thomas invite argument. He still firmly believes—or perhaps it is only a fervent hope—that these ends can be sought and attained without a military defeat of the forces of aggression now abroad in the world. It is precisely this part of his argument, however, which recommends the book to all those who by the long or short route have made peace with themselves in the matter of aiding Britain, defeating Hitlerism, and redeeming democracy at no matter what cost. The book will not alter their convictions, but it will give them a necessary realization of the risks involved. More than that, it will, or should, make them aware of the stark fact that war alone, even victorious war, will not automatically provide the basis for a decent society. This delusion is common and must be guarded against.

"What sort of material," he asks, "will survive the war on either side of the Channel to build the new world?" His contention that you cannot bomb people into sanity can hardly be gainsaid. "What sort of new generation, starved in body and sick in soul with the horrors amid which they have grown up, will be left for the tasks that lie ahead? What formula of democracy can they carry out? Granting that the peoples of occupied countries will hate Germany and the Germans, will they love England and the English after two, three, four, or more years of blockade? Or will new hates be added to the old?"

"We Have a Future" is probably the nearest Norman Thomas will get to an autobiography for a long time. It is a statement of deeply cherished convictions, of shattered hopes, yet of abounding faith in the decency of man, the vitality of democracy, and the ultimate combination of the two in the endeavor to bring about a saner world. This hopeful outlook is due in large measure to the fact that he will not allow himself the "luxury of despair." As a writer and speaker Norman Thomas is always crisp, keen, and stimulating. In this latest product of his brain and pen these qualities are at their best.

ROSE M. STEIN

Elizabeth Madox Roberts

NOT BY STRANGE GODS. By Elizabeth Madox Roberts. The Viking Press. \$2.50.

MISS ROBERTS died four days before this volume of short stories was published. She was fifty-five, and her first book, "Under the Tree," a volume of short poems about childhood, came out nineteen years ago. In those nineteen years she published two volumes of verse, two of short stories, and seven novels, or more than a book a year. She must have been writing steadily, and it is easy to believe that she did little else. She never married, she was painfully shy, she stayed close to Kentucky, where she was born and where she died. Her life was uneventful in a superficial sense, probably, but in the world she had made she must have lived intensely and passionately.

This world is, by the map, Kentucky. But it is a Kentucky that lived solely in Miss Roberts's mind and heart. Her first and best novel, "The Time of Man," introduces a Kentucky



Tobacco Road. The food is bacon and pone, the houses are cabins, nobody has enough to wear or to eat, nobody goes anywhere or does anything except be born and grow up and marry and die. But this world is as different from Mr. Caldwell's world as day from night. Out of his shiftless poor whites Mr. Caldwell wrings irony, wit, tragic squalor. Miss Roberts is without humor and she is never squalid. Nobody was ever less of a tractarian than she. A good illustration of this is the first story in "Not by Strange Gods," The Haunted Palace. In it a fine manor house, deserted by the gentry that had once lived in it, tumbling down, set in a tangled park, is taken over by a share-cropper and his family. In the great parlors, with their carved white woodwork and their polished floors, the share-cropper and his wife bring their sheep at lambing time. The house is filled with ghosts—of the music that had been made on the grand piano, of blue and gold wall hangings, of stables full of blooded horses, and a lovingly tended garden. But the polished floors are slippery and wet, and two dead lambs have been thrown in the great fireplace out of the way. In about thirty pages Miss Roberts presents two completely different modes of living, two educations, two cultures. But she is not concerned with whether one is "better" than the other, or whether one is the result of the other. Here they are, sharply drawn, and moral judgments are complicated things. If you must have one, you will have to make it yourself.

In this world she has made there is a great deal of poetry. It is in the songs the people sing, the thoughts the young girls—and even the old men—have, most of all in their common speech: "I want to be like you are, but you want to be like some other kind you can't name or say." "There's always fault on both sides, though, and it's never all one person's blame, I always say." "Then I recollect spring. Yes I recall. Then come fall and warm politics on. I recollect the barbecue on the creek and old man Hardin on the stump for office." "I feel like I could pick up a hill or I could break open a mountain with my fist, and what call have I got to be afeared of a lonesome sound tonight?" These quotations, chosen at random from several books, are indicative of the poetically unreal, strange, and yet winning speech of Miss Roberts's characters. They are dialect, full of old saws and folk wisdom. Paradoxically, they sound like the authentic speech of these particular people, although these people never lived, in Kentucky or anywhere else.

Miss Roberts's world is never seen quite clearly. There is always the illusion of distance, of muffled sound, of indistinct edges, of a veil between the persons in the book and the reader. Even in "My Heart and My Flesh," when the social stratum is different, and the characters are urbane and cultivated, there is still this feeling of distance, of persons not quite human, although—another paradox—not unreal.

Finally, if in some sense this Kentucky is unreal, it is nevertheless continually fresh and interesting, the language is sweet and strange, the people are warm, passionate, complicated. Although probably Miss Roberts reached her peak in her first book, all the qualities that made it original and appealing are in the last one. American literature would be inestimably poorer if Kentucky had never known her; and if she had never known her own peculiar Kentucky.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN

THE WITCH-BURNING OF BERTRAND RUSSELL!

Here are all the shocking facts behind a judicial decision that will be long remembered for its injustice and bigotry!

The most notorious abuse of academic freedom in recent years was the cancellation of the contract under which Bertrand Russell was to have taught at the College of the City of New York. Here, nine eminent scholars join in presenting the incredible facts. As an authoritative account of the ecclesiastical, social and political forces that led to the now notorious Russell Case, this book must be pondered and heeded

by all those who would defend free thought. The Viking Press. \$2.50

THE BERTRAND RUSSELL CASE

by Nine Scholars
Edited by John Dewey
and Horace M. Kallen

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Fighting Editor

EDITOR IN POLITICS. By Josephus Daniels. University of North Carolina Press. \$3.50.

"TAR HEEL EDITOR" told the story of the author's early years. The second volume of Mr. Daniels's recollections begins with his taking a job in the Interior Department under Cleveland and ends when he enters Wilson's Cabinet as Secretary of the Navy. In between it is essentially a local story. The politics of the title are North Carolina politics, and the personalities with which the narrative abounds are in the main North Carolina personalities. Cleveland figures, of course, and Bryan; but Mr. Daniels took part in the Bryan campaigns as a representative of his state, and his job under the Cleveland Administration seems, from what he says, to have consisted largely in getting jobs for other North Carolina politicians.

"Politician" as applied to Mr. Daniels has no derogatory implications. A man more transparently, almost naively, honest never lived, nor a more public-spirited citizen. It was only right that a successful candidate should reward those who had contributed to his success, each according to his deserts. Mr. Daniels did not question this any more than he questioned free silver, a low tariff, the Baptist faith, and the maintenance of white supremacy by fair means or, regretably, foul, if necessary. But kindly, charming, and devoted to the welfare of his community as he was, he was no respecter of persons where his principles were involved. He was a courageous fighter for what he thought was right and often risked ruin to uphold it. Within the limitations of his place and time he was a sincere liberal. He not only took a stand against child labor and for shorter hours, better wages, wider and better education, but he did not hesitate to name names, though they were those of the most powerful people in the state. He also exposed persons in clerical, legal, and educational circles who knew on which side their bread was buttered. It is often harder to do this in a small community than to denounce the source of the evil, but he never shrank from the duty.

His reward was the respect and affection of all right-thinking men who knew him. He had not expected high office, but when it was offered to him he accepted it without surprise and as part of his duty to his fellow-citizens. From Cleveland to Wilson the wheel had come full circle, bringing Mr. Daniels once more on to a wider stage. It is scarcely possible for anyone not familiar with the issues which agitated North Carolina in the interval to follow Mr. Daniels's account of these intervening years with interest in all the details. He gains the reader's regard, however, and one looks forward to the volume to come which will cover the Wilson Administration, the War of 1914-18, and Mexico under the New Deal.

JAMES ORRICK

In Coming Issues of The Nation

"The New Criticism" by John Crowe Ransom

REVIEWED BY LOUISE BOGAN

"The Brontës' Web of Childhood"

by Fannie Elizabeth Ratchford

REVIEWED BY LIONEL TRILLING

IN BRIEF

GENERALS AND GENERALSHIP.

By General Sir Archibald Wavell.
The Macmillan Company. 50 cents.

These lectures would be remarkable for their intelligence, imagination, humor, and humanity at any time. They are even more so when one considers that though they were delivered before the outbreak of the present war they clearly state the essentials for getting the jump on methods since put into practice by the Germans—essentials now obvious but then not grasped even by many civilians, and of course by almost no generals. General Wavell is, moreover, no mere commentator on a particular moment in military history. He draws on a tradition which includes Socrates, Wellington, and Tolstoy; and his mind, like his style, appears to be endowed with simplicity, directness, and flexibility.

SIR RICHARD BURTON'S WIFE. By Jean Burton. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.

It may be hard to believe that any woman could be a match for Sir Richard Burton, but his wife was as extraordinary as he was. If he was a devil, she was a whirlwind. The author, who is only a very distant connection, does full justice to her subject. She succeeds in bringing out the comic side without spoiling the dramatic. This is a book to be read for plain enjoyment.

EVERYONE'S CHILDREN, NOBODY'S CHILD. By Justine Wise Polier. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75.

The author is Children's Court Judge of the Domestic Relations Court of the City of New York. Her case histories naturally come from New York, and the United States as a whole is dealt with mostly in terms of statistics and generalities. A historical section describes attempts to solve the problem of delinquent children in the past, both here and in England. The book brings home the nature and extent of that problem today, but does not offer a radical cure.

WHY FREEDOM MATTERS. By Norman Angell. Penguin Books. 25 cents.

Since the real fight is the fight for freedom, Sir Norman Angell, recognizing that a war cannot be won without a temporary relinquishment of liberty, feels that it is imperative to retain a clear idea of its nature. A vigorous statement of the fundamentals, an exposition of Mill's classic case, and a succinct consideration of the problems of liberty in

practice make up a book which no one concerned for a more democratic post-war world should miss.

JOHN DRYDEN. Some Biographical Facts and Problems. By James M. Osborn. Columbia University Press. \$3.50.

Though Dryden has recently resumed his place as a major English poet, it will probably never be possible to present his life and character fully or picturesquely, for the simple reason that he died just a little before the time when it became usual to preserve the sort of records necessary for a colorful biography. But modern antiquarian research is so much more systematic and laborious than anything dreamed of by persons who lived much nearer to Dryden that small points may still be cleared up and certain traditions either documented or discredited. In the present volume the author first minutely examines the sources and methods of all the important early biographers of Dryden and then presents the results of his own investigation of various minor questions. The result is not likely to make any great appeal to the average reader, but it will prove invaluable to students of the subject. The book is an impressive demonstration of the author's competence in the highly specialized field of antiquarian investigation.

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

WAR IN THE DESERT: THE BATTLE FOR AFRICA. By Raoul Aglien. Holt. \$2.75.

SIR RICHARD BURTON'S WIFE. By Jean Burton. Knopf. \$3.

SAY, IS THIS THE U. S. A. By Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$3.75.

EUROPE IN RETREAT. Third Edition. By Vera Micheles Dean. Knopf. \$2.75.

SWEET THAMES RUN SOFTLY. By Robert Gibbings. Dutton. \$2.50.

THE SHADOW OF THE ARROW. By Margaret Long. Caxton Printers. \$3.50.

TEN OLD ENGLISH POEMS PUT INTO MODERN ENGLISH ALLITERATIVE VERSE. By Kemp Malone. Johns Hopkins Press. \$1.25.

POEMS. By Ridgely Torrence. Macmillan. \$1.75.

THE BOYS IN THE BACK ROOM. Notes on California Novelists. By Edmund Wilson. Colt Press. \$2.50.

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Chester W. Wright. McGraw-Hill. \$4.



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THEODORE SCHROEDER

COSCOB, CONN.

RECORDS

COLUMBIA gives us three works recorded by Stokowski with the American Youth Orchestra (whether last year's orchestra or this year's is not revealed): Beethoven's Fifth Symphony (Set 451, \$5.50), Brahms's Fourth Symphony (Set 452, \$6.50), and Stravinsky's "Firebird" Suite (Set 446, \$3.50). The few comments on these sets that I have seen have found Stokowski's handling of Beethoven and Brahms open to question but his handling of Stravinsky admirable, and have praised Columbia's recording of the performances. To me it seems that the fussy phrasing, the exaggerated nuances, the constant swelling and contracting of lush tone, all adding up to what I would call a heavily perfumed style, falsify the character of Stravinsky's *Ronde des princesses* and *Berceuse* no less than that of Beethoven's and Brahms's music. And on a high-fidelity phonograph the recorded sound of the *Ronde* (Side 2) is accompanied by rattle and grit; while that of the *Danse infernale* screams and screeches on top and is thin, hard, without body, depth and warmth in the middle and bass (I have never heard anything like the horrible noise produced by the beginning of Side 4). The sound of Beethoven's Fifth has more body—which means, I presume, better proportion of low and middle to high frequencies—but is cold and harsh on a high-fidelity machine. And even the Brahms, which is the best of the three in depth and roundness, lacks warmth and has another defect of Columbia recording—the false relations of space and volume exemplified by what happens in the second variation of the last-movement *passacaglia*: the oboe and clarinet which lead off, apparently at some distance from the microphone, are joined by other woodwinds that sound much closer.

There is no warmth, but only hard, clear, and occasionally piercing brilliance, as well as increases of sonority that blast one out of the room, in the best of Columbia's recent orchestral recordings—that of Rodzinski's taut performance of the "Rosenkavalier" waltzes with the Cleveland Orchestra (11542-D, \$1). Perhaps Columbia would achieve more if it attempted less—if it did not undertake to outdo what anyone else is doing in frequency- and volume-range, and tried merely to do as much as is

done on its superb imported Beecham records of "Carmen" and the "Haffner" Symphony and "Francesca da Rimini," or on Victor's imported Furtwängler records of the "Pathétique" Symphony, "Tristan," and "Parsifal." I would be content if it achieved with Stokowski the clarity and fidelity, the depth and body and warmth of his first Victor recording (Set 53) of the "Firebird" Suite; and for that matter I would be content if Stokowski himself achieved the performance on those records of ten or twelve years ago, made before his style had developed its present elephantiasis.

The Columbia Stokowski recordings are more agreeable to the ear with the treble of a high-fidelity machine reduced, or on a small machine of reduced frequency-range that cuts off the high-frequency harshness and grit as well as the high-frequency musical sound. One should reduce the treble also for Lotte Lehmann's records of Brahms songs (Set 453, \$4), which, played with wide range, produce rattle and grit along with admirably faithful sound of her voice. The songs include very good ones like "Wie bist du, meine Königin" (17273) and "Die Mainacht" (71060), slight but charming ones like "Sonntag" and "O liebliche Wangen" (71060), and others that I don't care for like "Wir wandelten" (17273), "An die Nachtigall" and "Auf dem Kirchhofe" (17274), and three folksongs—"Erleube mir, Feinsmädchen," "Da unten im Tale," and "Feinsliebchen, du sollst mir nicht barfuss gehen." The last of these Lehmann sings a little too archly, and there are the occasional sharp intakes of breath; but on the whole the singing and phrasing are lovely.

I keep wishing for a recording of all the fascinating "Dix pièces pittoresques" of Chabrier that Balanchine used in "Cotillon"; meanwhile Columbia offers one of the pieces, the *Scherzo-Valse*, rattled off perfunctorily by Casadesu, with a less interesting *Impromptu* by Chabrier on the reverse side of the record (71061-D, \$1). On another single are three spirituals—"Lit'l Boy," "I Want to Go Home," "You're Tired, Chile!"—which I find less impressive in themselves than in the way they are sung by Roland Hayes (17275-D, \$75). And Roy Harris's String Quartet No. 3, well performed by the Roth Quartet (Set 450, \$4.50), is some more of this composer's windy incoherence to express the Oklahoma plains and character (is there no Oklahoman to protest?).

B. H. HAGGIN

Letters to the Editors

Production Comes First

Dear Sirs: I have been pleased to note in these last critical months that *The Nation* has taken a realistic attitude toward world events, but I am somewhat up in the air after reading the editorial *The Coming Labor Crisis* in the June 7 issue.

I am in the A. F. of L.—or was until the Typographical Union stepped out—and a Socialist. I naturally believe in the right to strike. But I also believe that right should be suspended in times of national danger. Fully appreciating that living costs are rising and that big employers never grant just and proper wages voluntarily, I nevertheless believe some machinery should be set up by our national government very soon to effect all-out war-time production. Strikes seriously hamper such production. Industry certainly contributes more than its share to the *casus belli* in strikes. Both industry and labor, therefore, should be made to toe the line.

I am not acquainted with all the provisions of the Vinson compulsory-labor-mediation bill, but I believe compulsory mediation of some sort, with a federal body fixing wages and working conditions in an industry where a labor dispute exists, is the answer *today*. Such a body would not order a "cooling-off" period before strikes but would step in immediately, keep up production, and make all its orders retroactive from the time the dispute started. Labor and industry would have to abide by its decisions.

This may seem heresy for a man in the labor movement, but I am also an American who looks with horror at the bloody shambles in Europe and sees nothing but slavery for labor throughout the world should Hitler win.

ARTHUR P. WIESNER
Milwaukee, Wis., June 20

One Way to Fight Inflation

Dear Sirs: I was interested in reading the article *Luxury or Liberty?* by Maxwell S. Stewart, in your issue of May 24. He is undoubtedly right in pointing out the danger of inflation arising from an increase in the national income without a corresponding increase in the consumers' goods available for purchase. Likewise, he is right when he says that

the best way to avoid that danger "is to attack purchasing power directly." As methods for effective attack he cites these three: "taxation, compulsory savings, and restrictions on consumers' credit."

It seems to me that there is a fourth method from which great results can be hoped. I refer to the Defense Savings Bond and Stamp Program inaugurated by the government on May 1. This, of course, contains no elements of compulsion, but it does have in it psychological appeals which may be expected to enlist many millions of our people as partners in the American effort. In May it resulted in purchases of these securities amounting in round figures to \$442,000,000. The public willingness to take part continues unabated, and it is not unlikely that within a twelve-month several billion dollars will have been put in these securities.

This represents a substantial subtraction from the people's income spendable on consumers' goods and is, in my judgment, one of the most effective preventives of inflation that we have. In essence, it is an American modification, on a basis of free will rather than duress, of the Keynes plan. I think it deserves inclusion as one of the best methods of attacking purchasing power directly.

GEORGE FORT MILTON
Washington, June 19

And One Way to Cause It

Dear Sirs: I recently subscribed to *The Nation* with high hopes for the chance to read an intelligent, pro-American, pro-civilization journal. But I soon began to suspect that your pro-Americanism was second to your pro-labor policy, and all doubt is removed by reading your editorial *The Coming Labor Crisis*, in the issue of June 7. You say, "Powerful interests have sought . . . to give the impression that the defense program was being seriously retarded by strikes and labor disputes," which you would have us believe is altogether absurd. And you lament that "the gains which labor has won . . . at great sacrifice during the last few months stand in grave danger of being wiped out by the increased cost of living. . . . These workers will have no recourse except to strike or to threaten to strike." Such a position is not even intelligently pro-labor. For

the inflationary spiral which such a policy would inaugurate would engulf labor along with everyone else.

R. L. EDWARDS
Oxford, Ohio, June 18

Vichy's Catholicism

Dear Sirs: In my review of Jacques Maritain's book, "France, My Country, Through the Disaster," I referred to the military castes of France and Spain, leaders in the betrayal of their peoples, as "devout Catholics." Good Catholic friends have written to me that I was wrong. Weygand and Huntziger, they assure me, are practicing Catholics, and so are most of the Spanish counter-revolutionaries, beginning with Generalissimo Franco, but Admiral Darlan was a *franc-maçon*, who gave up his Masonic affiliations only in order to enter Pétain's government. Pétain, moreover, it appears, "made career with the anti-clerical clan of the army" and, having married a divorced woman, was outside the discipline of the church until recently, when the death of his wife's former husband enabled him to make his peace with Rome. This, my correspondents remind me, is scarcely the behavior of a "devout Catholic."

For the sake of accuracy, these details should be noted. But of course they do not weaken my point about the religion of the people of France, or my regret that M. Maritain did not bring to bear upon this crucial weakness the critical clairvoyance of his love.

WALDO FRANK
New York, June 20

A Labor Policy for Defense

Dear Sirs: In the hysteria that has been aroused recently in regard to American labor and the defense program, constructive thinking has been almost totally lacking. It will interest your readers to know, therefore, that the executive committee of the Union for Democratic Action, composed of educators, labor leaders, and qualified writers on social problems, sat down quietly and worked out a statement of policy which has as its purpose the defense of democracy at home and abroad. The statement follows:

The Union for Democratic Action congratulates the Congress of Industrial Organizations (C. I. O.) for its action against the

wild-cat strike in the Los Angeles plant of the North American Aviation Company. This strike was clearly provoked and led by Communists who exploited the legitimate demands of the strikers for sinister political ends. The attitude of responsible leaders of the C. I. O. is a splendid expression of labor's determination to allow no subversive elements to interfere with production for national defense. The North American plant should be released from army control as soon as normal union-management collective-bargaining relations are restored.

We strongly urge that a limit be set on the discretion allowed local draft boards in decisions to reclassify defense workers participating in strikes. Unlimited use of the Selective Service Act as a strike-breaking weapon would result in a severe loss of labor gains throughout the country.

We believe that the right to strike represents a basic democratic freedom. But in its own interest, as well as in the interest of national defense and democracy, labor should make every effort to avoid strikes by making full use of all conciliation and mediation sources. Strikes can be avoided (1) if labor unions eliminate from their leadership all those who take an irresponsible attitude toward production for national defense and democracy, whether because they owe allegiance to a foreign government, communist or fascist, or because they are merely defeatist; (2) if labor voluntarily outlaws strikes based upon jurisdictional disputes of any kind; (3) if government boards of mediation are so set up that the trade unions have full representation upon them; (4) if adequate machinery is set up to make necessary adjustments in wages in organized and unorganized industries to meet the rising cost of living, and if a determined effort is made by the government to prevent rising living costs; (5) if there is no interference, either from management or government, with efforts to form unions among unorganized workers in accordance with the law; (6) if all legislation to prohibit the right to strike is defeated. Prohibition of the right to strike is as dangerous as infringement of the right to vote. Destruction of union rights and power is the beginning of totalitarianism.

The Union for Democratic Action believes that industrial peace is necessary for national defense against fascism. But industrial peace is a cooperative job of labor unions, management, and government. It calls for cooperation between unions and management. It requires the uprooting of subversive elements in both business and labor. It calls for severe taxation of excess profits; so that labor, the middle class, and farmers may have the assurance that any sacrifices that are made will not redound to the benefit of the owners of industry.

Responsible labor leaders and the rank and file of labor are determined to get full protection. But it must be noted that since last summer infinitely more production has been lost from the "business as usual" attitude of the administrators of industry than from

strikes. There was a sitdown strike of corporations last summer, when they refused to take national defense orders until they secured satisfactory amortization and taxation concessions from the government. Shortages of steel, aluminum, magnesium, and electric power threaten defense production because monopoly interests refused to expand their capacity to produce. The refusal of monopoly corporations to subcontract defense orders among smaller enterprises is even now creating bottlenecks and making it impossible to get full use of our economic resources for defense.

Hence the Union for Democratic Action calls for the grant of full powers to the President to take over any productive property that is needed for national defense. Specifically we ask that the President be granted the power to (1) seize any plant not doing its job for defense; (2) seize needed machine tools now being withheld from defense work; (3) force any enterprise sticking to civilian production for higher profits to go into defense work; (4) seize strategic materials now being hoarded in many industries by "forward buying."

JAMES LOEB, JR., Executive Secretary
New York, June 20

Liberals and the War

Dear Sirs: Stanley High's attempt to show that war economy will be directed by liberal statesmen to the ultimate advantage of labor in America and Britain is an insult to the intelligence of those who read the columns of *The Nation*. The claim that this is a "little people's" war because the little people do all the suffering marks a new low in liberal journalism. If Britain and America do emerge from the war militarily victorious with the present leadership, people like Stanley High will be profoundly disappointed with the "liberal" millennium.

This is not, however, to confirm the Communist thesis that genuine liberals have no business supporting the war; for the Communists would seem to be liable to a similar charge—namely, of abetting in spite of themselves an equally immoral group of imperialists and potential fascists—the Lindberghs, Fords, Hugh Johnsons, McCormicks *et al.* of the "Western Hemisphere school." It must be said at least to the Communists' credit that they have been astute in discerning the character of their bedfellows, while a number of liberals apparently have not. But if the Communists insist that their particular version of isolationism is a *third* program to be distinguished sharply from that of the America First Committee, it would seem that the liberals have the same right to make distinctions between the

liberal pro-war program and that of the present interventionist clique. To fail to avail oneself of this privilege of logic and to identify the liberal cause with the cause of a Churchill, a Halifax, a Knudsen, or a Stettinius is indicative of a spurious conception of liberalism.

There is justification for a choice—if reluctant—in favor of the cause of tory democracy as against the cause of equally tory Western Hemisphere imperialism, but there is no justification for glozing the facts.

LELAND THIELEMANN

Newark, N. J., June 18

CONTRIBUTORS

LOUIS FISCHER, for many years *The Nation's* Moscow correspondent, is the author of the current best-seller "Men and Politics."

NORMAN ANGELL won the Nobel peace prize in 1933. He is the author of "The Great Illusion," "Why Freedom Matters," and other books.

PHILIP MURRAY is the president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

PETER STEVENS is the pseudonym of an American writer who has just returned from a year's stay in the Near East.

DONALD W. MITCHELL has for twenty years been a close student of naval and military history. He recently completed a book dealing with defense problems of the United States.

HERBERT ROSINSKI, distinguished authority on European affairs, is now associated with the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton University.

W. H. AUDEN, English poet and critic, is at present in this country. His latest volume of verse is "The Double Man."

ROSE M. STEIN, a regular contributor to *The Nation*, is now doing labor research in Washington.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN, formerly associate editor of *The Nation*, is the author of "Those First Affections" and other books.

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